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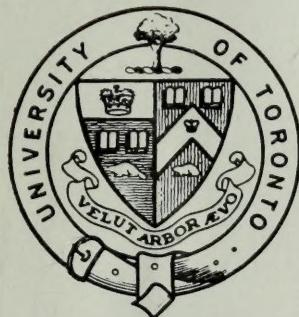
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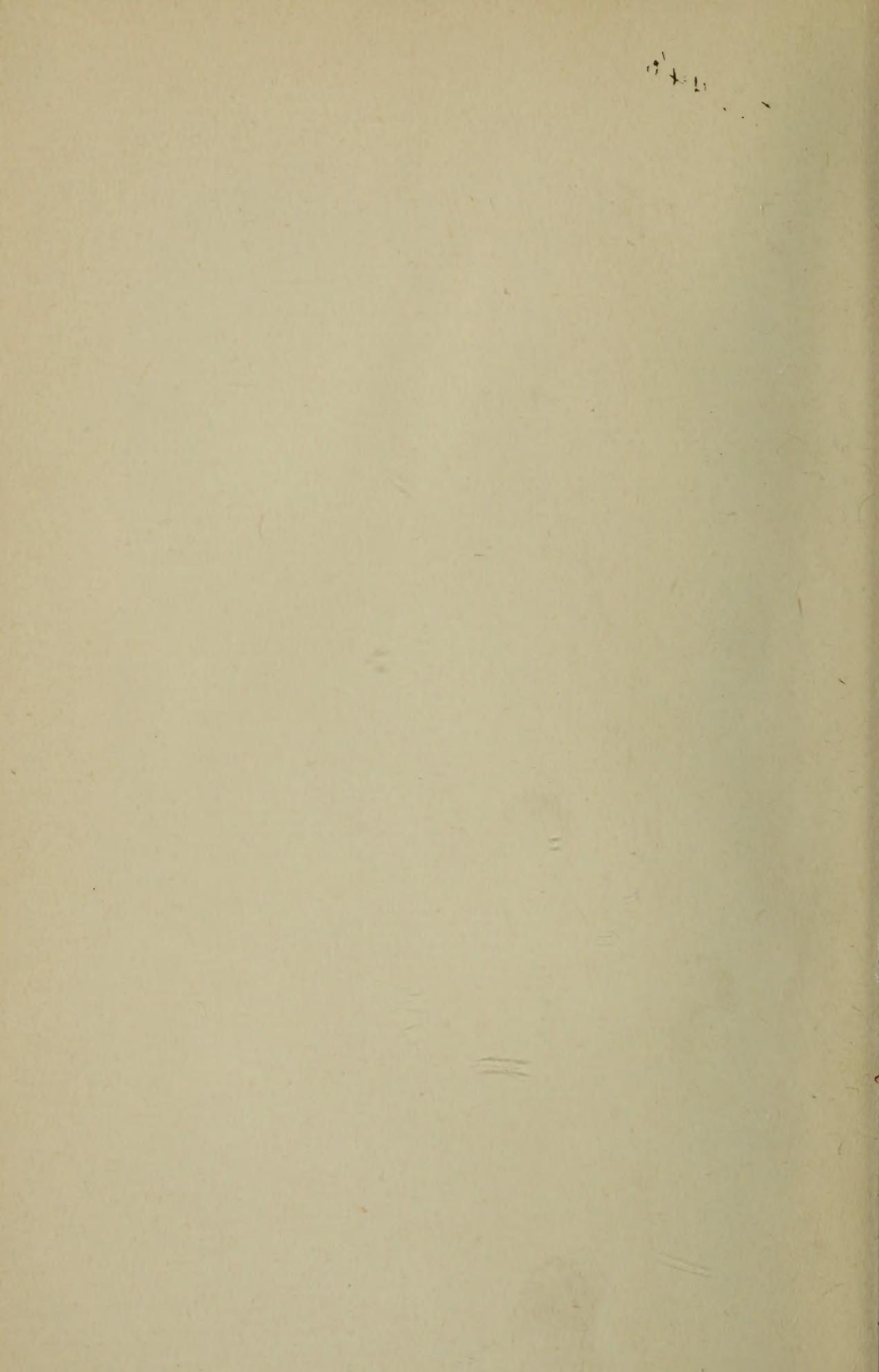
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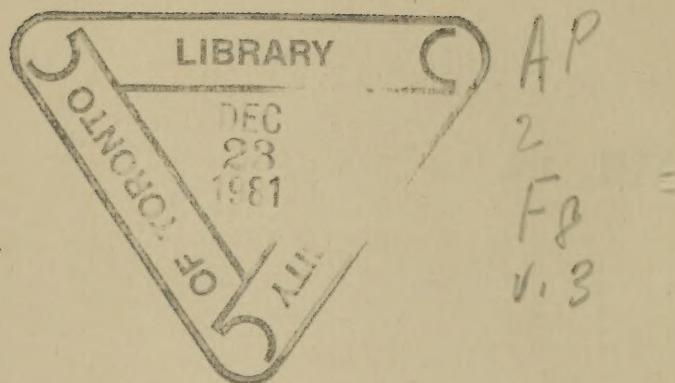
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# The Forum.

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MARCH, 1887.

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## THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY.

No one who has attentively followed the events of the last forty years can fail to have been struck with the increasing importance, both politically and socially, which religious questions have assumed. The pages of the *FORUM* itself give us ample evidence that the interest felt in such questions is not diminishing, seeing the various articles devoted to, or touching upon, matters of religion which may there be read. Amongst the former may be mentioned one by Mr. Lilly, entitled, "The Present Outlook for Christianity," in the *FORUM* for December, 1886. The author of that interesting essay mainly occupies himself, not with any one system of Christianity, but rather with the antecedent question of theism, without the acceptance of which no form of Christianity can, of course, continue to exist. That antecedent question, however, I have already elsewhere\* treated to the best of my ability. Here I propose to take theism for granted, and to confine myself to the subsequent question: "Can any existing form of religion ultimately survive?"

I address myself the more willingly to this question because as much as ten years ago I expressed† some very decided opin-

\* See "Lessons from Nature," ch. xii., and "Nature and Thought," (2d ed.) ch. v.

† See "Contemporary Evolution," a book mainly a republication of papers with the same title, which had then recently appeared in the "Contemporary Review."

ions respecting the judgment an impartial observer might form about the then outlook for Christianity, and therefore I feel bound not to shrink from regarding the matter in the light of further knowledge, but from the same impartial point of view, to-day. In making this inquiry, then, I shall studiously avoid the position of a partisan, and shall endeavor to present the question as viewed by an entirely unprejudiced observer, external to all existing religious bodies.

And, from this point of view, we must, in the first place, raise some objection to the summary way in which Mr. Lilly puts aside the claims of every system of pure theism to be a religion adequate to satisfy one's highest aspirations. He says:\*

"Some God, some religion, humanity must have. What God, what religion, will it be? Will the abstract God of deism content us? Assuredly not. We want, in Kant's happy phrase, 'a God that can interest us.'"

He then proceeds to quote a somewhat abbreviated (as he says) but beautiful and striking passage from Cardinal Newman's representation of what is contained and implied in the idea of God, as if it only applied to the God of Christianity. This passage, thus partially quoted by him, continues on as follows:

"The laws of the universe, the principles of truth, the relations of one thing to another, their qualities and virtues, the order and harmony of the whole, all that exists, is from God; and if evil is not from him, as assuredly it is not, this is because evil has no substance of its own, but is only the defect, excess, perversion, or corruption of that which has. All we see, hear, and touch, the remote sidereal firmament, as well as our own sea and land, and the elements which compose them, and the ordinances they obey, are his. The primary atoms of matter, their properties, their mutual action, their disposition and collocation, electricity, magnetism, gravitation, light, and whatever other subtle principles or operations the wit of man is detecting, or shall detect, is the work of his hands.

"The most insignificant or unsightly insect is from him, and good in its kind; the ever-teeming, inexhaustible swarms of animalcula, the myriads of living motes, invisible to the naked eye, the restless, ever-spreading vegetation which creeps like a garment over the whole earth, the lofty cedar, the umbraeous banyan, are his. His are the tribes and families of birds and beasts, their graceful forms, their wild gestures, and their passionate cries. And so in the intellectual, moral, social, and political world. Man, with his motives and works, his languages, his propagation, his diffusion, is from him. Peace

\* The FORUM, vol. II., p. 326.

and civilization, commerce and adventure, wars, when just, conquest, when become a necessity, have his co-operation and his blessing upon them. The course of events, the revolutions of empires, the rise and fall of states, the periods and eras, the progresses and the retrogressions of the world's history, not, indeed, the incidental sin, over-abundant as it is, but the great outlines and the issues of human affairs, are from his dispositions. The elements and types and seminal principles and constructive powers of the moral world are to be referred to him. He 'enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world.' His are the dictates of the moral sense, and the retributive reproaches of conscience. To him must be ascribed the rich endowments of the intellect, the radiation of genius, the imagination of the poet, the sagacity of the politician, the wisdom which now rears and decorates the Temple, now manifests itself in proverb or in parable. The old laws of nations, the majestic precepts of philosophy, the oracles of individual wisdom, the traditional rules of truth, justice, and religion, even though imbedded in the corruption or alloyed with the pride of the world, bespeak his original agency and his long-suffering presence. Even where there is habitual rebellion against him, or profound, far-spreading social depravity, still the undercurrent, the heroic outburst of natural virtue, as well as the yearning of the heart after what it has not, and its presentiment of its remedies, are to be ascribed to the Author of all good. Anticipations or reminiscences of his glory haunt the mind of the self-sufficient sage and of the pagan devotee. He introduces himself, he all but concurs, according to his good pleasure, and in his selected season, in the issues of unbelief, superstition, and false worship, and changes the character of acts by his overruling operation. He is with the heathen dramatist in his denunciations of injustice and tyranny, and his auguries of divine vengeance upon crime. Even on the unseemly legends of a popular mythology he casts his shadow, and is dimly discerned in the ode or the epic, as in troubled water or in fantastic dreams. All that is good, all that is true, all that is beautiful, all that is beneficent, be it great or small, be it perfect or fragmentary, comes from him."\*

Now, neither in the passage quoted by Mr. Lilly, nor in that here cited, can we discover anything which a non-Christian theist might not claim as expressing his own belief; and assuredly any one who would not be even "interested" by the contemplation of such a conception as is therein presented to us, would hardly be attracted by any form of religion of which a cultivated mind would approve, although it must be admitted that the most attractive and consoling of all doctrines, the fatherhood of God, is not put forward in it. But that doctrine is in no way inconsistent with simple

\* See Newman's "Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education," pp. 91-97. A few sentences have been omitted in the above quotation.

theism, and we cannot venture, therefore, absolutely to deny that such theism affords a sufficient religious pabulum for many and choice minds. The positive creeds outside of Christianity, however, do not seem to possess the promise of the future.

Mohammedanism now hardly spreads, save amongst African tribes. Hindooism has no missionary spirit, and, though Buddhism may possess attractions for a few exceptional minds, it is a question whether such qualified acceptance as it has received amongst us is not rather the result of wayward fashion than of earnest conviction. Of course, some minds will always love theological eccentricities; but cases of religious singularity hardly concern us here. The religion of the future must, to persist, be wide-spread, and must, if we are not mistaken in what has just been said about other existing beliefs, be either some form of theism or some form of Christianity. For it is difficult to see how any new form of religion can now arise, capable both of satisfying the intellectual requirements of the cultivated minority and of successfully appealing to the feelings of the multitude. The unprejudiced spectator of existing religious phenomena can hardly, we believe, avoid the conclusion that no theism but Christian theism, that is, some form of Christianity, can be the absolute and final religion of mankind. For every consistent follower of the great modern doctrine of evolution must allow that Christianity has been, so far, its ultimate, positive outcome, while it holds out no promise of a new religious product. But, in order that any given form of Christianity may hold its own in the future, it must necessarily show plainly that it possesses certain characteristics. I agree with Mr. Lilly in saying: \*

“The religion of these modern times must correspond with our growing culture, and must not content itself with being merely patristic, or mediæval, or puritan. . . . In the spiritual order, as in the physical, to cease to change is to cease to live. . . . The greatest peril of the present age lies in this: that those who profess to be teachers of religion and defenders of the faith so seldom endeavor honestly to follow out the lines of thought familiar to earnest and cultivated men of the world. . . . Who can measure their responsibility, whose incredible traditions and discredited apologetics estrange men of intellect from Christianity ?”

Few things shock men of science more than to be told they

\* *Ubi supra*, p. 327.

ought to give their assent to propositions which are not only neither self-evident nor certainly proved, but are even declared to be possibly untrue. Every man of science worthy of the name must not only refuse to give such assent, but must declare that he holds even things he considers proved, only in such a way as to be ready to examine and weigh whatever evidence may be freshly brought to light against them. For he doubts in obedience to a sense of duty, and, if he is a theist, must regard as a blasphemy the assertion that God can possibly approve any trifling with the highest faculty which he has bestowed upon him. The true scientist must consider it as sinful to entertain an irrational belief, held through a disposition to palter with truth, as to harbor an irrational skepticism occasioned by any other evil motive. Nothing, then, in our day, could well be more prejudicial to a religion than that any of its distinguished representatives should show an indifference to scientific truth, to say nothing of actual hostility thereto. It is, unfortunately, impossible to deny that both such indifference and such hostility have been and are still shown by some Christian teachers, and this is indeed a calamity, since thereby some of the choicest and most estimable minds have been estranged from what the majority of us regard as the most perfect embodiment of the religious spirit. For what other religion contains elements so noble, so consoling, so morally sustaining and ameliorating, so replete with all that promotes whatever is most fair, lovely, and of good report, and which is so able to satisfy the aspirations of the most cultured and the most unlettered of mankind?

But, in considering the prospects of Christianity in the future, I must select, for my purpose, one of its forms, and the most equitable course would seem to be the selection of that one which is generally deemed most obnoxious to the remarks I have just made: I mean the Roman Catholic Church. That is generally taken to be the church most hostile to scientific progress now, as it has unquestionably sometimes retarded scientific progress in the past. It is the church which seems most hampered by the bonds which the bigotry and ignorance of antecedent ages have bound round it, and most imbued with the prejudices and superstitions of pre-scientific ages.

That church may be taken as a sort of "proof case." If even it has an apparent gift of perdurability, the vitality of Christianity in some form must surely be unquestionable. Moreover, that church is the Christian body which is the most conspicuous, the most widely diffused, the most varied as to the human elements which compose it, and which has for the greatest number of centuries represented Christianity traditionally and officially. It is also the church which the opponents of Christianity generally regard as the one most worthy of their steel and most deserving their hostility. What, then, may be the future which an impartial external observer can reasonably expect to be in store for the Roman Catholic Church? Here the reader may lose patience, mentally exclaiming, "The doctrines of that church are too profoundly irrational to render the question of its longer or shorter duration a matter of any interest." But if they are irrational, charity still demands a hearing, at least with respect to the possible amelioration of a body which evidently, from its mere mass, must last much longer than the present generation of mankind, which may change in the future as it has in the past, which can stimulate or check so many activities, and which, if its vast power be rightly directed, may do so much to ennable and elevate, and, if ill-directed, can do so much to pervert and degrade. The reader may also call to mind that there is the highest Christian authority for distinguishing between the letter which killeth and the spirit which quickeneth, and that a spiritual meaning, as well as a literal sense, may be given to sacred facts and mysterious doctrines. Perhaps there is no dogma more repellent to the modern mind than that of the eternity of hell, and few things could be more justly repellent than the way in which that dogma has been proclaimed and defended by certain theologians. In what a different light, however, will that doctrine appear, if hell is regarded as the asylum of natural beatitude provided by supreme mercy and love for those who, by their own acts, have rendered it impossible even for Omnipotence to give them more; since the vision of God, not thus mercifully veiled, but seen face to face, would be to them no cause of rapture, but of suffering.

Passing, however, from questions of sentiment to questions

of fact, it is plain that almost all the main assertions of Catholic theology are essentially incapable of disproof by our physical science. If such science could demonstrate that there is no knowable personal First Cause ; that no prototypal design from eternity preceded the stages of the orderly evolution of the universe in time; if it could be proved that death, which certainly stops intellectual action as we experience it, necessarily renders all intellectual action impossible ; if it could show that Christ was the embodiment of no divine energy and that no providential guidance influenced the evolution of his church ; then, indeed, the triumph of such science would but be another name for the annihilation of Christianity. To such questions, however, physical science can have nothing to say. Nevertheless, it must be freely admitted that all which church authority teaches is not thus invulnerable. History, at any rate, has shown that venerable authorities have not only declared things to be physically true which experience has shown to be false, but have also affirmed, under penalties, that God had revealed what men of science afterward proved he never had revealed. It cannot be denied, also, that even supreme authority does seem to make a certain limited number of assertions about matters of fact, and it is of course obvious that if science could demonstrate any one of these assertions to be false, such science must be ultimately fatal to the church, unless the disproved assertions could be shown to have really borne another sense than that which they were originally and generally understood to bear. That we may be the better able, however, to estimate the future of the church, let us briefly consider certain facts of its past history. There have been three conspicuous instances in which the church seemed committed to views which science afterward showed to be untrue : one, as regards the celestial spheres ; another, as regards the structure of the earth ; and the third, respecting the world's living inhabitants.

It is not probable that science will again be the occasion of so great a disturbance to prevalent "pious beliefs" as when it first introduced heliocentric astronomy to the Christian world. The earlier notion of the universe had in its favor alike the convictions of the learned, the plain meaning of the sacred books,

and the enormous force of a habit of thought entertained from immemorial antiquity. More than that: the whole conception of a heaven "above" a world beneath the surface of which lay the abyss of hell, harmonized with a religious teaching which represented the world and man as the centers of creation, and the especial objects of the Creator's predilection and care. Yet the uprooting of this whole physical conception, far from destroying the church, served to demonstrate experimentally that it had been so preorganized as to be able successfully to withstand even so vast a change. This great astronomical revolution of the seventeenth century was followed by a geological revolution in the eighteenth. The views which science then brought forward about the natural genesis of this planet, its vast age, and the gradual formation of its crust, accompanied by changes on its surface out of all relation with the six creative days of Genesis, mightily scandalized the weak. Buffon had to recant, in obedience to the Sorbonne, and men of science were censured and reproached, while some, in their imprudent confidence, even ventured to treat them with irony, like our own gentle poet who complained of those who ransacked the bowels of the earth to prove that "the God who made it, and revealed its date to Moses, was mistaken in its age."

Yet it must be allowed that Catholic teachers not only had no monopoly of narrowness in this matter, but contrasted favorably with ministers of other denominations. Italians of the strictest orthodoxy freely ridiculed the narrow biblical cosmology of our Bishop Burnet. Vallisneri exclaimed against the injury inflicted on religion no less than on science by such a use of texts. Generelli, a Carmelite friar, addressing, in 1749, a learned assembly at Cremona, observed: "I hold in utter abomination, most learned academicians, those systems which are built with their foundations in the air, and cannot be propped up without a miracle; and I undertake to explain geological phenomena, without violence, without fiction, without hypotheses, and without miracles." No wonder, when such a spirit animated distinguished members of its clergy, that the church passed safely through this second scientific ordeal. So complete has become its adjustment to modern science in our day, that no doctor of

divinity would now venture to maintain the theological certitude of the universality of the Deluge, even as regards the human race, on the strength of the biblical narrative, or to censure any geological view whatever.

The third scientific ordeal which the church has undergone is the promulgation and general acceptance of the doctrine of evolution, and this probably supplies us with as good a test as could be devised, of its capacity to survive future developments of science. Till the other day, the belief that all existing kinds of animals and plants were miraculously and suddenly created, as related in Genesis, was generally accepted ; and of course, the writers of the middle ages, whose tongue the church still speaks, were thoroughly imbued with it. Here, then, we might well expect to find the church of to-day bound by antecedent authoritative statements which it could not repudiate. Yet the reverse is, in fact, the case, and the very expressions of early and mediæval Christian authorities may be quoted \* in favor of the modern doctrine. As I have elsewhere observed : †

“ It is surely a noteworthy fact that the church should have unconsciously provided for the reception of modern theories by the emission of fruitful principles and far-reaching definitions centuries before such theories were promulgated, and when views directly contradicting them were held universally, and even by those very men themselves who laid down the principles and definitions referred to. Circumstances so remarkable, such undesigned coincidences, which, as facts, cannot be denied, must be allowed to have been ‘ preordained ’ by all those who, being theists, assert that a ‘ purpose ’ runs through the whole process of cosmical evolution. Such theists must admit that, however arising or with whatever end, a prescience has so far watched over the church’s definitions, and that she has been herein so guided in her teaching as to be able to harmonize and assimilate with her doctrines the most recent theories of physical science.”

Almost as soon, however, as the just-quoted passage was published, one or two theological writers began to raise objections to the doctrine that man’s body was naturally evolved from some non-human ancestor ; and these objections were collected and brought to a head by a writer in the “ Irish Ecclesiastical Record.” Thereupon, in order to test finally whether this doctrine was or was not tenable by Catholics, I published

\* See “The Genesis of Species.” † “Lessons from Nature,” p. 449.

an article \* unequivocally asserting it, and practically challenging its condemnation if it were condemnable. The result has so far been that I have not received even a private hint of censure, although a condemnation has, I am told, been earnestly solicited by persons who, the event shows, are deemed by supreme authority to be more zealous than wise. On the other hand, I have received reiterated thanks from members of the clergy, most varied as to rank and position. Early in January of this year a most esteemed superior of one of the mediæval religious orders wrote to me as follows :

" Since your ' Nineteenth Century ' article I have very frequently had occasion to explain your views both in England and elsewhere. There is not a shadow of a shade of unorthodoxy about them. That also is the opinion of Cardinal —, with whom I had a conversation thereanent. Your article was most telling in the right direction, even for theological science. What a pity it is to find so much narrowness amongst those whose duty it is to teach the noblest science of all ! . . . Deep and far-seeing theological thinkers are rare, but there are some to be found, though they write comparatively little. They have, I am happy to say, more influence at headquarters than people think. Those who make a great deal of noise know, as a rule, very little even of the nature of theological science. Their shallowness, inconsistency, aggressiveness, and haughtiness are simply appalling."

Thus I think it is abundantly clear that all dangers to the church from astronomy, geology, and biology are forever at an end. But is danger to it from all the other sciences also at an end ? There are those who think that such is far from being the case, and amongst them are men of mark, whose opinions cannot be lightly regarded. They are convinced that the great Catholic Church, the ship of Peter, after successfully riding the swelling billows of the physical sciences, will at last be engulfed by the whirlpool of historical science, including biblical criticism. And certainly, at first sight, the outlook does seem very threatening. We see a serried phalanx of calm and learned critics, who, without haste, but without hesitation, advance more and more startling views respecting the first development of the church and the gradual evolution of the Old and New Testaments—views which seem utterly incompatible with the old traditional beliefs. More-

\* In the "Nineteenth Century" for July, 1885.

over, those traditional beliefs repose on positive decrees of the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican, and on the opinions of a consensus of theologians concerning the verbal inspiration of every one of the canonical books, among which are some of those known to Protestants as the Apocrypha. There seems to be all the more cause for alarm because the church habitually appeals to texts of Scripture in support of her authority, and could hardly be expected, therefore, to allow the authenticity of those texts to be called in question by modern biblical criticism. Here, then, we seem to have reason to expect a combat to the death. But a little patient consideration of past experiences may make those thus confident of a fatal issue, pause in their vaticinations.

In the first place, even as regards the consequences which might result from the impugning of certain texts, we must recollect what has happened with respect to the "forged decretals." Matters both of doctrine and discipline were largely based on them, and received very efficient support from them. The authenticity of the decretals was long defended. It was maintained by a distinguished Jesuit, Father Turrianus, in 1572, and even in the seventeenth century Father Liberius à Jesu (a leading Carmelite of his day, high in favor with Pope Clement XI) was zealous in their defense. Now, however, every one admits them to have been forgeries. Yet not a single point of doctrine or matter of discipline which they were invoked to support has fallen with them. If then, even the text, "Thou art Peter," etc., fell through criticism into discredit, there would be no reason to anticipate that papal supremacy, which the process of evolution has shown to have been divinely ordained, would thereby be appreciably weakened.

What could be more unequivocal than the decrees of popes and councils against usury? Yet, who now has a word to say against it? What task could once have seemed more hopeless than that of practically setting aside the ecclesiastical declarations of former times against liberty of conscience? Yet who speaks more powerfully in its defense now than an illustrious Roman cardinal, of whom all English-speaking men are

proud, and who, amidst universal applause, has taught as follows: \*

"Conscience is the aboriginal Vicar of Christ, a prophet in its informations, a monarch in its peremptoriness, a priest in its blessings and anathemas, and, even though the eternal priesthood throughout the church should cease to be, in it the sacerdotal principle would remain and would have sway. . . . Did the pope speak against conscience, in the true sense of the word, he would commit a suicidal act. He would be cutting the ground from under his feet. His very mission is to proclaim the moral law, and to protect and strengthen that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

The same author, in his epoch-making work, "The Development of Christian Doctrine," has emitted a fruitful idea, of which a far more extended use will probably be made hereafter to reconcile traditional views with modern advances in the science of history. Even as to biblical criticism, he has † taken one step, which, though a very cautious and short one, as befits his responsible position as a prince of the church, yet serves to indicate a road along which persons less officially fettered may boldly advance. No one at present knows what the term "inspiration" really signifies, while no reasonable person, even though not a Christian, can deny that, in some sense, the Scriptures are "inspired." The writer of a recent very excellent article ‡ in the FORUM has observed, "I suppose that no dispassionate scholar will deny that the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures contain a vast deal more that is likely to be of permanent value to man, than any other body of religious literature."

Viewing, then, the present situation in the light to be derived from past experience, it seems to me that even an ordinary external observer will find that he has no valid reason for concluding that the Catholic Church is really on the eve of shipwreck, when he considers what has before taken place as regards Copernicism in astronomy and evolution in biology. § Who, in pre-Copernican times—say, the thirteenth century—would have

\* See Cardinal Newman's "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," p. 57.

† In an article in "The Nineteenth Century."

‡ "The Religion of a Rationalist," by Minot J. Savage, in the FORUM for January, 1887, p. 465.

§ Biology is the science which treats of all living creatures, both animal and vegetal.

expected that the church could accommodate itself to so great a change in all its ways and habits of regarding the universe? Who, in the sixteenth century, would have deemed it possible for the church to allow that her doctrines concerning the biblical narrative of the creation of Adam, and the miraculous formation of Eve from his rib, could accord with a belief that the ribs of both Adam and Eve were formed by natural generation in the womb of a non-human animal? Yet we have lived to witness both these events. Why, then, may it not be that as regards biblical criticism we are living in what may, by analogy, be called a pre-Copernican period? The biblical teachings of Kuenen, Wellshusen, Reuss, and their allies may startle and offend "pious ears" now, as the doctrines of the earth's motion or of Adam's brute ancestry would have startled and offended the "pious ears" of bygone centuries; but it is at least conceivable that the alarm at present felt is as groundless as we now know the alarm of older days to have been. Little by little the invincible advance of historical, as of other, science permeates and transforms the whole Catholic body, and ultimately reacts upon its supreme head. As Lord Acton long ago pointed out:\*

"While the general sentiment of Catholics is unaltered, the course of the Holy See remains unaltered too. As soon as that sentiment is modified, Rome sympathizes with the change. The ecclesiastical government, based upon the public opinion of the church, and acting through it, cannot separate itself from the mass of the faithful, and keep pace with the progress of the instructed minority. It follows slowly and warily, and sometimes begins by resisting and denouncing what in the end it thoroughly adopts. . . . The slow, silent, indirect action of public opinion bears the Holy See along, without any demoralizing conflict or dishonorable capitulation. This action it belongs essentially to the graver literature to direct."

No doubt it may astonish and vex some persons thus to be told that he who is officially the leader allows himself thus to be led. But he does so with that wise prescience which is the ordinary characteristic of the Supreme Pontiff. The See of Rome is no mere head of any school of philosophy and no slave to the opinions or interests of any party in the church, least of all of narrow-minded dogmatists. Papal Rome inherits the in-

\* "Home and Foreign Review," vol. IV., p. 686. "Conflicts with Rome."

stincts of government of the more ancient Rome it has displaced. It is essentially an imperial power, and its great aim is to preserve the organic union of Christendom; and to effect this it is forced to be politically religious. Thus, in obedience to such needs, it could crush its Templars, and even bring itself, in obedience to the needs of its wide-eyed policy, to sacrifice the most devoted of its servants—its Jesuit janizaries. Thus may be explained any difference between the measures meted out to Belgians and to Poles, and between the attitude assumed to the governments and Catholics of Prussia and of Ireland, respectively. And all men are debtors to the Holy See for the course it has thus, on the whole, pursued. By maintaining the Catholic Church in one close-knit organization, it has alone been able to preserve, through barbarous ages, the essentials of Christianity; and by upholding, as it has upheld, not only the idea, but the existence of a church essentially extra-national and aspiring to be universal, the Holy See has set before us an ideal of the very highest moral significance. A ruling power of this kind is not likely voluntarily to narrow the basis of a world-wide sway. Thus, even the external observer may, I think, feel he has good grounds for confidence in the perdurability of the church. That "graver literature" of which Lord Acton spoke is now acting vigorously upon public opinion, and there seems great reason to believe that there may yet be in store as portentous and peaceful a transformation of Catholic opinion in the domains of history and criticism, as it before experienced in the fields of astronomical, geological, and biological science.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

## HENRY GEORGE'S ECONOMIC HERESIES.

WITH the exception of "The Wealth of Nations," perhaps no book on political economy has been more widely read than Mr. George's "Progress and Poverty." In fact, it is really the first book on economics that was ever read to any considerable extent by the working classes. Nor is the reason for this difficult to understand. Unlike the ordinary treatises on political economy, Mr. George's book is to the laborer the unmistakable voice of a friend. He cannot read a single chapter of it without feeling that, whether Mr. George is right or wrong, in him the laborers have a friend in court. "Progress and Poverty" is as much a special effort to present their interests as the political economy of the Manchester school has been to present that of their masters. This feature, together with Mr. George's fascinating style of writing, has made "Progress and Poverty" a most powerful means of directing public attention to the social problem. In this sense Mr. George may be said to have done an important work. But if "Progress and Poverty" is to be considered in the sense of a contribution to sound economic literature we shall be compelled to form a very different estimate of its value. Yet, if Mr. George is not an economist he is nothing, his whole claim being that he has made an important discovery in the domain of economic science. It is, therefore, his position as an economist that we shall consider.

He sets out with the proposition that poverty increases with advancing civilization: that the poor are growing poorer and the rich richer, and that pauperism increases with progress. He says:

"The enormous increase in productive power which has marked the present century . . . has no tendency to extirpate poverty, or to lighten the burdens of those compelled to toil. . . . The tendency of what we call

material progress is in nowise to improve the condition of the lowest class" (p. 11). "It may clearly be seen that material progress does not merely fail to relieve poverty; it actually produces it" (p. 12).

The problem thus stated seems to have set the civilized world by the ears. No one appears to be able to explain why this is so. It reminds one of the story of the king and his philosophers when he propounded to them the conundrum: "Why does not a pail of water weigh more with a fish in it than without?" The problem appeared to be too much for them, until one of their number raised the query: "Does it not weigh more with the fish in it?" On the appeal to fact the problem vanished.

So with Mr. George; instead of trying to answer his problem, Why are the poor growing poorer, and why do not wages increase? we must rather ask, Are the poor growing poorer? Do not wages increase with advancing civilization, and does pauperism increase with progress? Mr. George does not attempt to prove the truth of these sweeping assertions upon which his whole doctrine is based. What say the facts on this point?

It is notorious that up to the middle of the eighteenth century wages in England were so low that in order to sustain the physical condition of the laborers, their wages had frequently to be eked out by pauper allowance. Thus, constant employment did not then bring sufficient wages to protect the laborer from pauperism. Is that the case to-day? Professor Thorold Rogers, who, to say the least, is free from optimistic tendencies, shows\* that if nominal wages were no higher "in the twenty years between 1820 and 1840 than they were in the previous twenty years, it is admitted that the intrinsic value of these wages, as measured in their purchasing power, was greatly increased." According to the figures of Leone Levi, taken from the official records of prices at Greenwich, from 1800 to 1820, and from 1820 to 1840, the wages and cost of seven chief necessities of life were as follows: Between 1800 and 1820 the average wages of artisans were 4s. 7½d. per day, and a given quantity of seven chief necessities cost 232s. 6d., while from 1820 to 1840 wages were 5s. 2½d., and the same quantity of the same articles cost

\* Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," p. 504.

only 146*s. 4½d.* This shows that wages rose during the latter period 13.45 per cent., and that the prices of commodities fell over 37 per cent.\*

From the most recent statistics for England it appears that, taking fifty-eight branches of industry together, wages, from 1850 to 1877, have risen 47.53 per cent., and also that during the same period, with few exceptions, the prices of all articles of food, clothing, and furniture, through the use of improved methods of production, have been greatly reduced; nor is this peculiar to England, but it is even more strikingly true of this country. Colonel Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, emphatically declares that from 1830 to 1880 wages in this country have doubled, and that prices of goods have decreased in a still greater proportion. In his Massachusetts "Report" for 1885 he also presents elaborate tables of wages and prices in New England, which show that since 1831, notwithstanding the great fall in prices to the consumer, and the reduction of 12 per cent. in the hours of labor, wages have risen 97 per cent.

Nor could this be otherwise. In fact, for the "productive power" permanently to increase without a rise of real wages is an economic impossibility. Such a thing never did and never can occur in any large and permanent way. It is the very essence of economic law that improved methods of production can only be adopted with a permanently increased general consumption of wealth by the masses, which necessarily implies an increase of real wages. Real wages have not only increased actually, as already shown, but they have also increased relatively, both to the aggregate wealth produced and the amount obtained by the profit-receiving class, in proportion as improved methods of production have been successfully adopted.

Indeed, the use of large capitals, the specialization of labor, and the concentration of productive power into large establishments, are the infallible evidence that the profit and rent-receiving classes are obtaining a constantly diminishing, and the con-

\* This statement is fully corroborated by Tooke, "History of Prices," vol. I., pp. 329, 330; also by Barton and Wade's "Tables of Wages and Prices" from 1495 to 1840; Wade's "History of the (English) Middle and Working Classes," 4th ed., p. 166.

sumers in general and the wage-receivers in particular are obtaining a constantly increasing proportion of the wealth produced. The small establishments really sustain the same economic relation to large ones that hand labor does to steam and electricity. The railroad succeeded against the pack-horse and stage-coach for no other reason than because it performed the same service more cheaply. And when the small farm, factory, or grocery is driven to the wall by the competition of the larger ones it is always because the latter do the work of the community cheaper than the former; or, in other words, because they give the community a larger percentage of the wealth they produce. The data upon this point are ample and conclusive. Take, for example, the cotton industry of this country; what is true of that industry is relatively true of all other industries. According to the United States Census for 1880, there were in this country, in 1831, 801 cotton-manufacturing establishments, with a total capital of \$40,612,984, and a yearly product of 59,514,926 pounds of cloth. The ratio of capital to spindles employed was \$32.58 to 1, and the ratio of spindles to persons employed was 22 to 1; the production was 47.74 pounds per spindle, and the consumption of cotton was 6.10 pounds per capita of the population.

In 1880 there were only 756 establishments, with an aggregate capital of \$208,280,346, and a yearly product of 607,264,241 pounds of cloth, the ratio of capital to spindles employed being only \$19.55 to 1, the ratio of spindles to persons employed 62 to 1, the product over 57 pounds per spindle, and the consumption of cotton per capita of the population had risen to 14.96 pounds, or more than double. It will thus be observed that the capital invested per spindle was over one-third less, the number of spindles operated by each laborer nearly three times as large, the product per spindle one-fourth greater, the product per dollar invested twice as large, and the consumption of cotton per capita of the population more than 100 per cent. greater with the 756 large establishments in 1880 than with the 801 small ones in 1831.

From this it will be seen that, in order to give the manufacturer 6 per cent. on his investment in 1831, he had to receive over 4 cents per pound on all the cloth he produced; while

in 1880 about 2 cents per pound would yield him that return. Thus, while the large manufacturer of to-day obtains as much per dollar invested he receives as profit less than one-half as much of the product as did the small manufacturer fifty years ago.

It is thus manifest that the economic tendency of the use of large capitals and improved methods of production is to increase real wages and lower the rate of profits. In other words, instead of the poor growing poorer, etc., as Mr. George avers, the masses are growing richer, both actually and relatively, and the capitalists, though actually richer individually, as a class are growing relatively poorer and fewer in number.

Nor is Mr. George's statement that "pauperism accompanies progress" any nearer the truth, if by that assertion he means that pauperism is increasing with progress, which is the only construction his language admits of. If we take those countries which have for any considerable time had a pauper system, and compare the percentage of pauperism to-day with that of ten, twenty, or fifty years ago, which is the only way of ascertaining whether pauperism is on the increase, we shall find that the same is true of pauperism that we have seen is true of wages; namely, that pauperism diminishes with the increased aggregate production of wealth. For example, in England, according to the official statistical report of the United Kingdom for 1885, the population in 1860 was, in round numbers, 29,000,000, and the total number of paupers 850,000, or 29.31 to the thousand, while in 1885 the population was 36,000,000, and the total number of paupers only 780,000, or 21.67 to the thousand, being an actual decrease of 70,000 paupers with an increase of 7,000,000 in the population; in other words, a net decrease of paupers relative to the population of 26 per cent.

Mr. George then boldly declares that the reason why "increased productive power does not increase wages," nor "tend to extirpate poverty," is because "rent swallows up the whole gain," and, as if conscious of the weakness of his position, he adds: "It is unnecessary to allude to facts. They will suggest themselves to the reader" (p. 163). And in truth they do, but, unfortunately for Mr. George, they are crushingly against him. England is the country above all others to which Mr. George re-

fers as especially illustrating the truth of his statement that "rent swallows up the whole gain." Now, what are the facts in relation to that country. Just before the close of the seventeenth century, according to Davenant (iv., 71) the total agricultural produce, including pasture and forest land, was estimated at £21,079,000, and the total rent-roll at £9,480,000, or a little over 45 per cent. of the produce. About a century later (1779), according to Arthur Young, the produce was estimated at £72,826,827, and the gross rental at £19,200,000, or about 26.50 per cent. Sixty-three years later (1842-3) McCulloch ("Statistical Account of the British Empire," p. 553) estimated the gross agricultural produce at £141,606,857, and the total rental at £37,795,905, or 26.69 per cent. of the total produce. And in 1882, forty years later, according to Mulhall, the total produce was £270,000,000, and the total rental £58,000,000, or 21.48 per cent. of the produce. Thus, though the actual rent-roll from agricultural land has increased over 600 per cent., the total produce of the land during the same period has increased 1,250 per cent. In other words, the proportion of the total product of agriculture paid in rent has fallen from 45 to 21.48 per cent., or more than one-half.

If we include land used for manufacturing and commercial purposes, we shall find the result to be no less striking. According to the authorities already referred to, at the close of the Revolution (1688) the annual total produce of all kinds was, in round numbers, £43,000,000, and the total rents £10,000,000, or a little over 23 per cent. of the produce; and in 1882 the aggregate annual produce was estimated at £1,200,000,000, and the total rent-roll at £131,468,288, or only 10.95 per cent. of the total produce. In other words, while the aggregate produce has increased nearly 2,800 per cent., the aggregate rent has risen only about 1,000 per cent. Thus, instead of "rent swallowing up the whole gain," during the last two hundred years, relatively to the total wealth produced, it has fallen over 55 per cent.

In order to give plausibility to this string of assumptions to sustain assumptions, Mr. George proceeds to lay it down as an economic law that wealth is distributed in the order of "rent, wages, and interest;" and adds: "Wages and interest do not depend upon the produce of labor and capital, but upon what is

left after rent is taken out" (p. 126). Therefore "the increase of rent explains why wages and interest do not increase." Consequently, the only way to increase wages is to reduce or abolish rent. A little examination, however, will serve to show that Mr. George's economic reasoning is no better than his facts. As to his theory of rent Mr. George is orthodox, and accepts Ricardo without question or qualification. He says:

"Fortunately, as to the law of rent, there is no necessity for discussion. . . . This law . . . has been exhaustively explained and illustrated by all leading economists since Ricardo, but its mere statement has all the force of a self-evident proposition" (p. 123).

If we try Mr. George's theory of distribution by the standard he has here himself erected, we shall find his economic reasoning as lame as his assumptions were false. Instead of saying that "wages and interest depend upon what is left after rent is taken out," Ricardo distinctly affirms that rent is what is left after wages and profit are taken out. It is true that Ricardo lays it down that the rent of land is determined, as Mr. George states it, "by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive land in use." But Ricardo is very careful to explain what Mr. George does not, viz., that rent does not commence until after wages and profit are paid. To use Ricardo's own words :

"Suppose land Nos. 1, 2, 3 to yield, with an equal employment of capital and labor, a net produce of 100, 90, and 80 quarters of corn. In a new country, where there is an abundance of fertile land compared with the population, and where, therefore, it is only necessary to cultivate No. 1, the whole net produce will belong to the cultivator, and will be the profits of the stock which he advances. As soon as population had so far increased as to make it necessary to cultivate No. 2, from which 90 quarters only can be obtained, *after supporting the laborers*, rent would commence on No. 1."—("Ricardo's Works," p. 36, new ed., 1881.)

It is thus clear that Ricardo fully recognized the fact that the first cost in production is wages. Whether a man works for himself or employs others, he cannot and will not work without the necessary means to live, which is his wages. Whoever cannot obtain a living for working will not work. Therefore, the first condition of production to the man who employs himself is,

whether the work will afford him a living (wages); to the man who is going to employ others, the condition is, will it yield a living for the laborer and himself? which is wages and profit. If it will do this and leave a surplus, rent can be paid. If not, rent is impossible, because neither the laborer nor the capitalist will pay rent for land for any purpose whatever which will not yield them a living; and that explains why, according to Ricardo's theory, no rent is paid for the land of the poorest quality, as that will only yield enough to pay the wages of labor and the profit of capital. Rent is paid for No. 2 only because it is of superior quality, and therefore will yield a surplus above what will support the laborers and yield a profit to capital. And, as if to emphasize the fact that rent is paid last and not first, Ricardo declares that "corn is not high because a rent is paid, but a rent is paid because corn is high" (p. 39). If Ricardo's theory, which Mr. George implicitly accepts as his standard, is correct, rent, instead of being the first, is the last in its demands upon wealth, and instead of wages being determined by what is left after rent is taken out, the very reverse is true, and rent is what is left after wages and profits are taken out. Consequently, wages cannot be low because rent is high, as the former is fixed before the latter is paid.

Having presented a problem which has no existence in fact, and laid down economic principles which nowhere obtain in practice, Mr. George proposes as a remedy for all social evils the abolition of private property in land. In presenting his remedy, however, he makes no effort to show by what economic law rent, if taken from the landlord, would go to the laborer. In fact, at this point he takes the question entirely out of the domain of economic reasoning and relegates it to the sphere of religious sentiment. His reasons for abolishing private property in land are based not so much upon considerations of social utility as upon divine injunction. He says:

"If we are all here by the equal permission of the Creator, we are all here with an equal title to the enjoyment of his bounty—with an equal right to the use of all that nature so impartially offers. This is a right which is natural and inalienable. . . There is in nature no such thing as a fee simple in land. There is on earth no power which can rightfully make a grant of exclusive ownership in land" (p. 243).

Let us see. If private ownership in land is wrong, why is not public ownership in land wrong also? If "there is on earth no power which can rightfully make a grant of exclusive ownership in land," then there can clearly be no exclusive ownership, in which case how can the city of New York rightfully own land as against the city of San Francisco, or the United States against the government of China, India, or Russia? Mr. George has no difficulty in admitting the right of the city, the State, or the United States to the exclusive ownership of land as against each other, or against all other nations, but he denies it to the individual. But if 50,000,000 people have a right to exclusive ownership in land why have not 50,000, or 50, or 5, and if so, why not one? There is no half way in logic. Manifestly, there is no principle upon which 50,000,000 people can have the right to exclusive ownership of land as against 1,500,000,000 which does not, *ceteris paribus*, equally sustain the right of one person to exclusive ownership as against 1,000,000, 10,000,000 or 50,000,000. In fact, there is no such thing in society as an absolute individual right. Everything is relative and conditioned, the ownership of land and all other forms of wealth; even personal liberty and life itself. That system is the most nearly right and just at all times which is best for the whole people affected by it, whether it be individual or collective ownership, or both.

It will be remembered that "the term land," according to Mr. George, "necessarily includes not merely the surface of the earth, as distinguished from the water and the air, but the whole material universe outside of man himself." Therefore, material wealth, in whatever form, is properly land, according to his definition. Consistently with this doctrine, if I have no right to own a corner lot on Fifth Avenue or a farm in Illinois, I can have no right to own the clothes on my back. As everything outside of man is land, and private ownership in land is robbery, private ownership in any form of wealth or property is robbery also. Oh, no, says Mr. George; man has a right to own what he produces. His clothes, his house, and his furniture are the product of labor. But let us see. Is the wool or cotton in his clothes, the wood, stone, iron, and glass in his house and furniture the product of labor? Certainly not. Man can no more produce wood, wool,

and iron than he can produce land. All he can do is to give utility to these materials by changing their form and location; but the materials themselves are the bounty of nature.

Mr. George may reply that the utility imparted to the wood in the making of the table could not be enjoyed without the presence and ownership of the table. Therefore, a man has a right to own the table because its utilities are the result of his labor. Granted; but why is this not equally true in relation to land? Land has no utility except what is imparted to it by labor any more than wood, wool, or iron. If a man has a right to own the latter, which are the free bounties of nature, because he has imparted utility to them, why has he not the same right to own the former, for the same reason?

If we follow the logic of this position it clearly takes us to the conclusion that the ownership primarily lies in the first application of labor, which is the first effort at appropriation. If a man goes into a forest to which no one has devoted any labor in appropriating, it being the unclaimed bounty of nature, the first effort he devotes to the felling of a tree is priority of appropriation, which establishes his exclusive right to that tree. If this be true of the tree, which is the free bounty of nature, why is it not equally true of the land upon which it grows? If God made the land, God made the tree. If a man has a right by appropriation to charge me for the tree, then by appropriating the land has he not a right to charge me for that also?

Mr. George will probably reply that he does not object to the right of a man to be paid for the labor he bestows upon the land, but what he objects to is, that he should take the increased value which it acquires by virtue of the increased wealth and progress of the community. But if this is true of one form of land, is it not equally true of all? If he has no right to the unearned increment in the land he can have no right to the unearned increment in the tree. Consequently, if a man builds a house at 125th Street that costs \$10,000, and which, by the extension of the city, in a few years rises in value to \$50,000, why should not the \$40,000 "unearned increment" in the house be taken by the community just as much as a similar amount of unearned value in land? Clearly, there is no reason to sustain the one which

will not, with equal force, under all circumstances, sustain the other. It will thus be seen that whichever way we approach this theory it applies with the same force to Mr. George's coat as to Mr. Astor's land. In fact, the doctrine which will take possession of the unearned increment in land will justify the taking of all increased values, not only of productive investments, personal property, and improvements, but of personal services also, which would be fatal to all industrial and social progress.

But, says Mr. George, if the principle of private ownership in land is admitted, the right of one man, or a very few men, to appropriate the land of a whole country, and impose a tax upon all subsequent comers for the right to live, is established. Not at all. The position we take admits of no such thing. We simply say the same principle which is true of the tree is true of the land upon which the tree grows; but it will be remembered that we emphatically deny the absolute right of individual ownership in either. All individual ownership is necessarily conditional. It is not a question of absolute right, but wholly one of social utility.

Nor is Mr. George's proposed remedy any more consistent in its method or just in its effects. He would not confiscate the land, he says, but he would confiscate the rent by abolishing all taxes except those upon land values. This is a violation of his fundamental proposition. To be consistent with his own definition he must insist that taxes shall be equally levied upon all values except labor, because all values except labor are land values, as "the term land," with him, "necessarily includes not merely the surface of the earth . . . but the whole material universe outside of man himself." Why should one class of land be discriminated against in favor of another?

But, assuming the problem to be as Mr. George states it (though the reverse is true), how would the abolition of private property in land remedy the evil? How would that tend to increase employments, reduce enforced idleness and pauperism, or increase wages? These questions Mr. George does not attempt to answer. Obviously, employments can be increased only by enlarging the demand for commodities, which, as every one acquainted with economics knows, depends upon the social

character and wants, or the standard of living, of the masses, which could in no way be affected by such a change. Let us suppose, however, that Mr. George's proposition is adopted, and that all taxes are abolished except those upon "land values." What then? Are taxes any smaller on that account? Certainly not, but in all probability very much larger. The expenditure of public money is not reduced, the cost of the army and navy, the police, the city, the State and national governments are not lessened by the transfer of taxes from houses to land.

If the land-owner paid all the taxes he would simply demand enough more for his land to cover the amount, and rents would be so much higher. If Mr. George tells us that by this means the land will come into the hands of the government, the difficulty is not overcome, but only removed one step. If, for example, \$100,000,000 are required to run the government, that amount must be raised. If it is to come directly from the land, and the land is the property of the state, then it would simply have to be paid to the government in the form of rent instead of taxes—a change in form but not in fact. Nor can it be shown that rents would be any lower on that account. Rent would have to be determined either by the free operation of economic forces, as at present, or arbitrarily determined by authority. The latter method is utterly impracticable, for two reasons: (1) Because the social value of land, like that of everything else, is constantly changing from day to day, and therefore could not be equitably or wisely regulated by authority; (2) Such a step would open the way to official favoritism and corruption and jobbery of every kind, and, indeed, is too absurd to be seriously considered. If the rents were determined by economic law, as now, they would not be any lower merely because the government was the landlord.

Again, if the government became the sole land-owner, would not the 5,000,000 present land-owners in this country be driven into the ranks of the laborers, and thus increase the army of applicants for employment? And if, as Mr. George so frequently asserts, the wages of the employed are kept down by the presence of the unemployed, would not that tend to depress rather than improve the laborer's condition. But Mr. George

may reply that if the government owned the land, the rent, even if as high as it is now, would not go into the pockets of private individuals, but into the treasury of the people. Well, how would that affect wages and pauperism? There are but two ways in which surplus wealth thus reaching the public treasury could be distributed among the people: (1) As charity, or redistribution; (2) By reinvestment and production. The first, redistribution, instead of helping to relieve the difficulty, would be a positive aggravation of it. There is nothing so uneconomic, nothing so extravagant and wasteful, as redistribution. It is arbitrary, unwise, and always demoralizing. That state of society is not best which has the most but which has the least charity, the least arbitrary distribution of wealth in any form. Wealth can be economically and wisely distributed only in the process of its production. No wealth tends permanently to improve the condition of the laboring classes which does not reach them as the result of productive effort. Were it otherwise, pauperism and charity would be the evidence of social and industrial prosperity.

As to the second, reinvestment in productive enterprises; the government can successfully undertake productive enterprise only on the same conditions as private individuals. The government cannot permanently produce a commodity for which there is no effectual demand. Such an investment would be equal to employing laborers to carry stones from one side of the street to another: sheer waste. Therefore, whether the government can successfully produce any commodity depends upon whether such commodity could be sold, and that in turn depends entirely upon the economic and social demands of the community. A million pairs of shoes would not find a quicker market merely because they were produced by the government. If no more commodities could be consumed, they could not continuously be produced, and therefore employments could not by that means be increased. If employments could not be increased, enforced idleness would not be reduced, and wages would not be advanced. Consequently, pauperism and poverty would remain undiminished. Moreover, if it were true, as claimed, though nowhere proven, by Mr. George, that government ownership of the

land would tend to lower the prices of commodities and reduce house-rents, which is contrary to all experience, that would not necessarily make any permanent improvement in the laborer's condition. What the laborer wants is not his present miserable home and standard of living at a lower money price, but a better home and a higher standard of living. Arbitrarily to reduce the money price of the meager comforts he now obtains would not, necessarily, be any real improvement to him. It would merely be a reduction in the money cost of his living, the ultimate economic effect of which would be a corresponding reduction of wages. Manifestly, then, if the abolition of private ownership in land would not increase real wages, the only means by which the laborer obtains wealth, it could not increase the general consumption and consequent production of wealth, without which there can be no permanent improvement in the economic and social condition of the laboring classes.

Having thus seen that Mr. George's statement of the social problem is contrary to the most obvious facts, that his reasoning, both from his own premise and those of his accepted authorities, is illogical and often absurd, and that his proposed remedy entirely fails to deal with the cause of existing evils, we are warranted in concluding that he is fatally unsound as an economist and wholly unsafe as a social reformer.

GEORGE GUNTON.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

THE interest which has attached to the series of biographical articles in last year's *FORUM* has proved to be such that the editor has determined on a similar series, in which different writers shall give their impressions and recollections of the books which have been of most value to them, for the formation of character and the direction of life. He has been good enough to ask me to contribute one paper to this series. I am glad to do so, and venture to ask that this paper may be considered as a sort of sequel to the paper on my own education, which was published in these pages a year ago.

I begin by expressing my grateful regards for the "New York Spelling Book," published by Mahlon Day, for the "Popular Lessons" of Miss Robbins, and for a little book called "Cobwebs to Catch Flies," which are the three books which I remember as being those of my dame-school experience. It is long since I have been able to find a copy of any one of the three; but, as Columbus might thank the carved stick which gave him a token of the nearness of America, I thank these three waifs of literature, which introduced me into the world of pleasure and of pain which I have since found in reading. In those days we read Mrs. Barbauld's "Early Lessons" with a curiosity never gratified as to what became of Charles, who was sometimes such an idiot and sometimes such a sage. In later years Charles Barbauld, as we called him, whose real name was Charles Aikin, reappeared in Carlyle's "Life of Sterling."

Of books of childhood to which I am very grateful I should name first the early translations of Grimm's popular "Fairy Tales." These books are still widely circulated, and I fancy they will be for a long time. They are the best literary statement known to me of the fairy tales of western Europe, and I cannot believe that children will ever be too much cultivated, or too rationalistic, or too pessimistic, to enjoy them.

Of books of travel, as intended for young people, this is to be said, that while there is a sense of adventure in all boys and girls, so that they very much enjoy, in theory, traveling all over the world, whether with a book or in fact, there are no critics who determine so immediately whether a book be dull or whether it be entertaining. Now it is a strange fact that most books of travel are badly written, selfishly written, and consequently dull. My experience in my own life, and in the life of other children, has been that, as a consequence of this dullness, they generally dislike what are called books of travel. Their parents are eager that they should understand about other nations, and buy these books for them, but the children, though they try to be grateful, do not make much of the contents. When, however, there is an exception, it is an exception indeed.

I am very grateful to a little book by an unknown author, called "Northern Regions." It must have been published about the year 1825, when Edward Parry returned from the first voyage under his command in search of the North-west Passage. Whoever wrote it understood young people, and knew how to present the adventure, which he had digested from the official reports, so that young people should read and should enjoy. I am quite sure that it is to this book that I owe the great pleasure which I have derived from that day to this, from the reports of different travelers and voyagers in the Arctic seas. I am quite sure that, until I was absolutely bound elsewhere, I should have gladly joined any one of the northern parties of exploration; and I am quite sure that but for this little book I should never have known how much is to be found in many books of adventure which are badly constructed and stupidly written.

But the great stand-by of our early life, in those days, was in Miss Edgeworth's books. I know perfectly well that it is impossible to make the young people of this generation read them, and I have no tears for their refusal. But I should like, if I could, to say to the authors of this day that they will do well if they study Miss Edgeworth's "Practical Education" first, and make such a critical study as shall show them from what quarters she gained the notions or theories which made her, for more than one generation, the best writer for children.

Some things must be changed as a generation goes by, but there is an eternal foundation of good sense and of a knowledge of childhood at the bottom of Miss Edgeworth's success, which any person who is undertaking to write for children of this generation, or of the twentieth century, will be wise if he master.

"Harry and Lucy" was, not to say is, an absolute text-book of mine. By this I mean the latter part of "Harry and Lucy," what should have been called the "Sequel to Harry and Lucy," if she had carried out the same nomenclature which she used in naming the sequel of "Frank." "Harry and Lucy" introduced us to the world of physics. It taught us the mysteries of the still young steam-engine, and inspired us with an enthusiastic desire for invention. It was included in the scanty library of our attic, which served at once as workshop, laboratory, theater, library, study, and play-room, where it might always be found, among six or seven other books, as a constant resource, whether for amusement or for instruction. At the distance of fifty years, I suppose that if it were necessary (that is, if I found myself stranded on a Pacific island with a hundred children who needed "Harry and Lucy"), I could substantially reproduce it on the leaves of any talipot-palm tree which they would furnish for writing. It may amuse people of my own age if I say that the other books in this little collection were "Scientific Dialogues," "The American Anecdotes" (by Hunt), "Treasury of Knowledge," "Boy's Own Book," and "Northern Regions." I doubt if any other volumes were permitted to exist on that floor.

I should be ungrateful, indeed, if I did not speak of the obligation we all were under to Scott's poems. I cannot recall the time when I could not repeat long passages of them from memory, and I may say that those passages have often been a great comfort to me since, when I have been imprisoned in my berth on an ocean steamer. Whatever else criticism may say of Scott, he is certainly the poet of boyhood and early youth. Of course, the poems led up to the novels, and by the time we were fourteen we had read all the best of them. But this is not my experience only, but that of the English reading world.

There is a great deal of discussion, more or less wise, among parents and teachers, as to the age at which children may be

permitted to take their chances in novel-reading. I do not believe that you can make any rule about it. I do think that, as Walter Scott himself found, it is an excellent thing for the boy or girl to be turned loose among a large number of books, written, not for boys or girls, but for older people. They will choose what is best for them, and you cannot do a great deal to force the reading. I can look back on discoveries of my own, in a large and well-selected library, which have undoubtedly had a curious influence upon my after life. They are discoveries which, I think, neither my father nor my mother ever knew anything about, and it was not until I was a man grown that I myself had any idea of their value to me.

So soon as I was in college I was turned loose on the resources of the large libraries of the college societies, which, in those days, consisted simply of two-volume novels. We read a great many, and I doubt if they did us much harm. Indeed, there was a class of novel in that day, which will perhaps be reproduced in ours, the novel of conversation, which was of real use to us all, if it were only that it introduced us into society.

I very early enjoyed Jane Austen's novels. I can sustain a competitive examination upon them now, having probably read each of the more important ones at least fifty times in my life. Of these novels, and of many others, very much their inferiors, written between 1820 and 1850, a very large part consists in conversation. In that conversation there is a great deal of very good talk. The boys and girls who read these books were thus accustomed to good talk—bright talk, according to the fashion of the brightness of the day. Clarence Hervey's epigrams or the bright talk of the people in Miss Edgeworth's "Helen" would now be considered as very slow and old-fashioned. But we did not think so then. What followed was, that when we went into society ourselves we were not terrified nor made afraid, when we found bright people around us saying bright and interesting things. Indeed, our only trouble was that some of the people we met in society did not say such bright things as Emma did or Lady Davenant, or Clarence Hervey or Mr. Darcy. This habit of intercourse, if I may call it so, with people who talked well, a habit which we formed when alone, in our college-

rooms in Stoughton or in Hollis, was a direct advantage which we gained from our novel-reading.

I am sorry to say, on the other hand, that it was while I was an undergraduate that I first went to sleep over a book. The book was Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding," and I have owed John Locke a grudge from that day to this, because he showed me that it was possible to sleep in the midst of reading. But I do not often sin in that way. The first necessity of a book is that it shall be entertaining. If it is not entertaining, it might almost as well be printed with blue ink on blue paper, as dear old Ned Channing would have said. If, therefore, the book do not interest me, I consider that I have, *prima facie*, a right to put it on one side, before it puts me to sleep.

I have recorded in another place a list of the novels that I deem to have been of use to me in the formation of character. There will be no harm, however, in repeating the list here. Some of them, as the reader will observe, belong to a period later than that of which I have been speaking. They are "Robinson Crusoe," "Helen," "Deerbrook," by Miss Martineau, "Jane Eyre," "Coningsby," Miss Yonge's "Heir of Redclyffe," Miss Warner's "Wide Wide World," "Pride and Prejudice," Dickens's "Christmas Carol," and "Pendennis," or any other Thackeray you choose.

The young men of the days immediately before me in college had been greatly affected by Wordsworth. I have heard Henry Bellows say that his acquaintance with Wordsworth was a new life to him. But the first wave, so to speak, the fresh rush, of Wordsworth's poetry had passed, before we of my time were old enough to read poetry. And it was another wizard who was to startle us from the proprieties of our boyhood. This was Carlyle.

I have an odd association with "Sartor Resartus," which serves me as an aid to memory, about the first knowledge of the "Sartor" papers here. When I entered college, in 1835, I had to go to my uncle, in a real and not in a metaphorical sense. I was to ask him "to sign my bond"—the bond required by the college, that it might be sure we paid our bills. I found him reading "Sartor Resartus," in "Fraser," I think. He laid it down,

showed it to me, and asked me if I knew what *sartor resartus* meant. As I had entered college with a certain distinction in Latin, I was rather mortified that I had to confess that the Latin school, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and Cicero, had passed me by, and left me innocent of any knowledge of the meaning of either word.

But we soon learned our Carlyle well, whatever we knew or did not know in Latin. It is not one man or two, in that generation, it is every one who wrote and read English, who was under his power, and the critics of future times will be able to show very accurately how and where that tide-wave struck the voyage of every man of letters who lived in the middle of this century.

There still exists, at Cambridge, a benefaction of one of the Hopkinesses, which is expended for presents to be given to students who have been diligent in their freshman year. The presents are always books, and in the cover of the book is pasted a paper which begins "Detur"—"Let it be given." These books are therefore called "Deturs," even on the treasurer's accounts.

I do not know what intelligent "slavey" of President Quincy was sent in to the Boston Putnam's of that day, to buy in bulk the "Deturs" of that year. But I do know that some good angel of mine so guided him that among the rest he bought a volume, English print, of Dr. Aikin's "British Poets."\* This is a very well-made collection of all the most important poems in English between Cowley's time and Cowper's. The merit of it is that none of them are abridged. Either they are good enough to go in, or bad enough to be left out. And it is astonishing and useful to consider that, on the whole, pretty much all the good poetry in English between the year 1600 and 1799 can be printed in a volume as big as the Bible.

Some good angel of mine, as I say, bade this particular "slavey" buy one volume of Aikin's "British Poets." Some other good angel, or possibly the same one, guided President Quincy's hand so that he wrote my name on the "Detur" paper, and then with the same hand gave the handsome book to me—the most elegant book, indeed, that I had then ever owned, and to this day I have had none of more tasteful manufacture. So it was ordered by my good angel that always on my shelves was

\* Aikin was "Charles Barbauld's" father, if anybody cares.

this hand-book of standard poetry. Many a long evening, many a stormy day, have I sat and read "Paradise Lost," Pope's "Essay," even Somerville's "Chase," and the "Castle of Indolence," just as one reads the only newspaper in a country railway station, because I had nothing else to read, and was too lazy to go in quest of anything else. I advise people who have the care of boys and girls to throw such things in their way.

Tennyson came just before I left college. Mr. Emerson, who was always kind to young people, brought one of the early copies from England and lent it freely. We used to copy the poems in manuscript and pass them from hand to hand. I used to say that I was the first person who ever quoted "Locksley Hall" in public address. I did so in a college part; and whether the brag is literally true or not, I know I must have been among the earliest. In those days all young men who were interested in literature read "Blackwood's Magazine," with a unanimity such as the present age will hardly understand, unless, indeed, they learn to read the "FORUM" in the same way. In "Blackwood" we began to find careful criticisms of the English Art Exhibitions, by "A Graduate of Oxford." There did not, at first, seem much hope of interest in articles describing pictures which we had not seen and were not likely to see, but we found these articles worth reading. After the first there was no question with us whether we should read another. Such was the introduction of my generation to John Ruskin. When he revealed his name to the outer world by the first volume of "Modern Painters," the book made a revolution even in the habits of life of intelligent young people. It taught them to watch the clouds, the shapes of trees, their habits of growth, even, as they had not done, and gave to them a new and higher enjoyment of natural beauty. The new generation of to-day does not read these books of Ruskin, can hardly be made to read them. That is their affair more than it is mine. But the real reason why they do not read them is that they have been already trained in a habit of enjoying nature, and the open. This was largely, as I believe, created by these very books, so that they do not need them as we did. The young artists of our time would look in a very cavalier way on much of Ruskin's instruction. But nine in ten of them would,

perhaps, not be artists, had he not led the English-speaking race out of doors, in a sympathy with landscape painting and the work of true art, which has led to the new enthusiasm of our time for the arts of design.

When we left college, the younger Ware advised us to read the lives of men who had really helped the world. He intimated that this is the best way to find out what religion is and what it is not. He is quite right. To that bit of advice I owe the reading of a good many biographies, worthless as literary books, but in which I found good hints in the great science of living.

Foremost among many of these is Stanley's "Life of Arnold," which was published, I think, in 1844. This is another of the books which moved its time, and of which you can still trace the ripple on the ocean. We did not think, when we read it, though we should have been wise enough to do so, that the author was to fill and to deserve a place in the world's regard as large as his beloved teacher's.

Not long after, "Consuelo," in Mr. Shaw's admirable translation, took possession of Young America. The fame of it hardly exists now. But there must be something real in it to account for the hold it took, and the impulse it gave. I can remember that again and again I threw it down to go to work, with a feeling which, if expressed in words, would have been, "Will you waste your time in reading a French novel, when a woman like this can write a book like this?" But when "Jane Eyre" came, nobody threw that down till he had finished it.

There is a poor book, now forgotten, by Capel Lofft (the younger of that forgotten name). It affects to treat of mental gymnastics, or the training of the mind for intellectual work. It is, as I say, a poor book, but I found some hints in it, for which I have always been grateful.

I see that Mr. Bartlett, in his "Dictionary of Quotations," preserves three from Bailey's "Festus," a book much in vogue in my early days, from which we remembered many passages. This shows that the book is now not wholly forgotten. But I suppose it would be safe to say that not ten copies have been sold in ten years. There is something a little mysterious in the rocket-like rise and fall of reputations. Mr. Marston's plays cer-

tainly had as much esteem, when they were published, as Mr. Browning's, published at the same time. But a year or two ago I asked for them in vain at all the public libraries. My own copies had gone to their own place long before. Here is the basis of Mr. Emerson's sweeping rule, which advises us to buy no book till it is a year old. He says, substantially, that many will cry to you "read here" or "read there," but that you are not to go after them nor follow them. There will be many books which all the world will be talking about, which all the world will have forgotten, twelve months hence. That great publisher, Phillips, the founder of the "*Atlantic Monthly*," told me that the retail market for books can never float but one very popular book at a time. The rush of one wave smoothes out the wave before. He said that Margaret Fuller's "*Memoirs*" was selling very rapidly, perhaps an edition a week, when "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" swept in. The public could talk of only one book, and in the success of the novel the memoir was quite forgotten.

As a man grows older he cares less and less for other people's mental processes. He must, for better, for worse, rely on the tools he has. And, year by year, he comes to closer reliance on the eternities. It has been the great good-fortune of us who write more or less now, that we have been contemporaries of Mr. Emerson. Of course, we cannot say how largely we are indebted to him. If the obligation is not direct, it is none the less an obligation because the gift came from him indirectly. Of other writers who are a perpetual help, my list will be much the same as other men's. The "*Imitation of Christ*" is not to be read, excepting one wants to read it. Then it is not to be read as if there were any order to be followed in it. Nor have I ever found any translation which seemed to me quite fair to the author. Augustine's "*Confessions*," and a book not so much cited, his "*Meditations*," have been, and are, a great help to me. It seemed an accident when, early in life, I found an old edition of Owen Feltham's first "*Century*." Not long after a nice edition of both "*Centuries*" was printed in England: a book of great good sense and real insight. In Scougal's "*Life of God in the Soul of Man*," you find the marrow of the thing, if you break the bone relentlessly. There are old, perhaps new, editions of Jacob

Böhme. No man, who has not tried, can tell how much help for real life he gains by familiarity with these masters among the Mystics—familiarity, I say, not any hasty looking over of their writings. Put in your list Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Tauler, and any of the Brethren of the Life in Common. Do not be afraid of Molinos. On the same shelf you may put Spinoza.

Vaughan's "Hours with the Mystics" is a little hand-book in which an amiable man tried to introduce them to English readers. But the book has two fundamental weaknesses. First, it treats Life—the infinite Life—as if it were a bit of after-dinner luxury, to come in with a good cigar or a glass of sherry, under the trees in an orchard; and as if these realities discussed by these men were not the realities of tempest, fire, the crash of shipwreck, the forlorn hope, the agonies of the criminal dock, or the varying fortunes of the exchange. Second, Vaughan treats men who are infinitely his superiors with a sort of condescension, possible only to an Englishman of his school or to a Frenchman of a century ago. There is something which rouses one's wrath as well as one's amusement, when an amiable dilettant tells you gently that though St. Francis of Assisi had never seen the Thirty-nine Articles, "he yet really, you know, had some—well—some quite good notions as to a divine life, which are really—well, you know, really quite worth reading."

As to the choice of books to possess, I am sure that Mr. Emerson is right when he says "Buy in the line of your genius." The misfortune is that so few of us know what the line of our genius is. For those persons, if they live in the neighborhood of public libraries, I think the best rule is to buy few books excepting books of reference: as many of them as you will. Let the few be of the very best. Then you will have saved so much of your money that when the book comes which you must have—with which you would surely die—you can buy it and pay for it.

In short, for people in such circumstances, the rule for buying books seems to be like that which was laid down for marriage by an admirable husband of a charming wife: "Do not be married until you cannot possibly help it."

EDWARD E. HALE.

## THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PROHIBITION.

IN June, 1851, the Legislature of Maine adopted the policy of absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale, and the keeping for sale, of intoxicating liquors as beverages. The measure passed the Senate by a vote of 18 to 10, and the lower House by 86 to 40. The bill passed through all its stages to be enacted in one day. Its friends would not permit its enemies to emasculate it under pretense of amendment. It was adopted as it was drawn, without any change whatever, and, by express provision, took effect upon its approval by the governor. The people of Maine had indicated in many ways their desire to be delivered from the tremendous evils of the liquor traffic. They had done this at innumerable meetings and conventions all over the State, and especially by their votes.

On that day, the 2d of June, before the signing of this bill by the Executive, license to the liquor traffic was the law in Maine, as it was and had been for centuries throughout the civilized world. In no part of the Union were the evils of this trade more clearly seen or more severely felt than in Maine. The sale of liquors was free to all who chose to engage in it, and the drink habit was nearly universal. The people spent in that way the entire value of the property of the State in every period of less than twenty years. The result of this was seen everywhere in dilapidated buildings, neglected farms, and general indications of decay. Maine was, in those days, the poorest State in the Union. The drinking habits of the people induced idleness, shiftlessness, and unthrift. Great quantities of molasses were imported from the West Indies in exchange for outward cargoes of lumber and fish, and this was converted into rum—all of it for home consumption, while, at the same time, West India rum was imported in large quantities. Lumbering was the chief industry of Maine in those days, and its principal commerce

consisted in the exportation of lumber and fish, and the importation of rum, and of molasses to be converted into rum. It was among such a people that, by constant agitation, a public opinion was aroused against the liquor traffic, which resulted in its prohibition. Rum-shops, wholesale and retail, were everywhere throughout the State; there was no hamlet so small or so remote that this traffic did not find it and establish itself in it. Such was the condition of Maine when the law went into operation ; now, what have been the results of the law ?

Immediately, the open sale of liquors ceased throughout the State. The wholesale liquor trade was at once abandoned, because it could not be carried on clandestinely. Wholesale dealers in liquors sent their stock out of the State. In our larger cities and towns were to be seen lines of trucks and wagons loaded with puncheons, barrels, and other packages of liquors, on their way to steamboat landings and railway stations, for shipment to Boston, New York, or other ports where the liquor trade was permitted. There were some respectable people engaged in the rum trade in those days, but all such persons abandoned it immediately, and it was left entirely in the hands of men without principle or conscience. Within the first year of the operation of the law this traffic was reduced to small proportions. The jails in the counties of Penobscot, Kennebec, Franklin, Oxford, and York were empty. The jail of Cumberland, the most populous county in the State, had been badly over-crowded, so as to have become a matter of newspaper comment ; within six months there were but five prisoners in it, three of whom were rumsellers imprisoned for violation of the law.

The provisions of the Maine Law were sharp and stringent. Liquors supposed to be kept for unlawful sale might be searched for and seized on sight, without warrant. Unless the owners or keepers could satisfy the court that they were not intended for sale, they were to be confiscated and destroyed, and the owners or keepers were to be fined and imprisoned. Cases arising under the act had precedence in the courts of all others, except those where parties were actually in prison awaiting trial ; cases were not to be continued for trial nor for sentence, but were to be promptly disposed of, and courts were expressly forbidden to

diminish or modify any penalties either of fine or imprisonment. The purpose of the law was to put down the grog-shops, and to do it with a strong hand.

Within the first year of the law liquor shops were occupied for legitimate industries, and nowhere in the State could be seen then, nor is to be seen now, any painted sign or other indication that liquors were sold. Innumerable were the schemes used for hiding the contraband liquors and eluding the vigilance of the officers of the law, who were expressly commissioned to search wherever they believed liquor to be kept, and to seize it when found. In some instances the dealer would carry his stock in flat pint bottles in his coat pockets, or in a flat tin vessel fitted to the person and worn under the vest. Sometimes, in the case of women, a flat bottle would be suspended to the waist and worn under the skirt. Sometimes a bottle or two would be suspended by a string and sunk in a well in the cellar; or a jug would be hidden under the floor, the trap-door being covered by a carpet and perhaps by a bed; again, a flat bottle or two would be buried in the ash-pit at the base of the cooking-stove, or hidden in the cellar wall, a stone being taken out to receive them and ingeniously replaced to conceal them. These methods and many others are employed to-day by the liquor-sellers for the same purpose.

Now, contrast this with the condition of Maine before the law. Grog-shops everywhere, wholesale and retail, with obtrusive signs over the doors and upon the window-shutters, as in Boston and other "license" cities to-day, advertising all sorts of liquors kept on sale within; cargoes of West India rum spread out upon the wharves, busy customs' officers among the puncheons, taking measure and proof of the contents; long lines of these casks upon the sidewalks, some of them with an auctioneer's flag attached, indicating that they were to be publicly sold; smoke from distillery chimneys darkening the sky—seven of them, in Portland; now no puncheon of rum, no distillery nor brewery in all the State, nor any sign anywhere of liquor on sale. Who can determine exactly the point to which the volume of the liquor traffic in Maine is now reduced? There can be no statistics in the case, because the trade, being unlawful and infamous, is

hidden away from the public eye, and its status is like that of the gambling-hell and the brothel, and the "fence" shop where stolen goods are received and concealed and sold.

On the 15th of January, 1852, seven months after the enactment of the law, the Mayor of Portland sent a Message to the city council, in which he said :

"The number of persons who continue to sell strong drinks in the city is now very small. They are almost all foreigners, and sell with great secrecy and caution. An open rum-shop or bar of any kind is entirely unknown. A barrel, keg, or other vessel of liquors is not to be seen in the city at all, except at the city agency.\* The law has executed its mission with more ease, certainty, and dispatch than was anticipated by its most ardent friends—it has been most triumphantly successful. I think it not an exaggeration to say that the quantity of intoxicating liquors now sold in the city, except by the city agent, is not one-fiftieth part so great as it was seven months ago, and the salutary effects of this great improvement are apparent among the people in all parts of the city."

The Message bears this indorsement :

IN BOARD OF ALDERMEN, *January 15, 1852.*

Read and thereupon Ordered : That the Mayor be and is hereby requested to cause this communication to be printed in pamphlet form for general circulation as he may deem proper; and that the publishers of the several papers in this city be requested to give the same an insertion in their respective papers.

Sent down for concurrence.

Attest: WM. BOYD, *City Clerk.*

This Message of the mayor was extensively published and widely circulated. The accuracy of its statements was not denied or doubted in any quarter, not even by the opponents of prohibition, of whom there were many in the city and State. It treated largely of those departments of the public service which were concerned with poverty, pauperism, the public peace, and crime, the police, the Municipal Court, the City Missions among the poor, and showed that in each of them there had been great changes for the better.

Notwithstanding the wonderful success of the law from the day of its enactment, there were found many persons then, as now, some of them respectable, who affirmed that it was a failure,

\* Where liquors are sold by appointment of law for medicinal and mechanical purposes and the arts only.

resulting, in fact, in a larger sale and consumption of intoxicating liquors than before. A prominent citizen of Philadelphia came to Portland in that year, expressly to learn, upon the spot, what the effect of the law really had been. In Philadelphia, he said, it was declared to be a failure. On the journey he stopped overnight at Boston. In the morning, at the hotel, a young man was warmly denouncing the law as a sham, declaring that liquors were as freely sold in Portland as in any other place in the country. A gentleman standing by said: "Sir, I live in Portland; I will pay your expenses there and back to Boston, and will give you five dollars for every glass of liquor you can buy there." From that day to this there has, in some quarters, been continuous denunciation of the Maine Law, as a failure and a fraud, as being founded on false principles, and as being in violation of the principles of civil government and of personal liberty.

The liquor traffic is admitted by all right-thinking people to be an unspeakable moral, social, and political evil, but a great many intelligent men believe that prohibition is not the best way to suppress it. The late Thurlow Weed, one of the most upright men in the country, better informed than most men upon all questions of public interest, said: "The Maine Law having failed everywhere that it has been tried, it is important to devise some other plan of curing the great evils resulting from intemperance." And he proceeded to unfold his method of doing it. It was for the government to acquire a territory suitable to the cultivation of the grape, of sufficient area to produce wine in such quantities that it might become a cheap beverage, and the common and universal drink of the people. Soon after, an eminent official of the Episcopal Church in the State of New York proposed his plan for the sure and effective cure of intemperance. It was the erection, by the government, of inebrate asylums numerous enough and large enough to receive all the drunkards of the country, the whole expense of maintaining such establishments to be defrayed by license-fees imposed upon the saloons.

It is not a little curious that, without exception, so far as I know, the men who write against prohibition as a failure know nothing whatever of the matter. That was the case

with Thurlow Weed and Bishop Huntington, and with him who wrote against it in the **FORUM** for November last. Mr. Weed and the bishop no doubt were honest in their views, as they were modest and decorous and courteous in their expression of them. I do not remember that a rude or uncivil word was applied by either of them to the friends of the policy of prohibition, many of whom were their equals in integrity and ability. The character of the article by Dr. Bacon is well exhibited in its opening sentence:

“The interest hostile to temperance exerts itself insidiously to add to the law some excessively stringent and annoying provisions, and rarely fails to find, among the hot-heads and blockheads of the Prohibition party, support enough to incorporate these provisions in the Act to such an extent as to insure its early repeal, or its practical disuse.”

Now, not a word of that is true. I do not charge Dr. Bacon with intentional falsification. He is merely talking about a matter of which he knows nothing. I challenge him to cite even one case which can fairly justify that statement. We are here talking of a public policy of supreme importance to the nation, and to the dearest interests of the people. It is no place for the indulgence of ill-temper or the display of bad manners. The purpose of Dr. Bacon’s article in the **FORUM** was to show that prohibition everywhere, and especially in Maine, was and is a failure and a sham. Dr. Bacon says:

“Their law (prohibition), instead of being an ideally excellent law, which would be practically successful but for the fault of society, is an intrinsically vicious and mischievous law, founded on false moral conceptions, advocated with false pretenses and under false names, with systematic misstatement of facts and principles. It will be well worth the cost of a general re-agitation of the subject . . . to get this arrant legislative quackery cleared away.”

Does it occur to Dr. Bacon that he here denounces as fools and quacks and knaves a great many men who, for learning, integrity, and ability, are widely known over two continents, where he is very little known, if known at all? Will he think it proper, while calling himself a Christian gentleman, to apply such terms to the late Dr. Tyng, Dr. Marsh, Edward C. Delavan, Gerrit Smith, Bishop Potter, Wm. E. Dodge, Lucius M. Sargent, Dr.

Jewett, Horace Mann, Gov. Briggs, Gov. Slade, Gov. Fairbanks, Dr. Beecher, Dr. Nott, Dr. Edwards, Dr. Woods, Prof. Stuart, Prof. Wm. Smyth, Prof. Packard, Prof. Pond, and a great many others like them, now passed away, who in their day were warm friends of prohibition? Does Dr. Bacon consider it just to apply such epithets to Dr. Taylor Lewis, Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, Dr. Herrick Johnson, Dr. Geo. B. Cheever, Dr. Cuyler, A. C. Barstow, Gen. Fisk, Gen. Wolff, Dr. Magoun, Judge Pitman, Senator Colquitt, Senator Wm. P. Frye, Senator Blair, Senator Lot M. Morrill, Gov. Connor, Gov. Dingley, and a host of others like them; and in England, Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Dr. F. R. Lees, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Cardinal Manning, Canon Farrar, Canon Wilberforce, Canon Grier, Lord Brougham, the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of York, and three hundred and sixty members of the British Parliament? Dr. Bacon says:

"For a brief time—very brief in the cities, but longer in the country towns—there result great apparent benefits to society, on the reputation of which the law continues to live during the period of inefficiency which invariably follows."

He denies that any real benefits result from prohibition; that, whatever they may seem to be, they are only apparent. This affirmation applies to every locality where prohibition has been adopted, and is as untrue, every word of it, as are all his asseverations that prohibition is a sham, a failure, a fraud, and a quackery. If he were informed of the matter of which he speaks, he would see that the facts by no means support him. In a few of the cities of Maine the law is now not well enforced. This arises only from certain imperfections in the law as it now is, and from the fact that political bosses imagine that the party will be strengthened by "letting up" on the liquor-sellers; but, notwithstanding this, the law has practically driven the liquor traffic out of far more than three-fourths of our territory, containing far more than three-fourths of our people, and has conferred such great and permanent benefits upon the State in all its interests that it stands now in public opinion stronger than ever before. But, even in those cities where the law is not properly enforced, the volume of the liquor traffic is far less than it

would be under license, and there is no public display of it by signs or otherwise.

Maine's share of the national drink bill would be now about thirteen million dollars, but one million will more than cover the cost of all the liquor smuggled into the State and sold in violation of law. We save annually at least twelve million dollars, which, but for prohibition, would be spent in drink, and fully an equal sum by the prevention of the indirect loss and waste produced by the liquor traffic wherever it is tolerated. The result of this is seen in great prosperity everywhere in the State, and it is a permanent benefit to-day, not a deception and a sham. Mr. Blaine, during the Garfield campaign, at a great Republican meeting in City Hall, Portland, said, "Maine is the most prosperous State in the Union." During the financial crisis beginning in 1873 Maine suffered far less from it than any other State; indeed, it was hardly felt at all here, because the wages of labor and the profits of business were not spent and wasted in drink, as they always are and must be in license States.

In 1884, after more than thirty years' experience of the benefits of prohibition, the question of a constitutional amendment was submitted to the people of Maine. This proposition received no countenance from the political bosses; party influences were actively but silently exerted against it, but, notwithstanding that opposition, it was adopted by a majority of 47,075, the affirmative vote being very nearly three times larger than the negative vote. I am confident that this result will be received by all unprejudiced persons as conclusive that prohibition in Maine has been a great benefit, not an evil, to the people. It is accepted by all parties as the settled policy of the State.

The Republican party, from its origin in 1856, has always placed prohibition prominently in its platform. I have before me as I write several of its declarations, adopted unanimously at its State conventions. I give them here:

1878. "Temperance among the people may be greatly promoted by wise prohibitory legislation as well as by all those moral agencies which have secured to us beneficent results. It is a source of congratulation that the principle of prohibition, which has always been upheld by Republicans, is now concurred in by so large a majority of the people that it is no longer a party

question, the Democrats having for several years declined to contest and dispute it."

1879. "We recognize temperance as a cause which has conferred the greatest benefits on the State, and we sustain the principle of prohibition, which, in its operation, has so largely suppressed liquor-selling and added incalculably to the sum of virtue and prosperity among the people."

1880. "Experience has demonstrated the wisdom of the policy of prohibition as an auxiliary to temperance, and as contributing to the material wealth, happiness, and prosperity of the State; and we refer with confidence and pride to an undeviating support of the same as one of the cardinal principles of the Republican party of Maine."

1882. "We refer with confidence and pride to the general record of the Republican party in support of the policy of prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors, the wisdom and efficiency of which legislation, in promoting the moral and material interests of Maine, have been demonstrated through the practical annihilation of that traffic in a large portion of the State; and we favor such legislation and such enforcement of law as will secure to every portion of our territory freedom from that traffic. We further recommend the submission to the people of a constitutional amendment."

1886. "The Republicans of Maine now, as heretofore, indorse and approve the law for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors. The law and its several amendments were enacted by Republican legislators, and this convention now declare, in answer to misrepresentations in many quarters, that the general effect of the prohibitory law has been beneficent, and has proved, in a marked degree, helpful to the cause of temperance in Maine. It has largely reduced the consumption of alcoholic liquors, and has in many ways contributed to the moral and material welfare of the State."

These resolutions state very moderately the incalculable benefits resulting from the policy of prohibition. At the time of their adoption they were printed and widely circulated over the State and throughout the country, with no word of dissent from any quarter. They sweep away as mere trash all the talk of Dr. Bacon against prohibition, as a legislative quackery founded on false principles, as unwise, vicious, and mischievous in its influence upon the morals of the people and upon the general prosperity. They show that its benefits are inestimable and lasting, and that prohibition is universally received in Maine as the permanent policy of the State. The people value it, and abide by it as they do by the policy of free and universal education. It is in the face of these testimonies, which have been many times published and widely circulated over the country, that Dr. Bacon wrote his article for the *FORUM*.

Dr. Bacon stigmatizes prohibitory legislation as quackery. It has been adopted, with invariable results for good, in a great many localities besides Maine. Everywhere it has been useful in diminishing the volume of the liquor traffic, in many cases suppressing it entirely. In the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, in England, there are more than fourteen hundred parishes under prohibition, and liquors are not sold there. In the province of York there are many more. The famous manufacturing town, Saltaire, in Yorkshire, has been under prohibition more than thirty years, and has not a single grog-shop. There are two large sections of London, two of Liverpool, and one of Birmingham, which have had prohibition for many years. Bessbrook, a large linen manufacturing town in Ireland, has had prohibition since 1856, and the same is true of a district in the County Tyrone with an area of sixty-two and a half square miles. I have visited all these places and found them entirely free of the liquor traffic. In the United Kingdom, as in this country, the great question of protection from the liquor traffic is largely occupying public attention, and as a political question it is second to no other in its relations to the welfare of the people.

In that country, as in this, the liquor-sellers and their friends oppose prohibition, not openly as a matter of special interest to themselves, as ruining a most lucrative trade, but as an infringement upon personal liberty, as a dangerous if not fatal blow to the principles upon which free government is founded. There is no reason whatever in this objection, because there is no such thing as personal liberty which is inconsistent with the general good. The welfare of the country is the supreme law, and no one has a right to do anything, to have anything, to be anything inconsistent with that. It is an undoubted and universally acknowledged right of society to protect itself from every evil from which it suffers. The daily, hourly working of the public machinery is constantly illustrating the fact that the Roman law maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*, is as authoritative to-day in all civilized nations as it was in the time of Augustus. It is the daily practice in this country to take away property, liberty, and life when the public good requires it. Conscription, in time of public danger, takes away from family and home the father,

brother, son, and compels him to the service of the country, in any department of it, however perilous it may be. Forced contributions are levied upon cities, towns, and individuals when the public good requires it. Persons are imprisoned for a term of years and for life; they are hanged, guillotined, garroted, whenever their liberty or life is supposed to be inconsistent with the public good. Lotteries and gambling-houses, and bigamy and polygamy, are forbidden, all for the same reason. Persons cannot marry except under certain conditions and with prescribed forms, because the public good is believed so to require. The law interferes with the citizen almost at every turn, commanding or forbidding certain things to be done, as the public interest may demand. A public nuisance is forbidden by law, and may be summarily abated in all civilized countries.

The liquor traffic is a great public nuisance, more dangerous, more hideous, than all others combined. It may be rightfully abated by the law without abridging thereby the personal right of any man.

NEAL DOW.

## LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

IN his "Work and Wages," published a few years since, Professor Thorold Rogers, the most careful student of the labor movement in England, speaks thus of trades unions in his own country :

"These institutions were repressed with passionate violence and malignant watchfulness as long as it was possible to do so. When it was necessary to relax the severities of the older laws, they were still persecuted by legal chicanery, whenever oppression could on any pretense be justified. As they were slowly emancipated, they have constantly been the object of alarmist calumnies and sinister predictions. I do not speak of the language of newspapers and reviews. . . . Far graver were the allegations of Senior and Thornton. . . . Even my friend, Mr. Mill, treated these forces of industrial life with a strange indifference.\* I confess to having at one time viewed them suspiciously ; but a long study of the history of labor has convinced me that they are not only the best friends of the workman, but the best agency for the employer and the public, and that to the extension of these associations political economists and statesmen must look for the solution of some among the most pressing and the most difficult problems of our time."

In August, 1886, a book was published in New York, bearing the title, "Studies in Modern Socialism and Labor Problems." Its author, Rev. Dr. T. Edwin Brown, one of the best informed of the clergy on social questions in the United States, quoted the confession of Professor Rogers, with the remark, "I agree with the conclusion of Mr. Rogers." In another place, in speaking of Charles Reade's "Put Yourself in His Place," and Anna Dickinson's lecture on "Trades Unions," he says that they set him very decidedly against trades unions, but, he adds, "subsequent conversation and reading have removed that early prejudice." In my "Labor Movement in America," published a month later than Dr. Brown's book, I am obliged to make substantially the same confession. Early prejudice, due to ignorance, was

\* Although in several places he speaks strongly in favor of trades unions.

removed by a knowledge of the actual workings of labor organizations, and I now regard them as beneficent institutions, which ought to be encouraged by public policy and private philanthropy. The experience of three authors of works on the labor problem might be of comparatively little importance if it were something strange and unusual, but such is not the case. If any man who has carefully studied the nature of labor organizations from life has ever pronounced against them, I have yet to find him. It is, doubtless, possible to find many who, with no knowledge of labor organizations save such as is gathered from rumor, garbled newspaper reports, and certain extracts from English blue books twenty years old, have constructed an economic theory adverse to these societies. Each one can judge for himself how much weight is to be attached to their opinions. How high a value ought to be given to a man's disquisition on oysters who never saw one? Ask a natural scientist what he thinks of such a man. Yet his offense is trivial compared to that of a man who writes on these serious problems of the day, which vitally concern the welfare of millions of human beings, without an earnest endeavor by personal observation and research to inform himself about the real life of those social forms which he professes to describe. Political economists, probably, are not more nearly unanimous in their views about any question of the day than they are in their approval of labor organizations. When representatives of many of the more prominent colleges and universities met in Saratoga in the fall of 1885 to form the American Economic Association, it probably would not have been possible to find even one opponent of labor organizations among them all.

So much space is given to this one point in order to make clear the attitude of science with respect to a burning question of the day. Now, it may well be asked why it is that there is so much confusion in the public mind about labor organizations at a time when there is almost unanimity of opinion about the subject on the part of those who have given special thought to it.

First, it may be said that people fail to discriminate between acts which proceed from labor organizations as such and those which happen in spite of them rather than on account of them. If you express approval of the Knights of Labor, for example,

some one may ask you what you think of the "killing" of locomotives, ditching trains, and other outrages practiced by Knights of Labor during the strike on Gould's railways in the South-west in the spring of the preceding year. Now, if it could be shown that outrages which have been perpetrated by working-men were due to organizations, then the whole question would be settled. That which causes evil cannot be approved by good men. But, the truth is, the examination of modern social history shows that labor organizations tend to render men more peaceful and law-abiding than they would otherwise be. The deeds of violence among unorganized working-men are more numerous and more terrible than among the organized. What have we ever had in this country to compare to the outrages perpetrated by working-men in the first half of this century in England, when trades unions were under the ban of the law? And were not our troubles in the spring of 1886 insignificant as compared with the wild outbreaks of Belgian laborers at the same time? Yet in Belgium there were no organizations. But that was the most serious feature of the situation. Before me lies an article clipped from the "London Mail" of April 28, 1886, written by a correspondent of that paper from Liége, Belgium. The hopelessness of the situation seems to have been due to the absence of leaders and of unions through which the men could be reached. A few sentences from this article are instructive:

"There is a total want of direction and organization. There are no trade unions, no socialist groups. . . . The total absence of leaders, of programme, of definite aims, does not prevent the spread of revolutionary feeling. This, indeed, constitutes the terror of the situation. . . . They . . . seemed to want leadership . . . and if this is not forthcoming, will resort to violence, simply because they have not enough initiative or intelligence to do anything better."

Let us look at the subject of violence from another standpoint. I study the history of the Christian Church, and I read of wrong-doing perpetrated by that church which sickens the heart. Leaving out of consideration regular wars, supported by governments, it is, perhaps, true that no organization has been guilty of more heinous crimes, more terrible persecutions, and more awful massacres. That organization has stopped progress, has crowned

ignorance, has bowed the knee to beastliness, has shed the blood of tens of thousands of innocent persons. Yet I am a believer in the Christian Church. I see that it was the evil in the human heart manifesting itself through a good organization, and in spite of that organization, which caused the sin. Take one more illustration. The communal uprising of Paris, in 1871, was supported by republicans in the interest of local self-government. Yet I am a republican, and in favor of local self-government.

But it is said that labor organizations establish a "dead level" among working-men, and discourage excellence. This is a misapprehension, due to the fact that they endeavor to maintain a minimum of wages. I have tried to find an organization which placed any obstacles in the way of the receipt of high wages by men of superior excellence, but have never succeeded. The bricklayers of Baltimore have a minimum rate of \$3.50 a day, but many receive \$3.75, some \$4, and some \$4.25, and recently a very good workman was receiving \$5 a day. The Bakers' National Union recognizes the division of its members into four classes, with different rates of remuneration. The organized locomotive engineers receive varying monthly wages, according to experience, character of work, and the railway which employs them. The house carpenters of Baltimore have established a minimum rate of \$2.50 a day, but are glad if any one receives \$2.75 or \$3. The painters of Baltimore have a minimum rate of \$2.50 a day, but grant permission to an old man who cannot do a full day's work to accept \$2. Members of the Typographical Union are paid by the piece, or so much per thousand ems, and simply determine the rate per thousand. Many unions endeavor only to fix the piece rate, leaving it to each to earn as much as he can. There is no upward limit in any of these cases, and the only hardship which can occur is in fixing the minimum too high, which is then apt to throw inferior workmen out of employment. At the same time it must be acknowledged that this is a stimulus to all to attain at least a certain standard of excellence. There have also been reports, well authenticated, of attempts to force men upon employers who were not capable of earning the minimum, or who were otherwise undesirable workmen. But, as the unions grow, they become

more intelligent, and attain a higher moral standard and gradually rid themselves of these abuses.

One hears occasionally of attempts to limit the speed of work as an evil inherent in labor organizations, because it appears that there were regulations of this character among some of the trades in certain parts of England many years ago. I asked an intelligent and conscientious labor leader in Baltimore if he knew of any such rules, and he said : "No, I never heard of any effort to limit the rate of work in Baltimore or anywhere else in the United States. I think we Americans are such a 'go-aheadative' people that no laws of trades unions could hold us in check." It is, indeed, a little strange that such a charge should be brought against American working-men, whose rapid work is the astonishment of all thoughtful foreigners.

The walking delegate is another stumbling-block to many. He simply enforces the rules of his union. He is an administrative officer whose task is arduous and disagreeable in the extreme, and, as simply an agent, bears blame which ought not to be placed on his shoulders. Doubtless, he sometimes becomes overbearing, and feels an undue sense of importance, but in many trades he is a necessary part of the mechanism of the labor organization. In Baltimore, and doubtless elsewhere, he renders services to employers as well as to employees. If bricklayers, for example, are needed on a certain building, he goes to their hall and writes a notice to that effect on the blackboard, thus saving an endless amount of weary tramping about the city.

It is also said that men are ordered to strike simply to satisfy a sense of power of leaders. This is not true. Knights of Labor and trades unionists vote on measures and order a strike under certain contingencies. A man, perhaps, is appointed to wait on the employers and state the wishes of the employees. Let us suppose they are not granted. He may then give a sign—"snap his fingers," if you please—but it only shows the men that the time has come to put their own plans into execution. Any one who has studied carefully co-operative and other experiments of American working-men knows that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of success has been lack of trust in capable leaders, and inadequate reward for their services. Not too much leader-

ship, so often as too little, has been the weakness of the labor movement.

Having removed some misapprehensions, it can be stated in a few words what labor organizations do for working-men.

They unite labor as capital is united, and they place the two on a proper footing for a free contract. It is in this way that labor secures an increasing share of increasing wealth. It is manifestly the height of absurdity to claim that a single individual, representing the thousandth part of the labor in a factory, can treat advantageously with a man who controls not a thousandth part, but the whole, of the capital employed.

Labor organizations keep their members informed about the condition of the labor market, and thus help to place labor where it is wanted, and that at a minimum of cost. This is of manifest advantage to the general public.

By their insurance and traveling funds, and other forms of mutual aid, they relieve distress, prevent pauperism, and alleviate the burdens of the tax-payer.

Labor organizations elevate the masses mentally. What can be more deadening to all higher faculties than to plod along, one infinitesimally small part of a vast machine in a great manufacturing establishment, and then to go home at night and, after a cheerless meal, and possibly a glance at a cheap newspaper, to go to bed, rising the next day to repeat the same round. Yet, before American labor organizations existed, this was the life of great masses of temperate laboring men, who did not frequent the lively but dangerous saloon. Now, once or twice a week, the laborer puts on a clean coat and goes to a gathering of his fellows, sometimes with his wife, where he discusses social, industrial, and public affairs. He hears, perhaps, strange things. He begins to think; an intellectual life is awakened. Crude and imperfect as are the acquirements of organized working-men, as a rule, what has already been attained is a cause for gratitude and is full of promise for the future.

The social nature of working-men and working-women is cultivated. Their life becomes fuller and richer.

Every labor organization in America is necessarily a temperance society, and these despised organizations are now doing

more than any other agency to promote temperance among the masses. It is a cheerful sign to notice the friendly relations which are beginning to exist between the Knights of Labor and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Labor organizations are conservative forces, restraining the wild impulse of ignorant and less often vicious men. The leaders must be conservative, or the unions will fall to pieces. The Cigar Makers' International Union has prevented more strikes than it has approved, and the chief danger which threatens Mr. Powderly, the head of the Knights of Labor, is his conservatism, which is extreme, many laborers think. A leader of the masses seems, like Moses, obliged to concede some things to men for the hardness of their hearts; but it is generally safe to say that if at the head of a powerful organization he will be as conservative as he dares to be. Intelligent self-interest forces this course upon him. Any other action will exhaust the treasury and endanger the existence of the order. If one follows with the least care the movements of labor, the officers of labor organizations will be found almost invariably holding the masses in check. As organizations become more powerful and more stable, this is an easier task, which accounts for the greater conservatism of the older unions. It may be said too, in this connection, that the attention of the general public is drawn to labor societies only during a period of struggle. Their normal condition, however, is one of peace and quiet, but during such periods their activity is unnoticed. On this account a false impression of their real nature is produced. Recently a great international trades union had no contest anywhere for a year. No newspaper chronicled this, and few knew anything about it; but a strike would have been heralded to the four quarters of the world.

A higher appreciation for woman is cultivated by labor organizations, a new kind of chivalry among the masses is springing up. The working-men of Baltimore who are bringing together their small savings to start a large co-operative shirt factory for sewing-women, and who neither ask nor expect interest or dividends on their money, are illustrating it at this moment.

A grander conception of brotherhood is another result of this labor movement. When the members of labor organizations

call one another brother and sister it means something, and every day it is coming to mean more, as those know who look a little below the surface of things, and study men with half the care with which natural phenomena are examined. Association is of inestimable benefit to men. It is one of Henry C. Carey's merits as a political economist that he brought this out so clearly : "Man is by nature a social being." But of course there are limits to the power of labor organizations. They cannot directly increase the productivity of the soil, nor can they alter the laws of nature. Where the national product is small, and there is little to divide between the various productive agents, they cannot raise wages to a satisfactory standard. It would first be necessary for them to increase the productivity of the various factors engaged in the creation of economic goods.

Englishmen are now learning the limits to the usefulness of trades unions as such. They cannot improve the foreign trade of England, and, notwithstanding their splendid organization and large funds, as provision against all contingencies, their treasuries are in a precarious condition. They have tried to care for men out of work, but the number of these is increasing to an alarming extent. Something has been done by aid of emigration.

Although the spirit of brotherhood is fostered, there is danger that this will be a narrow class brotherhood unless the best men seek the unions and bring good influences from without to bear upon them. The working classes must do much for themselves, but there are other things in this world nobler even than self-help, and it is not true, as the Internationalists say, that the emancipation of the working classes must be achieved solely by the working classes. It can come about only by the united action of all the best social elements.

While the feeling of organized working-men with regard to "rats" and "scabs," or non-union men, who compete against them can easily be understood, no one can defend such outrages as in heat and passion are too often perpetrated upon those who are regarded as traitors to the cause of labor. Many good trades unionists condemn the refusal of working-men to work with a non-union man, and there can be no doubt that in this

matter, as in other respects, it would be better if the rules of labor organizations were more flexible.

The desire of the working classes to gain political power is right and proper. Their influence in legislative bodies will, on the whole, be for good, but exclusive possession of political power by them would be disastrous, for no class is large enough or good enough for that.

Organization for bad purposes is bad—that goes without saying ; and when we find labor organizations like the "groups" of the anarchists, working for the overthrow of our most cherished institutions, they must be resisted by all legitimate and proper means. They are enemies of our common country, and, above all, of the working-men. Yet I have often thought of the story Gough used to tell of his salvation from a drunkard's grave by a friendly touch on his arm, with the words, "My brother." It was long since he had received such a greeting, and it saved him. I have sometimes wondered whether that method might not be more effectual with the poor, deluded wretches who wish to blow us all up with dynamite than much of the savage denunciation which we hear on every side.

In conclusion, the events of the past year, memorable in the labor movement, have made it clear that while there is no place for lawlessness in this country, the great mass of employers and the great mass of working people want to do what is right. It is only necessary to restrain a comparatively few hot-headed and vicious capitalists, and a comparatively few hot-headed and vicious laborers, to insure a peaceful evolution of industrial society. The American people is a noble, great-hearted people, and loves justice and mercy. In no land is it possible to arouse a higher degree of enthusiasm for the right, and the right will prevail when it is once clearly recognized.

RICHARD T. ELY.

## THE TYRANNY OF FASHION.

THE martyrs to principle have been many ; the martyrs to fashion are more. At no time in the world's history have men, still less women, freed themselves from the trammels of fashion ; and when individualism had spread even into disorganization, fashion has held its votaries as closely serried as ever was the Pyrrhic phalanx of old. In dress and habits, as in the nobler matters of thought and faith, what others do, that must we also ; and we pass through the fire of personal torture or stand in the pillory of absurdity for loyalty to the fetich we ourselves have created. Of course, this evil has its counterbalancing good—as has every evil to be named, both in humanity and nature. The supreme Satan lies in excess, not essence ; and we could not part with the original impulse of even the crimes which yet we punish heavily enough in their results. Therefore, this imitative instinct of men, which leads them to so much folly in fashion, has its good in the faculties of education, discipline, and organization, which are as truly its results as are servility and conformity. But we are dealing now with the silliness of this instinct, not its wisdom ; its excess, not its essence.

The tyranny of fashion is chiefly shown in dress and habits, though thoughts and beliefs tread hard on the heels of these. The savage and the civilized "run curricle" in their devotion to the fetich each creates and worships ; and, though each ridicules the idol of the other, to the philosopher, judging both impartially, there is not much to choose between them. Where the savage runs a fishbone or a piece of wood through the under-lip, hanging thereto a huge disk, which enlarges the aperture and pulls down the flesh, the civilized Darwinian bores a hole in the lobe of the ear, to hold a piece of wire heavily weighted with a stone, which does the same thing. Where some careful parents, trouserless and tattooed, anxious for the future well-being of their children,

press their heads into an enchanting flatness, others crush their daughters' feet into an amorphous mass of pulp, which then they call "golden water-lilies;" and others again found their hopes of ultimate good settlements on a waist of which the dimensions impede the circulation of the blood, paralyze the liver, and play the mischief generally with all the internal organs alike. Where the savage anoints himself with rancid oil, or crowns himself with a pat of butter, the French fine lady "exhibits" cold cream, and abjures water as sedulously as if she were a replica of Lot's wife. Where the savage makes himself "terrible and dear" with blue and red paint, the fine lady injures her eyesight with belladonna and her skin with rouge and *blanc de perle*.

If the savage twists his elf-locks into a thousand fantastic forms, adding thereto all manner of hideous ornamentation, the civilized lady follows suit, and makes her head the crowning-point of her folly. A few generations ago she piled up her hair in tiers and towers, so that she could not use a coach, as it was constructed, but had to have the roof of it raised. This work of building up the hair, by the way, was so arduous, and the hair-dresser's art was so much in demand, that when our fine madam was going to a rout she was often obliged to have her head dressed a day or two before the event, sleeping bolt upright in her high-backed chair, so as not to damage this monstrous superstructure. Her "head" was opened only at certain intervals—with the result not to be described nor yet too vividly imagined. This opening and cleansing of the hair ranked then as one of the more important events of a woman's personal life. When Lucrezia Borgia was on her way from Rome to her husband, Alfonso d'Este, the chronicler tells how she had to stop on her journey, more than once, to have her hair cleansed and dressed. The beautiful Venetian color—that ruddy gold so dear to painters, which, I believe, Lucrezia had—was not always quite natural, and not gained without trouble, to say the least of it. The Venetian ladies used to wash their hair in strong alkalies, then sit in the sun with their tresses spread over a wooden frame fixed on the shoulders, that they might be fired into the desired auburn.

There is no monstrosity that women have not adopted for

the adornment of their heads. "Horns," both double and single—the one like a unicorn, the other like a buffalo; flapping frills and stiffened wings; tight-drawn cloths, hiding all beauty of hair and flesh; floating veils and ponderous turbans; buckram and artificial flowers; feathers and lace and sparkling gems; structural caps and architectural bonnets; corkscrew ringlets, had by the torture of paper screws; short curls and wavelets, had by that of crimping-pins and irons; artificial plaits, cut from a dead girl's head; tow-stuffed chignons, wigs and wiglets—there is no end to the list of artificial aids with which lovely woman has done her best to nullify her natural beauty by substituting the follies of fashion for individual suitability.

Other old fashions have been as absurd as "horns" and buckrammed turrets on the head. When the sleeves were worn so long as to need to be knotted, so as not to trail on the ground, and when the skirts were worn so long as to sweep the ground and gather up garnitures of mud and filth—where, then, was common-sense? where the perception of fitness or beauty? Of cleanliness we need not question. Those skirts, indeed, have always been a weak point with women and a sore one with men. Preachers have preached against them in vain; husbands have sworn and fathers have stormed, also in vain. Only a short spell of moderation did that holy friar succeed in gaining, who, in the days when

"— pulpit, drum ecclesiastick  
Was beat with fist instead of a stick"—

terrified his credulous congregation by declaring that he saw a sooty imp sitting, half-hidden, within the folds of the train which one of his fair hearers had swept, in pride, into church behind her. Anon, these skirts are so full of material and so heavily weighted with ornament as to be ruinous to the health as well as to the comfort of the wearer. Then they are supported and spread abroad by means of hoops and steels, till every woman takes up two places, and furniture, chairs, and china suffer, like flies whisked off by lashing tails. Then they are made so tight and narrow that no one can take a full stride, nor even half a one, but all have to plait their feet as they

walk, and look on a mild little field-stile as a second Chimborazo. Under this *régime* cracked seams and broken strings are of hourly occurrence, and the Calipyge stands confessed. When these skimpy dresses were fashionable, in our great-grandmothers' time, charming women had themselves well damped so as to make the fabric stick closer, or were rubbed down with oil to make them sufficiently supple to slip into their pillow-cases. The men did the same with their buckskins, and in our own time chamois-leather has answered the like purpose. Fashion ever oscillates between two extremes. Before Queen Victoria came to the throne short skirts were in vogue. Cut well above the ankle, to show the sandaled foot and open-worked stocking, and kept out by stiffening, they made the figure look something like a bell, of which the feet were twin clappers. All the strength of the designer went to the head and shoulders; and the little feet, though they could not steal in and out like mice, because the petticoat was too short for mystery, yet twinkled in a bewitching manner when they "did their steps" in the lancers, set to partners in the quadrille, or flew with speed over the floor in Sir Roger de Coverley.

Shoes, again, have been fair fields for fashionable torture. From the time when the long, pointed toes were fastened up to the girdle to the present day, the great shoe question cannot be said to be satisfactorily settled. For even now, when a few of us have a glimmering of common-sense, and get ourselves shod for service and comfort combined, the pies of fashion screech noisily as ever, and peck at our heels as if breadth of sole was greatness of sin and shallowness of heel lowness of mind.

These pies of fashion care for nothing but their fetich, and heroically suppress their groans when the service of their idol produces hidden pains and secret sores. With them, to be out of the fashion is emphatically to be out of the world, and it were better to be dead outright. "How it is worn" is the only law they care to follow, and there is not a possible form of personal torture and inconvenience that has not been devised and adhered to. Garments made cumbersome by excess of material, or fettering by tightness, or insufficient for warmth by meagerness, or unserviceable by finery; the neck swathed in folds and folds of

muslin till it looks like a goitre and is practically anchylosed—or abraded by the sharp edges of a guillotine collar, which keeps it, as it were, in the stocks; the stiff stays, wherein all grace of movement is lost, as also all flexibility, all comfort; shoes which pinch the feet, inflame the joints, making walking painful and corns abundant; high heels set in the center of the foot, which strain the muscles of the back and tear the muscles of the leg; dress coats whereof the swallow-tails are creased and crumpled every time a man sits down, and nether garments too tight for any sitting at all—these are only a very few of the inconveniences of fashion indulged in by both sexes alike. But we are bound to say that men are, on the whole, the wiser of the two, and, save for the high hat and the guillotine collar, are comfortably and serviceably clad. The democratic uniformity of their dress allows of more self-respect because of less diversity, and comfort has gained what picturesqueness has lost.

This question of picturesqueness, by the way, is one of the smaller mysteries of the human mind. The dirty habit of powder and the foolish one of patches still hold their own in the world's esteem as beautifiers of the natural man; and hair grown prematurely gray or artificially blanched is coveted among pretty women whose skin has not lost its transparency and whose flesh still retains its carnations. All theatrical managers are glad of *poudré* pieces, for the taste of the public holds, though the private fashion has been abandoned; and if we have abjured the extravagance of the sun, moon, and stars, or the coach-and-horses, cut out of sticking-plaster, which once caused the talk of the town, we retain that of little round patches, which, after all, are but a survival of tattooing. Critics once sought to destroy this fashion of dotting the face about with black points by saying it should be held as incontestable that every patch hid a pimple; but they did no good. As love laughs at locksmiths, so fashion laughs at critics, and the most monstrous forms keep their ground, till another whimsey seizes the public mind, and the leap is made from one absurdity to another. If fashion were only ridiculous, things would not be so bad, and we should not have so much cause for complaint; but when it includes both structural deformity and personal torture it is one of the wonders

of human life. Patches might be endured, powder might be borne, long skirts might perform the office of unpaid street-sweepers; but tight stays, which destroy the health, make the nose red, and the figure hideous; tight boots, which give corns, deformed toes, enlarged joints, and painful bunions; heavy ornamentation, which strains the back and loins and oppresses the breathing—when we endure all this for the sake of fashion, can we call ourselves truly civilized? or have not the New Zealander and the North American Indian the right to call us brothers?

As bad as the cruelties practiced on ourselves are those to which we subject animals for the sake of our senseless fashions. Birds are especially the objects of our attacks, without the excuse that we have in taking the pelts of furry beasts or the skins of the smooth-hided, for our absolute needs. Birds are taken for ornamentation; and women who maunder about dogs, and would rather men and little children were bitten than that their pet pug should be muzzled, do not scruple to make a *parure* of dead canaries for their golden hue, or of humming-birds for their gem-like radiance. In America something is being done, by the Audubon Society, to check this monstrous apportionment; but in England we have no restrictions, save a "close season" for such and such wild birds whereof indiscriminate slaughter would be extirpation. But the worst of all is the unnecessary cruelty; the needless slaughter of creatures taken for nothing but the vanity of a foolish fashion. The plumage of pheasants, say, even of partridges, is as beautiful as any other; and these birds must be shot for food. But fashion repudiates adornment which would be utilization, not wantonness, and rejects things which are both fitter and lovelier, for others less suitable but more specialized, demanding for itself the right to destroy without corresponding benefit to any one. Peacocks' feathers, certainly, are utilized as whisks and fans; and the ostrich is only plucked for his plumes, he is not killed; but all the rest are cruelly slaughtered, that women may deck themselves in breasts and wings, or, with still more savage suggestiveness, with the whole bird stuffed *au naturel*—a fashion than which nothing can be more reprehensible, more detestable. All we can hope for is the

creation of a purer taste by the production of beautiful material, not hurtful to any living creature; and the stirring of the callous conscience of fashion by forcibly dwelling on the iniquity of its present modes. We often talk of the need of educating the beast out of man. We have also to educate the savage out of woman. We write treatises and tomes on the principles of Greek beauty, and we emulate the Indian brave and refine on the New Zealander. Grace of line and simplicity of form, in which lie the essence of beauty, are the two things which we ignore. Chiton and peplum, himation and chlamys, were all of simple form and delicate ornamentation. The most elaborate were those embroidered robes which denote festivity and marriage. For the rest, a single colored border answered all the purposes of our flounces and frills, our laces and gold, our beads and bugles, but the result was a degree of beauty that not the best milliners among us have ever touched, or will touch while our present system remains.

All the same, some of our material is of the last perfection of beauty. A bit of lace webbing, wrought with gold and silver, toned down by brown threads of softening plush, which a London notability brought out, was as exquisite in its own way as a flower wrought by nature or a picture painted by Titian. A length of hand-wrought embroidery, with the curves mathematically correct and the flowers colored with skill, delicate and yet detached, conventionalized and yet not unnatural, is also a production of mingled art and science for which the world cannot be too grateful. If, as seems to be true, our color faculty has increased in delicacy and perception since the old Greeks' time, we would scarcely be content now with the strong and *tant soit peu* crude effects of the primaries, save deftly mingled in small masses, as we have them still in Indian embroidery. For instance, the Greek temples, where the gods were certainly colored, and had golden hair, and hollow sockets filled in with painted eyes, and where the groundwork of wall and pediment was perhaps a deep, showy blue, would scarcely satisfy our present taste, which has gone beyond both secondaries and tertiaries, and has declined on to *les teints dégradés* of fashionable millinery. We may, let us hint, carry this liking for subdued colors too

far. Chromatic melancholy is as much a fact as ethical pessimism, and in its own way as depressing.

Those exquisite hand-worked embroideries are, however, only for the well-endowed few. Fortunately, machinery, that most democratic of all agencies, comes in to give the poor their share, and to distribute inferior but still beautiful copies of the first royal idea. We need not flout machine-work. Those woven brocades are almost as superb as needlework; and the humbler material, not even woven, but stamped, is yet again, in its own way, lovely. What is prettier than a stamped muslin or calico print? Lace, too, is another of the popularized materials which have had to force their way to public acceptance through the original exclusive barriers. In the beginning of things the old needle-made lace was held to be the only righteous and refined creation; and pillow-lace was looked on as a vulgarity, as we formerly looked on machine-made lace. Now, with the rapid changes of fashion and the enormous quantity of lace used on the dress, this machine-made lace is a *sine quâ non*; and no sane woman would use real lace for all her requirements. Would she frill her *balayeuse* with costly Mechlin? The Empress Eugénie, that goddess of extravagance, would scarcely have done that even in her palmy days! She might have used a poor quality of Valenciennes, but the noble kind would surely have been reserved for more important purposes.

The rapid changes of fashion have touched jewelry as well as lace—a matter one would have thought fixed and unchangeable. At one time no lady could have worn mock jewelry outside the old-fashioned “paste,” which was received as admissible in buckles, both for the waist and shoes, or those excellently imitated pearls which are not to be had now, even in Rome. Now, every stone has its counterpart and *postiche*. False coral, false turquoise, false cats’ eyes, false opals, dispute the ground with the true; and China and Japan send us imitations so perfect of their kind that it takes an expert to judge between them and the real thing. This is entirely due to the restlessness of fashion. It would be impossible for most ladies to have their jewels so constantly reset as would be needed to meet the taste in minor details. It would be equally

impossible for them to buy real gems every two or three months, as the arbiters of fashion direct. Hence the enormous sale for imitations, by which the real gems are hard put to it to hold their own, and the lifting off of the anathema which once pursued the purchaser of imitation jewelry.

Fashion, which used to be as slow changing as the movements of the stars in the sky, and which used to pass by slow process of development from one stage to the other, is now as evanescent as meteors, as eccentric as comets. Our eyes are no sooner accustomed to one monstrosity than, presto, pass! as swift as a juggler's trick the whole thing changes. From spoon bonnets to *bébé capotes*—from flat Tam O'Shanters, soft, puffed beef-eaters, overshadowing Rembrandts, we jump at a bound to the aspiring structures of the immediate moment, where narrowness cannot be too narrow, nor height too high, nor hardness too hard. The jockey cap nods to the Tyrolean hat; and the sharply paralleled birds' wings, or the high red bows suggesting flame, hold by the hand little Kate Greenaways *affublées* in grandmothers' bonnets of portentous size and absurd construction. The hat question is one of the most fluid of all, fluid as are all millinery questions; and head-gear is never at rest, let what will be the last mode.

Women are always complaining of the tyranny of fashion, but they do not revolt. They are always complaining, too, of its inconvenience and hardship, but they do not devise a new form that can be adopted. The Bloomer costume would not go down—small wonder! And Lady Haberton's "divided skirt" is adopted by only a few, who use it in a cautious, timid, apologetic kind of way. They are conscious that they are only opportunists, and not real partisans, prepared for the hard knocks sure to be dealt out to those who have the courage of their opinions. Mrs. Pfeiffer's adaptation of the Greek costume, too, has not found followers; and the aesthetic school keep their affectations and revived monstrosities—of waists beneath their arm-pits and skimpy, foot-entangling skirts—to themselves, the Philistine world not following suit. In some things we, in England, have set our wits to a little more rational ordering than of old. Trains no longer sweep the streets and walking-dresses are

reasonably short, if still unreasonably heavy. We also abjure that high and pointed heel set in the middle of the foot—like the heels of the fairy god-mother who came uninvited to the christening, with a crutch, in a chariot drawn by fiery dragons, to work woe on the sleeping babe. We do not desire the lover

“Who stole her slipper, filled it with Tokay,  
And drank the little bumper every day,”

but we use some discretion with our feet and are merciful in our self-torture. We are foolish enough, as things are, but we have been more foolish, and probably will be again. One thing we forget that we ought to remember—fashion is not made by great ladies, nor by artistic taste, but by trade. The head milliners and chief manufacturers meet and decide on what is to be worn. Sometimes it is stripes, sometimes cross-bars, anon spots; and the world follows as it is led. Colors also are imposed on us, and we are bidden to blossom out in red or green, in old gold or crushed strawberry, according to the fiat of the commercial wire-puller. We are allowed very little choice, and our free-will is reduced to zero. In other things, too, fashion holds us its bound and fettered slaves. But we have left ourselves too little space for the discussion of certain foolish oppressions wherewith we load ourselves. Funeral expenses and the immoderate sacrifice of flowers; wedding expenses and the immoderate tribute of gifts, so that the poor have to go bare that the rich may be surfeited; the kindly contributions of a penny wedding being now the enforced offerings of published presents—these, and more than these, are themes on which we could dilate at length. But life is short, though art and folly are long; and where so many stones lie in the wallet for slinging we must be content with the handiest and most effective.

E. LYNN LINTON.

## MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCES.

FROM time to time the newspapers furnish accounts of persons who, without any obvious cause, suddenly disappear from their homes, leaving no trace behind them, and generally baffling all the machinery set in motion for the purpose of discovering their whereabouts. It is doubtless true that in some instances the disappearance is simply flight from disagreeable surroundings or from threatening ills; in others there has been suicide or foul play; but when all these causes have been allowed for, there still remains a large residuum of cases for which no explanation is offered. It is to this class that I propose to devote the present paper.

The most characteristic feature of the subjects of this variety of mysterious disappearances is the fact that when they return home, or otherwise make themselves known, they profess to be entirely oblivious of every circumstance that has occurred to them during their absence; and yet inquiry shows that they have acted in an apparently conscious manner, exhibiting no indications of mental derangement or symptoms of disease. The following instances will give an idea of the phenomena of their mental state much fuller than can be obtained from any didactic description.

A gentleman who was engaged in active business as a manufacturer, and who had served during the late civil war, had suffered for several months with head symptoms of no great degree of severity, but which were sufficient to make him at times indisposed to mental exertion. Thus he had had slight pain in the forehead, occasional attacks of vertigo, and had rarely slept well. One morning, after having passed a restless night, though there had been no marked symptoms of any kind, he left his office at about nine o'clock, telling a friend that he was going to a florist's to buy some tulip bulbs. He remained absent for eight days,

during which time his friends, notwithstanding all their efforts, were unable to find him. He was tracked all over the city, and, as he had lost an arm in the war, this was no difficult matter, but the detectives that were set to search for him were always an hour or more behind him, and finally all indications of him were lost. It was ascertained that he had been to hotels, where he had slept, to shops, where he had made purchases, to billiard saloons, where he had played several games, and to theaters. Subsequently it was discovered that he had, on the fifth day, left New York by the Lehigh Valley Railroad, and had gone as far as Easton, Pennsylvania. Here he had lost his ticket, and not being able to give a satisfactory account of himself, and refusing to purchase another ticket, he was put off the train. He had then returned to New York, had passed the night at a hotel in the lower part of the city, and on the eighth day, at about ten o'clock, made his appearance at his office. He had no recollection of any event that had occurred after he had left his place of business, eight days previously, till he awoke on the morning after his return, and found himself in a hotel at which he was a stranger. It was ascertained beyond question that in all this time his actions had been, to all appearance, entirely correct, that his speech was coherent, and that he had acted, in all respects, as any man in the full possession of his mental faculties would have acted. He had drank nothing but a glass of ale, which he took with some oysters at a restaurant in Sixth Avenue.

Another instance that also came under my own observation was that of a gentleman, a partner in a large mercantile house, who was the subject of epilepsy. One morning he left his office at about eleven o'clock, for the purpose of getting a signature to a paper from a gentleman whose place of business was distant a few minutes' walk. Not returning by three o'clock, inquiry was made, and it was ascertained that he had visited the office, obtained the signature, and had departed in apparently good health before half-past eleven. He did not make his appearance at his own office till nearly five o'clock. The last thing that he recollects was passing St. Paul's Church, at the corner of Broadway and Vesey Street, just as the congregation was coming out after morning service. He was then on his way to obtain the signa-

ture he wanted. It was subsequently ascertained that after accomplishing his errand he had gone to Brooklyn ; had visited a newspaper office and purchased a paper ; had then returned to New York, entered an omnibus at Fulton Ferry, left it at the corner of Twenty-third Street and Fifth Avenue, entered the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and while there had recovered his recollection. During his wanderings he had acted in a perfectly correct manner. He had conversed with several persons, who, however, did not know him, and all bore testimony to the fact that his language was direct and coherent, and that there was apparently nothing out of the way with him. But for about six hours his mind had been in a state far removed in many respects from its normal condition. His purposes were different from those that he had previously entertained. He had not lost consciousness, but he had acquired a state of consciousness which, though not continuous with that which was natural to him, differed from it in no essential respects. If this gentleman had gone away on a long journey during the existence of this abnormal condition, and if, instead of lasting only six hours, it had continued as many weeks, we should have had the newspapers of the day reporting another case of mysterious disappearance.

In still another case quite recently under my care, the patient, a gentleman about forty years old, had received in his youth a blow on the head, by which the skull was fractured. Several years subsequently mild epileptiform paroxysms were developed. During the early part of February, 1885, his business, that of an insurance adjuster, required him to go to Indianapolis from his residence in Ohio. He remembered nothing after falling in the station just before starting till he found himself in Albany, New York, in April, nearly two months subsequent to his disappearance. During all this time he had acted consistently, and given no reason for any one to suppose that he was not in his right mind. After this he made several similar disappearances, the last occurring in August, 1886. On this occasion he suddenly left his home in Cincinnati, and three weeks afterward found himself at a hotel in Baltimore. During his residence in that city he had behaved properly in every respect. He had lived quietly, paid his bills regularly, and

impressed all with whom he came in contact with his gentlemanly manners. The whole period was, however, to him a perfect blank.

Such instances as those I have detailed are by no means uncommon. They show that it is possible for a person, under certain disordered conditions of the nervous system, to live, as it were, two essentially distinct lives. Cases of this dual existence have been reported by MM. Aznam \* and Mesnet, † and others have occurred in this country. In all of them the subjects have had paroxysms, characterized by a sudden change in their modes of life and personal qualities, and during the continuance of which they had no recollection of their normal lives. Their likes and dislikes were different, their dispositions were changed, they were, in all respects, so far as their minds were concerned, totally unlike what they had been. When they emerged from this abnormal state they resumed their former manners, habits, and modes of thought, and were in entire ignorance of anything that had occurred while the seizure lasted; indeed, unconscious that there had been the slightest departure from the ordinary course of their lives.

Another circumstance existing in all these cases is even more remarkable than any that has been mentioned. Let it be supposed that the normal states of the mind are represented by the sign +, and the abnormal states by the sign -. Now, the subject, when in the + state, recollects every event that occurred to him during all the other + states, and when he is in the - state he recollects all the events of all other - states. But he has no recollection, when in either a + or - state, of any circumstance that has taken place in an alternate state. All his + states are homogeneous with each other, as are also all his - states, but all + states are heterogeneous with all - states. Thus he leads two distinct lives, and is, to all intents and purposes, two separate persons. As + he may be a very good man, kind and amiable, free from bad habits, and beloved by all with whom he comes in contact. As - he may be desperately wicked, prone

\* "Annales Médico-psychologiques," July, 1876. "Amnésie périodique, ou dédoublement de la vie."

† "Union Médicale," July 21 and 24, 1874.

to steal everything on which he can lay his hands, brutal, drunken, worthless, and hated by all who know him. Sometimes these two states alternate with great regularity. There are cases on record in which the +, or normal, state always lasted a fixed period, then the —, or abnormal, state ensued and continued for a like time, and so on, through the whole life of the subject. If, for instance, a person is in the + state, and while engaged in some particular work the — state is suddenly developed, the work is at once stopped, but at the instant of the resumption of the + state it is taken up at the exact point at which it was discontinued, and carried on as though there had been no interruption.

Now, to apply these facts to the strange disappearances that are frequently reported in the newspapers, and for which no adequate motive is alleged. In one of these, that occurred a few months ago, a gentleman, member of a prominent business firm, suddenly disappeared. His horse and buggy were found standing in the street, but there was no trace of the owner. His accounts were perfectly correct, and there was no domestic or other trouble to explain his absence. A reward was offered for his apprehension, or for his body, if dead. It was generally supposed that he had been foully dealt with. Finally, his wife, believing herself to be a widow, broke up her establishment, and went to reside with her mother. But on the 2d of last December he suddenly returned, having been away seven months. He stated that nearly the whole period of absence was a perfect blank to him. He recollects nothing after leaving his buggy, in order to find men for some work he was having done, till he awoke to consciousness in a railway car in Kansas City, Missouri, with a through ticket for San Francisco in his pocket. He found that his forehead had been cut, and at first he thought he had been robbed, but nothing had been taken from him, and the presumption was that the wound in his head had been caused by a fall. A feeling that he would not be able to account satisfactorily for his disappearance caused him to continue his journey. He arrived at San Francisco quite ill, and was confined to his room for a month. Finally he mustered up sufficient courage to return to his home.

The other case occurred in this city. A bookkeeper in a mercantile house left his place of business on November 1st of last year, apparently intending to be absent but for a short time, as his books remained open on his desk, and he had not put on an overcoat that hung in the office. Nothing was heard from him till December 7th, when a letter written by him, and dated Washington, was received by a member of the firm that employed him. In the meantime it was ascertained that his books and papers were in perfect order, and no cause for his absence could be discovered. Circulars containing his portrait, and offering a reward for his discovery, were sent to the police of various cities and posted in public places. But all was in vain, as not a trace of him was brought to light till the reception of the letter, more than a month after his disappearance. In this communication he stated that he was well and in full possession of his faculties. He did not know how or why he had left home, and had no knowledge of the events of the last month. The return of his reasoning powers had been gradual, and when he found himself in a strange city and among strangers he was unable to account for the circumstance. The fact that he had caused sorrow and suffering to all who were dear to him was unbearable. He had learned from the newspapers that he was thought to have been killed, or to have purposely run away, and this added to his distress. On regaining his normal consciousness he had at once started to join his wife, who, soon after his disappearance, had gone to her friends in Iowa. This gentleman's habits were most exemplary, and there was no reason to doubt the truth of his story.

It would be very easy to give many other instances of a like character to those quoted, but the foregoing are probably sufficient to show the general features of the sudden disappearances of the type referred to in this paper. It is scarcely to be doubted that had the cases of well-marked double existence that have been thoroughly observed, and that have been cited in this paper, been characterized by a disposition to travel, they would have come under the head of mysterious disappearances, and have been the subjects of wonder with all acquainted with the superficial circumstances of the occurrences. The condition in question

was noticed by Wigan,\* in a work now almost forgotten, but which contains more food for reflection and more sound psychology than are to be found in the writings of more pretentious persons of the present day. Wigan says :

" We have examples, then, of persons who, from some hitherto unexplained cause, fall suddenly into and remain for a time in a state of existence resembling somnambulism, from which, after many hours, they gradually awake, having no recollection of anything that has occurred in the preceding state, although during its continuance they have read, written, and conversed, and done many other acts implying an exercise, however limited, of the understanding ; they sing, or play on an instrument, and yet, on the cessation of the paroxysm, are quite unconscious of everything that has taken place. They now pursue their ordinary business and avocations in the usual manner, perhaps for weeks, when suddenly the somnambulic state recurs, during which all that had happened in the previous attack comes vividly before them, and they remember it as perfectly as if that disordered state were the regular habitual mode of existence of the individual ; the healthy state and its events being now as entirely forgotten as were the disordered ones during the healthy state. Thus it passes on for many months or even years. This is what is called 'double consciousness,' or, as I prefer to name it, ' alternate consciousness ; ' the person being, in a manner, two individuals, as far as sensation and bodily identity are concerned."

Persons affected in this manner are, of course, difficult to find after they have absented themselves, for they have entered upon a life that is altogether new to them. The new state of consciousness into which they have passed has no relation with their former lives, and therefore, unless they should happen accidentally to stumble across some one who knows them, they would escape detection. Their conversation is about circumstances which have no connection with their past lives ; their habits and ways are not such as they have previously shown ; they have, probably influenced by new ideas of what is suitable, done all in their power to change their personal appearance. Hence the most minute description, accompanied by photographs, fails to lead to the discovery of their identity. Suddenly they pass into their normal state of consciousness, and then they are astounded to perceive their strange associations, and to learn that they have been living a life all the events of which are outside the pale of their normal existence.

\* "The Duality of the Mind," p. 391. London : 1844.

That the mind is dual is a theory which is supported by many facts in the anatomy, physiology, and pathology of the brain. Under ordinary circumstances, these two parts are manifested simultaneously—the two hemispheres of which the brain is composed act together. But under the influence of injury or disease this concord of action is disturbed, and one hemisphere acts at one time and one at another. So far as is known, every person in whom there has been the condition of alternate or double consciousness has received some wound involving the brain, or has suffered previously or at the same time from cerebral derangement, generally epileptic in character. Many of the phenomena of certain aborted forms of epilepsy are in all essential respects identical with those of double consciousness, and it often happens that this last-named state is accompanied by commonplace epileptic convulsions. It is not, therefore, too much to say that those persons in whom two distinct conditions of consciousness are shown to exist and those who suddenly disappear from their homes and as suddenly find that they have been unconscious of their acts, are affected with epilepsy, and that under the treatment proper for this disease the dual existence would cease and the impulse to run away be abolished.

WILLIAM A. HAMMOND.

## CONFessions OF A UNIVERSALIST.

I AM a Universalist "from the egg," the son of a Universalist. My earliest recollections are of a home from whence, morning and evening, the voice of prayer and thanksgiving ascended to God as the Father of all men. I know now, what I did not know then, that those prayers were the incense of a heart so filled with a noble conception of Divine Providence that it irresistibly overflowed with gratitude to God and love to men, and with the honesties, duties, and charities thence resulting.

Universalism was in its pioneer stage in those days. "Without were fightings," although within were no fears. There was no dust on the daily-used Bible; and the son is well aware that his professional training has never given him such a grip upon the verbal contents of that Bible as the father had, who, whether its pages flamed with threats or glowed with promises, saw the divine love in both, and in both the broad, divine purpose of redemption from all evil.

No theological terrors clouded my childhood. I was welcomed and made at home in a world which I was taught to believe belonged to God and not to the devil, and which was organized for such a career and destiny as only a God of wisdom, justice, and love could ordain. I was not taught to hate or to look down upon my orthodox neighbor, but I did somehow manage to acquire a keen eye for some of his practical inconsistencies, and I am afraid that this invidious faculty has never been completely trained out of me.

I have had the happiness to serve the Universalist Church as its minister for a quarter of a century. I have seen Universalism make a larger progress than even my early enthusiasm anticipated. I have found its convictions deepening in me with years, study, and toil. There are no rankling disappointments to bias my testimony, or give my words a shrewish edge. I can speak frankly, because hopefully, of the weaknesses and defects of Uni-

versalism. Like another, I can "dip my pen in the blackest ink, because I am not afraid of falling into my inkpot."

Yet I must not forget that I am criticising unfinished work. For although Universalism is older in Christianity than the doctrine of the Trinity or of the Atonement, and has always been present in Christian history in exoteric or esoteric forms, yet a Christian organization, having as its special difference a belief in the ultimate moral ennoblement of every rational creature, is a new feature in the world. Universalism, thus differentiated, is young. Our organization and polity are incomplete. The reform in Christian eschatology with which we began has proved so radical and far-reaching in its relations to the other doctrines of the Christian system as to necessitate a recasting of the whole. We do not claim that Universalism has reached its final form. We are a semi-fluid mass, only just beginning to crystallize. We expect our finished crystal to be luminous with truth, because the solution in which we are developing it is wholly and purely Christian. We claim our ancestral inheritance in the Christian Church ; and, if we lay more stress on the divine humanity than on the human divinity of our great spiritual Ancestor, it is because we are trying to put the emphasis where he put it. In short, our denominational polity is too young to have exhibited many practical defects. We have partly overcome that sturdy individualism which rejected all organization ; but so long as the walls of our edifice are growing into fair proportions, on secure foundations, we are in no hurry to "roof in" and shut out the light.

Turning, now, to confess the weaknesses in our denominational life, I find it difficult to separate them from the weaknesses that are deplored by the other denominations of Christianity, and which seem to many to be inherent in Christianity itself. Our planet has swept into a new atmosphere of thought, which crumbles the stones of many venerable ecclesiastical structures, and weakens the efficiency of many ancient beliefs. The present creeds of Christendom are held with so many mental reservations that their practical power is greatly diminished; and those ecclesiastical bodies that have personal and secular ambition as their chief motive would appear, at pres-

ent, to be making the most headway. It is impossible not to see that Christianity itself, as represented by the dominant sects, needs some renovation. It is on trial before a scientific and practical age, both as to its fundamental verities and its practical efficiency as a regenerating force in human affairs. Never before was there so persistent and steadfast a demand upon it to show fruit. "What are you doing for human welfare?" is the question pertinaciously asked, often indeed by the very ones who are undermining human welfare by a wholly selfish pursuit of wholly selfish ends. But the devil himself can ask pertinent questions, and the question "What are you doing to enrich and ennable human life?" is at all times and from all quarters a pertinent question to the Christian Church, whose function it is, not so much to ward off the supposititious evils of the future life, as to redeem men from the actual evils of the present life. All the churches confess defect, and desire renewal; and, therefore, to disengage the weaknesses that are generic to Universalism from the acknowledged weaknesses in all forms of Christian administration is not an easy task.

But let me frankly confess that we have had trouble with our hammerers of orthodoxy—a class of men who came amongst us chiefly to get implements with which to hammer orthodoxy. I do not forget that there were hammerers on the other side; and the puzzle of our situation is that we seem to owe these men something, although spiritually they are dead, and have never helped to build anything except batteries. They are to be distinguished from those great old warriors whose weapon was "the sword of the Spirit," and whose memory we can never sufficiently honor. These hammerers were a kind of doctrinal prize-fighters, who wanted to win and wear the champion belt of controversy. Their spirit and methods were wholly bad, and have had a bad reaction. Our organization has been retarded by them, and our churches are yet, to some extent, vitiated by their presence, although they are not now, as of old, aggressors upon Christian comity, but are simply negative and inert obstructionists. It is true that such characters appear in the early stage of all reforms; but we should feel very sorry if we did not believe that we can make good Christians of them yet.

We have also suffered, and do suffer, from the presence of a class of easy-going optimists, whose general idea of this life appears to be that a good-natured Creator is coaxing his rabbit-multitudes of creatures easily along toward an infinite cabbage-garden of a heaven, where they will all eat cabbages forever! These amiable persons mistake their constitutional imperturbability for the serene repose of faith, and are therefore immovable by any instrumentality less active than dynamite. A meeting-house full of them can be made as enthusiastic as a half-acre of damp toadstools. These are the persons who lie down on "tendencies," and wait with unruffled composure for wrong things to come right of themselves. They are satisfied to slide toward their destination at glacier speed, twenty feet a year or so. These men belittle and enervate life by resolutely shutting their eyes to its chief ingredient, tragedy; and thus make it a feeble story not worth continuing—

" — a tale  
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,  
Signifying—nothing."

But the man who has grasped the central law of Universalism, not to say of Christianity, knows that he must work out his own salvation. He gratefully recognizes and avails himself of the gracious and divine helps, but he knows that he must do the work. He is not looking toward a heaven of "eternal simper," but of perfected character. He recognizes, in the tragic severity of the retributive laws, the Creator's tribute of respect to the possibilities of his creature. With solemn joy he learns, by the return of his deeds upon his head, that he is under moral discipline. There is, then, Somebody who cares which way he goes! He is not an orphan-soul in an iron and fatherless universe—only a sentient lump of suffering under the crush of mechanic and pitiless forces! There is something to be done and overcome that is well worth the doing. This life is worth living; and he takes his place in its vast arena with a vital interest and a great and stout courage.

In combating the systems which at present represent Christianity, we are compelled to assume an attitude which can easily be mistaken for hostility to Christianity itself. Our own

adherents sometimes so mistake it ; and hence arises a disposition to disjoin themselves from historic Christianity. This cuts that great artery which—albeit with many sinuosities—conveys to us the fresh blood of heroic impulse from the mighty heart of Jesus on his earthly battle-field. The “essential Christ,” alone, tends to degenerate into a philosophy only, “having eyes but no hands,” and with only a languid institutional power ; the historic Jesus is an ethical impulse, a communicable life which will build vigorously and grandly “even unto the ages of ages.”

I confess that we have no Foreign Missions. We have never sent a man into heathen lands with the avowed purpose of converting lost souls to Christ. I confess that our missionary zeal has almost exclusively taken the form of propagating doctrine. After a hundred years of history, our first Foreign Missions Committee is not yet six months old. It is not for me to explain this significant fact. Perhaps, when the alleged “missionary-nerve,” now under treatment, has been cut clear through, and the wound has stopped bleeding, we will join in sending missionary workmen abroad who are nerved by the love of God and man, and inspired with a Christian solicitude to carry the great blessing of a higher moral and intellectual life to those who are unhappily destitute of the means of attaining it ; missionaries who are “constrained,” as Paul was, by the love which Christ exhibited toward men, and whose zeal is deepened into an incommensurable fervor by the assurance of complete victory over all the powers of darkness and disorder. If the Gospel has really been heretofore despoiled of its chief efficiency by illegitimate limitations ; if, when we come to read Christ’s message as he meant it, we find that the heart of his “glad tidings” is the settled purpose of God to redeem all his creatures from the power of evil ; and if this really divine message bursts from us in its thousand dialects of love and power, perhaps then the heathen both at home and abroad will hear us gladly, and the chief obstacle to universal missionary success will be removed. We could hardly expect a universal conquest for a partial faith.

Universalism suffers from a certain kind of intolerance in its own ranks. There are those among us who will not do such

and such things because "the orthodox" do them. I confess that it is a weakness in a Universalist to refuse to be an out-and-out Christian for fear he will be mistaken for a Methodist! These brethren seem to be afraid that Universalism may lose its distinctive character. I confess that it is a weakness to rest the distinction of Universalism upon its singularity rather than upon its Christian breadth and depth. Our practical efforts are not a little hampered by this broad-narrowness.

We suffer something, also, from a genuine old-fashioned conservatism, whose sole function it is to hold back, and the strength of whose harness is principally in the breeching. Or, to change the figure, the drivers of some of our denominational locomotives seem to stand all the time with one hand on the whistle-cord and the other hovering around the levers of the Westinghouse brake. These are very safe and useful engineers in rounding curves and running over unballasted portions of the road; but some of us think that where a straight, sound track is before us they ought to "pull out" and make better time.

In the work of Christian culture we suffer through vagueness of aim and incomplete and ineffective method. We have not yet achieved a system of culture which accords with the genius of our faith. Our broad generalities have not been reduced to practical teaching forms. Our business as ethical teachers is to shift the emphasis of moral motive from the future to the present; not excluding those forceful incitements that come from "behind the veil," but emphasizing the great fact of the retributive element in our present environment. "Now is the judgment of this world." We need a new redaction of that huge book of facts which shows God's moral presence in his world, and reveals him as both immanent and exigent in every soul. The attempt to superimpose the Christian culture on an unawakened conscience gives an æsthetic, not an ethical, result.

The necessities of our situation have made us heretofore more aggressive toward what we esteem false doctrine than toward sin; more anxious to change men's opinions than their conduct. In those whose moral natures were normal and alert, the Universalist culture has developed a very noble style of faith and life. We venerate those broad, deep, earnest natures, whose active

consciences are guided by a trained intelligence, and whose Christian love has made them tolerant even of gross intolerance. But Universalism has not yet shown as much power to effect radical conversion upon the very sinful and abandoned as we desire. It is not enough to save the partly saved; we want to save the lost. To degenerate into a mere select finishing-school would be a poor outcome from all our efforts. We must confess that systematic and persistent attempts at radical conversion have been infrequent among us; that our attitude toward such attempts has often been unsympathetic, narrow, and intolerant; and that we have here failed of that inclusiveness which our premises demand. Our rejection of the universality and necessity of the current phenomena of conversion gives us no title to deny its validity in specific cases. All men do not need a violent, radical conversion; but some men do need it and must have it. We were told in the outset that Universalism would be such delightful news for sinners that the godless and abandoned would run after us and fill our churches. The prediction, uttered in reproach and derision, we ought to have accepted with joy, and striven to make true. We ought to have desired nothing better than to have the godless and abandoned to work upon. How else can Universalism be universal? That the prediction, in the meaning with which it was uttered, has been wholly falsified by the event, is in one sense our vindication; in a deeper sense it is our reproach.

If I did not hope that Universalism could be purged of these and of all its lesser defects, I should not have written what I have here set down. And another, although a fainter hope, rises in me as I finish this confession. There is one unity which the separated Christian bodies have already partly achieved. It does not seem very important; it is only the unity of perceived and confessed defect. But without self-knowledge and humility such confessions could not be made. It is not impossible that an honest and searching self-analysis of weakness and defect should be the prelude—for it must be a part of any prelude—to a wider and more effective synthesis of Christian truth and its administration.

## THE SEA-SERPENT MYTH.

THE great waters have long been credited with strange monsters, and, if we are to believe the statements current during past generations, Nature has delighted in singular antics under cover of the waves. Innumerable are the wonderful products that have been ascribed to the ocean depths in times past. Not only have objects elsewhere unknown been thus outlined, but it has been held that the various inhabitants of the land have their analogues and counterparts in the water. Most of such wonders have been now consigned to oblivion, but belief in a few still survives. The most persistent of the old imaginings is that relative to a gigantic sea-serpent.

The older traditions respecting the sea-serpent may be disregarded, but the work of a godly man, published at the commencement of the latter half of the eighteenth century, must not remain unnoticed, for therein was given by far the fullest account of the great serpent yet published, and one that has been, from that time to the present, and is indeed still, esteemed as the most authoritative voucher for the reality of the animal. It was in 1751 that the Right Rev. Eric Pontoppidan, Bishop of Bergen, in Norway, and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Copenhagen, gave to the world his "Natural History of Norway." The eighth chapter of that work was "Concerning Certain Sea-monsters, or Strange and Uncommon Sea-animals." Among these sea-monsters are the merman or mermaid, the kraken, and the sea-serpent. With cautious skepticism the good bishop premises that "some of the inhabitants of the ocean are difficult to be known with any degree of certainty; and we must set some reasonable bounds to our opinions concerning them," but he nevertheless expresses the conviction that the mer-people "exist in fact, which is undeniably proved, both by the evidence of our Norwegians and of foreigners," and that the

"great sea-snake, or serpent of the ocean, seen on the coast of Norway, is not fabulous." Various statements of those who had seen mermen or mermaids are detailed, and in still greater detail is given the testimony of those who had seen the sea-serpent. The evidence is such as would convince even a jury from which intelligence had not been studiously eliminated by means of the legal sifters of modern times. The testimony in favor of the mer-people is even stronger than that for the sea-serpent. Nevertheless, belief in the existence of mermen and merwomen has long been abandoned, by the educated at least, while that in the sea-serpent is still active. Not a year passes that the papers of the day do not record the appearance of the serpent, on the testimony of some "veracious" and "reliable" observer.

Unquestionably, the most remarkable instance of the finding of a so-called sea-serpent occurred in 1808. In June, when in a boat off the island of Coll, the Rev. Mr. Maclear observed "an object" which "excited astonishment." When first seen "it appeared like a small rock," but on prolonged inspection he saw it "elevated above the level of the sea, and, after a slow movement, distinctly perceived one of its eyes." Alarmed, he "steered so as to be at no great distance from the shore," and soon "the monster" dove "violently under water," and, just as the reverend gentleman leaped on a rock, he "saw it coming rapidly under water toward the stern of the boat." When near, "it raised its monstrous head above water," and, the water being very shallow, it moved off "for about half a mile" before it disappeared. "Its head was rather broad, of a form somewhat oval; its neck somewhat smaller. Its shoulders" (he himself questions the propriety of the term) were "considerably broader, and thence it tapered toward the tail, which last it kept pretty low in the water." It appeared to have "no fin," and seemed "to move progressively by undulation up and down." Its length was "believed to be from seventy to eighty feet." Near the same time "it was seen about the island of Canna." "The crews of thirteen fishing-boats" were said to have been "so much terrified at its appearance that they in a body fled from it to the nearest creek for safety." One man "pronounced its head as large as a little boat!"

In the following autumn the carcass of a monster was found near the island of Stronsay. The "affidavits" customary in such cases were taken. One man swore that he saw it on the 26th of September, and that "ten days afterward" a gale drove it ashore; another made oath that "on the 20th of October it was seen, and that about ten days afterwards, a gale of east wind" ensued, and he "found it, in a creek, lying on its back, about a foot under water." The latter deponent later measured the stranded animal with a foot rule and "found it to be exactly fifty-five feet in length," from a "hole in the top of the skull" to the end "of the tail." The circumference was quite regular and "about ten feet." A drawing was made, which was testified to by several persons as being correct. It represented a long, snake-like animal, with a small head, a very long neck (about ten feet long), and three pairs of legs like those of a terrestrial vertebrate, originating near the back (!) mostly from the second quarter of the length, and nearly equidistant from each other. A long, low, rayed dorsal fin is represented, commenced on the shoulders, or above the first pair of legs, and continued to the end of the tail. In fact, an impossible animal, judged by the standard of animal mechanics, is represented, and yet the essential correctness of the drawing is attested to by the oaths of three persons. Here, then, was an animal not seen at a distance, but actually handled and measured. Furthermore, one of the men finally secured from the carcass "the skull, two joints of one of the largest limbs, next the head," in addition to other parts previously taken. Surely these ought to give some idea of the nature of the animal. The parts obtained were actually examined by a gentleman of some ability, Dr. John Barclay, and described as well as illustrated in an article published in the "Memoirs of the Wernerian Natural History Society." In view of the characters ascribed to the entire animal, the results were really astounding and almost incredible. Four vertebræ were figured, and they have all the characteristics of the great basking shark; the skull and shoulder-girdle are also shark-like. Unquestionably, then, the animal must have been a selachian. The modifications of the vertebræ are very characteristic for the various sharks, and each type is defined by some peculiar arrange-

ment. Now, here we have a form quite agreeing with the basking shark in the vertebræ, and yet, if any credit at all is to be given to the accounts as to the general form of the animal, entirely differing from the great shark in that respect. What are we to believe? Those most familiar with the facts of comparative anatomy accept the evidence yielded by the parts examined, described, and illustrated by an anatomist. Necessarily the accuracy of the statements of the several uneducated men who alone described the entire animal must be distrusted. Many of the statements made cannot be mutually reconciled, and we must believe either that the imagination of the men ran riot, or that this was an animal unlike any other found before or since, and transgressing laws which Nature seems to have imposed on herself. Correlation of structure, otherwise so beautifully manifested in her works, has been in this case set at defiance. Can we believe in this alleged sea-serpent with three pairs of small legs originating near the back, and having regular knees and toes? Those who can may readily believe in the sea-serpent, or any other monster, and no logic or argument would suffice to disabuse them. And yet even a naturalist of the old time (the Rev. John Fleming) accepted the data, and named the animal *Halsydrus Pontoppidanii*.

In 1817 a monster made its appearance near Cape Ann, Massachusetts, and at Gloucester. In the words of a contemporary, "all the town were, as you may suppose, on the alert, and almost every individual, both great and small, had been gratified, at a greater or less distance, with a sight of him." It remained off the coast for several days. An organization then existing, and known as the Linnæan Society of New England, appointed a committee to obtain the testimony of observers. The depositions of eleven persons were taken. The evidence was in effect that the animal was serpentiform, and had a length estimated by some at fifty feet, and thence up to one hundred feet; the head was thought by some to be like that of a turtle, by others like a snake's, and was deemed to be about the size of a horse's. No mane was evident. The back was said to have a row of protuberances. The color was alleged to be a dark-brown, and by some to be mottled, and the under parts white. On the beach

soon afterward a snake about three feet long was found, also brownish, but lighter below, and especially remarkable for a row of dorsal protuberances. It was at once assumed that the small snake was the young of the large one. The learned committee fully described and figured it, and conferred on it the name of *Scoliophis Atlanticus*. The evidence of the existence of the sea-serpent was thus held to be conclusive. But, alas! in after times the question was taken up by more competent judges, and the *Scoliophis Atlanticus* was proved to be nothing but a common black snake with a diseased backbone. Whatever the gigantic animal was, it was certainly not the mother of the snake found on the beach.

In August, 1880, it was reported that a man at Pemaquid, Maine, had caught "what might be called a young serpent," about twenty-five feet long. A letter addressed to the man (S. W. Hanna) elicited some information, and a rough outline sketch embodying his recollection (after some time) of the animal. It was said to have been of an eel-like form, twenty-four feet long, ten inches in diameter, with a very short head, but resembling "that of the shark, only more stunted," or less produced forwards. Three branchial apertures were ascribed to the side. The mouth was "very small," at the "extreme end of the head," and armed "with fine briery teeth." A dorsal fin "like" that of a codfish was placed above the pectoral fin. The posterior dorsal and anal fins were confluent with a short caudal, and "the tail was like that of a common eel." Pectorals, unlike those of a shark, but "like the side-fins of the cod or sunfish," were ascribed to the sides, far behind the branchial apertures and nearer the back than the breast. No ventral fins were noticed. "The skin was like that of the dog [-fish], but very much finer." The animal had been caught in Mr. Hanna's nets, and he "considered it a streak of ill luck rather than good fortune," it having "torn his nets very badly." It "could have been grappled twenty-four hours after, it being in only four fathoms of water." "A storm arose later which made it impossible to do so." No other persons were represented to have seen or had anything to do with the animal, and nothing further is known of it. It need only be said that such a combination of

characters as has been ascribed to the animal is simply incredible. Speculation as to what the animal could have been is needless.

But certainly, it may be urged, the subjects of observation of so many persons were veritable animals. Doubtless they were, but what they were we can only conjecture, in most cases. The imagination is often so freakful, the powers of observation and analysis so limited, and the disturbing elements on such occasions so decided, that the impressions of the observers may be almost chaotic. Let any one test the impressions and recollections of ordinary observers respecting different objects, by eliciting from them descriptions and drawings of what they have just seen, and notice how variant and often irreconcilable are the results. How much more so are they in the case of observations made on objects at a distance, in a moment of excitement. It may be replied that, in a given case, the conclusions of many, or all, concur. Yes, but how? Take the testimony of each by itself and compare it with that of the others. But when they have interchanged opinions, notice how the dogmatic utterances of some one gradually influence the others: an agreement thus reached is simply a factitious one, to be distrusted. Nevertheless, if it be insisted that something must be produced to embody the ideas of such observers, response can be readily made:

(1.) The old engraving of the sea-serpent in Pontoppidan's work represents an animal with the front portion out of water, its neck margined by an extensive frill on each side, widening downward, the other end being a long, tapering tail exerted in a subspiral curve; from the mouth issues a jet or cloud, supposed to be of water or vapor. This appearance can be referred to a gigantic squid or cuttle-fish. (Some squids reach a length of sixty feet.) The head might be simulated by the tail end, the frills by the lateral tail fins, and the tail by one of the elongated tentacular arms; even a jet of water might issue from the siphon of the animal. (It is by means of such jets that the cuttle-fish progresses, or rather backs, water.) A little imagination would suffice to fill the outline of a serpent with eyes.

(2.) The most gigantic of the selachians of the northern seas

is the great basking shark, also called sunfish and bone-shark. It frequently exceeds thirty feet in length, and is said occasionally to grow much larger. A pair may frequently be seen together, one following the other. Still more gigantic sharks occasionally come to view in tropical waters. Such are species of the genera *Rhinodon*, *Carcharodon*, and *Galeocerdo*. It has been positively asserted that individuals of these types have been seen sixty feet in length. A carcharodon once in a while visits the American coasts ; it resembles the mackerel shark in appearance, and has formidable, erect, triangular teeth. Its character may be surmised by the name—man-eater—which popular sentiment has conferred on it. Individuals caught along the American coast rarely exceed fifteen feet in length ; teeth brought up from the oozy bottom of the Pacific Ocean, however, indicate an animal of stupendous proportions—not less, in fact, than fifty feet long, and, according to some, nearly one hundred feet. Whether animals of such size still survive is doubtful, but they lived and even abounded in the past, and the teeth of such monsters occur in the miocene deposits of the United States. Animals like these, seen at a distance, and through a distorted imagination, may at least account for some of the appearances of the sea-serpent.

(3.) In widely distant seas have been occasionally seen at the surface certain fishes of strange appearance. They sometimes exceed twenty feet from end to end, and are long, and compressed like a ribbon or a board ; hence they have been called ribbon and deal-fish. A long fin, commencing on the forehead in a tuft-like assemblage of rays, and thence continued as a comparatively low and nearly uniform fin to the tail, besets the back. Individuals are at intervals caught or stranded on the coasts of northern Europe. One was beached on the Bermudan coast in 1860, and was heralded as the sea-serpent. Another was found on the Tasmanian coast in 1879, and was exhibited at Launceston and Hobart. The frontal crest of such a fish might account for the mane ascribed by some observers to the sea-serpent.

(4.) A school of porpoises progressing in single file (as sometimes seen) might also delude a susceptible observer into the belief that a sea-serpent was in sight, and, in fact, has done so more than once. Even a trained and skeptical observer like

America's eminent astronomer, Professor Newcomb, once felt sure that the sea-serpent was really in sight in its favored haunts off Cape Ann, but on closer approach in a boat to examine in more detail, the long and sinuous line resolved itself into a file of common porpoises leaping into the air.

(5.) On one occasion (in August, 1878), some English geologists on their way to Boulogne, when three or four miles from the French coast, thought they saw

"An immense serpent, apparently a furlong in length, rushing furiously along at the rate of fifteen or twenty miles an hour. It was blackish in front and paler behind. Its elongated body was fairly on the surface of the water, and it progressed with an undulating or quivering motion."

A first-rate glass was fortunately on board, but even through this, at first, the sea-serpent was seen. Finally, however, the appearance was analyzed into a mass of birds, the common shag, doubtless on their way home for the night. But the historian of the occasion (Dr. Joseph Drew) thought "it is to be feared that some of the geological gentlemen still doubt the interpretation of the lorgnette, preferring the fond deceit of a large and unknown serpent." It is not unlikely; faith is very dear!

(6.) At another time ("one morning in October, 1869"), some of the passengers on the Peninsular and Oriental steamship "Rangoon," in the Straits of Malacca, were excited by the approach of what appeared to be a sea-serpent.

"There it was, to the naked eye a genuine serpent, speeding through the sea with its head raised on a slender, curved neck, now almost buried in the water, and anon reared just above its surface. There was the mane, and there were the well-known undulating coils stretching yards behind."

But inspection with a good opera-glass dispelled the serpent; in its place appeared

"A bamboo, root upwards, anchored, in some manner, to the bottom—a 'snag,' in fact. Swayed up and down by the rapid current, a series of waves undulated beyond it, bearing on their crest dark-colored weeds or grass that had been caught by the bamboo stem."

Had not this inspection been feasible, "probably all on board would have been personal witnesses to the existence of a great sea-serpent." During the past season several vessels reported

having seen a sea-serpent on their way to the American coast. A later vessel approached nearer, and the sea-serpent proved to be a long band of floating weed.

Some authors have suggested that the unknown animal may be an enaliosaurian, and survivor of the gigantic reptiles which tenanted the seas of the secondary epoch of geology. The enaliosaurians, or sea-lizards, were gigantic reptiles of strange form, with fins or flipper-like feet adapted for life in the ocean expanse. Those specially meant by the few who have ventured the hypothesis in question were forms known as plesiosaurids. Such had a slender, although whale-like, trunk, but an extremely elongated neck capped by a small head, and the body was scaleless and naked. Such animals, in truth, might well deserve the name of sea-serpents, and they would realize the conceptions of the oceanic snake in their appearance as well as in their movements. Gliding through the water, now and then coming to the surface and projecting their long necks in various curves, they would, indeed, be striking objects, and the size of some would fall little short of that assumed for the modern serpent. And it is an animal like this, and of the same family, that has been claimed as the living embodiment of the sea-serpent of the mariner and of the lover of the marvelous. Belief in the survival of a plesiosaurid has been professed by Edward Newman, the editor of the "Zoologist," by Philip Henry Gosse, a veteran naturalist, and by no less an authority than Professor Louis Agassiz. According to Agassiz, "it would be in precise conformity with analogy" that such an animal should exist in the American seas, as he had found numerous instances in which "the fossil forms of the old world were represented by living types in the new." True it is that representatives of families and even genera live in the new world which are now unknown to the life of the old, but which were represented in the past. But that past was a near one, and not a distant one like the secondary. Furthermore, that which holds good for the inhabitants of the land and the fresh waters does not for the vertebrate tenants of the sea, whose distribution is determined by quite different factors. Mr. Gosse expressed his "own confident persuasion that there exists some oceanic animal of immense pro-

portions, which has not yet been received into the category of scientific zoology," and his "strong opinion that it possesses close affinities with the fossil enaliosauria of the lias." But these opinions of Professor Agassiz and Mr. Gosse were expressed more than a quarter of a century ago. They have been re-echoed, it is true, by others since, but not by those so well informed as those naturalists. He who would do so now would indeed be a bold or little-informed man. Science within that quarter century has made giant strides unparalleled in any other, and a prophecy or deduction which might have been plausible and excusable then would be only the offspring of ignorance or thoughtlessness now. No one who appreciates the nature of geological and paleontological evidence would now assent to the probability or even possibility of the survival to the present age of an enaliosaurian possessing "close affinities" with those of the lias. Let it be remembered how numerous those gigantic reptiles were in the ancient seas, and how common are their remains in the secondary rocks, and then reflect how abrupt was their disappearance, and that no remains have been found in any part of the world, in the enormous masses of rock which have been gained by the earth from the sea, since the far-distant past when enaliosaurians were monarchs of the ocean.

But may there not be large animals which have not yet come within the cognizance of naturalists? Unquestionably such may exist, and there are various possibilities. It is possible that a gigantic selachian may be found, related to the basking shark, with an elongated snake-like or eel-like body; and, in fact, a small shark of an anguilliform aspect was not long ago discovered, which resembled in structure the gray sharks, or notidanids. It is possible that a chimæroid selachian may be living in the sea, of like form, with a dorsal fin next to the head, and an eel-like tail. It is possible that a snake-like shark may yet be found, with the dorsal fin close to the head, and a tail which might at first glance appear to be anguilliform. It is possible that a zeuglodont with an elongated neck may be living, a lineal descendant of animals whose bones have been exhumed from miocene beds. During the miocene tertiary certain zeuglodonts roved the seas, which might be compared to serpents, and most

curious creatures they were. Their characters have been indicated by Professor Cope. They were primitive or generalized whales, having teeth still differentiated as incisors, canines, and two-rooted molars. (The name *zeuglodont* alludes to this yoke-like character.) But they were highly specialized in form, and their body and tail were long drawn out.

Such are a few of many possibilities. But the word "possibility" in this case must not be regarded as being interchangeable with "probability." It is not at all probable that any one now living will be a witness to the corporealization of any of the possibilities suggested. And it is not probable that any one will ever be able to contemplate the body of a serpent-like monster which progresses through the sea with vertical undulations, or which has a mane, or which exhibits various other characteristics manifested by the sea-serpent, so often seen from a distance by summer tourists and guileless mariners.

An English jurist, whose eminent career at the bar secured his preferment to the bench, has given us the benefit of his life-long experience in an opinion respecting the value of evidence. "He who began by believing the assertions of witnesses," he is reported to have said, "would never get the idea of truth." The only chance was "to remain perfectly neutral until a piece of evidence appeared which could not be true. By eliminating that, and any subsequent allegations of the same kind, the bottom of the well might at last be reached." Cynical as this utterance is, the naturalist must frequently be disposed to assent to its applicability, and especially in so far as the evidence for a sea-serpent is affected. Another legal maxim as to testimony is also entitled to respectful consideration. Circumstantial evidence is in many cases better than direct statements. Now it so happens that as to those sea-serpents which have been seen, certain allegations have been made which the naturalist is positive cannot be true. Nature appears to be often capricious, and sometimes to indulge in strange and fantastic freaks, but those who know her works and ways know that she is always consistent. Even when she indulges in evolution of monsters she shapes her work under the stress of inexorable law. The men who have offered their testimony on the sea-serpent have not known

those laws, and when they have testified, they have almost always given too many details. Those details enable the scientist to check and test their evidence, and some flaw is almost sure to exist. A course of reading through the multifarious testimony that has been taken on the body of the sea-serpent will incline any critical mind to respond "amen" to the sentiments of the English judge. That testimony is scattered through hundreds of papers and is yearly increasing. If one begins to believe in the literal truth of one statement, where is he to end? Certainly, instead of believing in one sea-serpent, the ocean would become pregnant with monsters which can find no place under the laws which are now supposed to dominate nature. Species there are, families even, perhaps even orders, which have not yet been discovered, but there is no room for incongruous "creations" such as the sea-serpents that have been described. Nor will any animal be discovered in the sea, of gigantic size, which is at all entitled to be called a "serpent," or any other kind of reptile. Sea-serpents there are in abundance in the Eastern seas, and along the Pacific coasts of tropical America; numerous enough to be a source of annoyance and danger, not seldom of death even, to the frequenters of those seas. But they are well known to naturalists, of comparatively small size, and not akin to any animal that has ever been thought to be "the great sea-serpent." When coherent detailed testimony is offered in favor of any animal that might even remotely suggest the name of the monster, it will be time enough to consider it. Meanwhile, skepticism may be pardoned; it certainly will be exercised by those most qualified to judge.

THEODORE GILL.

## STANDING ROOM ONLY.

THE increase in the population of the world during the last two or three centuries, and especially within the nineteenth, is a subject which deserves more consideration than it has hitherto received. Judging the future by the past, it would seem that the date is not far distant when it will be necessary to place at the portals of our globe the announcement, dear to the heart and pocket of the manager of a theater, "Standing room only."

Till one hundred years ago, population totals were chiefly determined by estimates rather than by careful enumeration; even now, in some countries, the census is taken by counting only the heads of families, and adding for each family a certain average number of members. Consequently, our figures for the population of the world cannot be considered exact; but they are sufficient for the purposes of this article. In 1869 the population of the globe, partly by census and partly by estimate, was held to be 1,228,000,000; in 1871, 1,391,000,000; and in 1878, 1,439,000,000. Two hundred and eleven millions was the estimated increase in ten years, or four times the entire population of the United States. For these figures the census returns were used wherever they existed, and for the countries that gave no returns, or only partial ones, the estimates were increased in the same proportions as the known increase of the carefully enumerated populations.

Let us glance for a moment at some of the countries where the inhabitants are carefully enumerated at stated periods, and observe the astonishing statistics they give us. Occasionally the grand totals will be slightly increased or diminished, for the sake of convenience; thus, the population of the United States, in 1790, 3,928,827, will be placed at 4,000,000, and that

of Africa in 1878, 205,219,500, at 205,000,000. We will first deal with our own country. With four millions in 1790, we had 9,638,000 in 1820, 23,000,000 in 1850, and 50,000,000 in 1880. In ninety years our population has been multiplied by twelve, partly by immigration, partly by the accession of new territory, but largely by natural increase. The new territory comprises the Louisiana purchase in 1805, the State of Texas, annexed in 1845, and the lands that came to us as indemnity for the Mexican War. All these territories were either unoccupied wilderness or but sparsely settled areas, and they added but little to our population. Immigration and natural increase were the principal factors in changing 4,000,000 to 50,000,000; and some may say that immigration is chiefly responsible, and that the population of the countries whence the immigration came has diminished.

From the beginning of the century there has been a stream of emigration from the countries of the Old World to the United States, and notably from Ireland and Germany. Down to the fourth decade it increased year by year, checked or augmented occasionally by temporary causes. Thus, in 1837 it amounted to 79,000, but declined in the following year to 38,000, in consequence of a financial panic and general business demoralization, well remembered by many men now advanced in life. A few years later (1846) the famine in Ireland sent great numbers of people from that unhappy country to America. From 1845 to 1854, inclusive, 1,500,000 Irish emigrants crossed the Atlantic, but after that time the emigration diminished, the average for ten years after 1855 being less than half that of the preceding decade. The total immigration into the United States from 1856 to 1874, inclusive, was 4,804,000, an average of nearly 253,000 annually; in sixty years (1820-1879) the total immigration from all parts of the world was 9,908,000, and the greatest for any one year was 788,000, in 1882. Of this immigration, Ireland and Germany were the chief sources of supply, the former contributing 3,065,761, and the latter 3,002,027—figures surprisingly near each other. The census of 1801 gave Ireland a population of 5,395,000; forty years later it was 8,175,000, but in 1850 it had fallen to 6,552,000. At the last census, 1881, it was 5,174,000, thus

leaving the total population only 221,000 less than in 1801, notwithstanding the enormous emigration to America and other lands. The increase from 1801 to 1841 shows what might have been to-day the population of Ireland, if the great tide of emigration had not set in. Germany has done better than Ireland, in spite of emigration and wars. In 1816 she had 23,103,000 inhabitants; in 1837, 30,000,000; in 1867, 38,000,000; and in 1882, 45,213,000. Part of this increase is due to the annexation of territory taken from her neighbor, France; and for the same reason the population of France shows a decline of nearly 2,000,000 between 1866 and 1872. Apart from this particular instance, French statistics show the average annual number of births to be 250,000 more than the deaths, a rate of increase considerably less than in most countries of Europe.

But if Ireland shows a decline in population since 1801, the rest of the United Kingdom does not. In 1841 the United Kingdom had a population of 27,000,000; it had 29,000,000 in 1861, and 35,000,000 in 1881; and it must be noted that, in addition to the emigration from Ireland, there was a large emigration from England, Scotland, and Wales, not only to the United States, but to the British colonies in America, Australia, and elsewhere. Russia, Spain, Italy, and, in fact, all the countries of Europe, show an increase of population as the years roll on. The growth is more rapid in some than in others, owing to various causes, being seven or eight per cent. annually for the highest rates, and from one to two per cent. for the lowest. Statistics show that in all the countries of South America there is an annual increase of population, considerably greater in most instances than in Europe. Australia and New Zealand may be said to have come into existence, so far as population is concerned, within the past hundred years. In 1788 New South Wales had a total population of 1,030, but in 1881 the figures had risen to 751,468. Victoria had 224 inhabitants in 1836, and 945,703 in 1884. In 1846 Queensland had 2,257 inhabitants, and in 1881 the census gave her population as 213,575. In Japan there is a population of about 36,000,000, and the births annually exceed the deaths by 250,000 and more. India and China are adding year by year to the number of their inhabitants. The islands of the

Malay Archipelago show a very rapid increase of population; and in some instances the increase is extraordinary. Let us take the island of Java for an example.

Java was wrested from Holland by England in 1810, and restored in 1816. At the time of the restoration it had a population of 4,615,000, which increased in twenty years to 7,861,000. At the last census (1882) it was 20,260,000; and the island is one of the most densely populated regions in the world, having 398 inhabitants to the square mile of the whole area, including mountains, valleys, and everything else. In density of population Java is surpassed only by Belgium, which has 481 inhabitants to the square mile, and is most nearly approached by the Netherlands, with 312. Java and Belgium are certainly nearing the point where the placard, "Standing room only," will be required. British India has 311 inhabitants to the square mile; the United Kingdom, 289; Germany, 180; Japan, 234; Italy, 246; France, 180; and Denmark, 133. The United States may lay claim to about 14 to the square mile; but it must be remembered that we have a large area of mountain, desert, and swamp lands, that can never be agriculturally productive. But, at the rate we are progressing, less than two centuries will give us a population as dense as that of Java or of Belgium.

Probably there has never been a century in the world's history with so rapid a growth of population as the nineteenth, just as there has never been a century with so much progress in science and the mechanic arts. But is it not possible that we have learned too much for the future, and even the near present, good of our race? Medical and chemical science have brought cholera, plague, small-pox, and other epidemic and contagious diseases under control. True, they are not extirpated, but their ravages are slight compared with those of only a hundred years ago. These visitations had their uses in restricting the growth of population; the same was the case with famine, before the era of the locomotive and the steamship, which permit the speedy transport of food to the places where it is needed. The deaths by famine in the interior of India sometimes ran into the hundreds of thousands, or even into millions, owing to the impossibility of supplying food where the crops had failed. There

were no roads, no means of transport—a deficiency which is now largely met by the railway and the steamer. Famine is still possible in parts of India and other countries of the East, but far less so than of yore. Thus has been removed another agency that kept down the population of those densely peopled countries.

Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war, but has also her disadvantages. Down to the Dutch occupation of Java, the natives of that island were divided into numerous tribes that were constantly at war with each other; they did not confine the slaughtering to men alone, but butchered women and children, in certain contingencies, with an impartial hand. The Dutch put an end to these wars, by compelling the local sultans, princes, rajahs, and tribal rulers to live at peace with each other; and they furthermore compelled these dignitaries to utilize the muscular power of their subjects' limbs in tilling the soil. The famous "culture system" of General Van Den Bosch (established in 1832) compelled every man to be employed; every village or district was required to raise, according to the number of its inhabitants, a certain quantity of tea, coffee, rice, sugar, or other product to which the land was best suited, and these products were bought by the government at certain fixed prices, and afterward sold in the markets of Europe. In this condition of enforced peace and industry the inhabitants of Java increased and multiplied, till the four and a half millions of 1816 have become the twenty millions and more of 1882. A cynic might suggest that the Dutch had better retire, and allow the natives to make war on each other in the arcadian simplicity of the olden time.

Similarly, the work of peace is evident in that other densely peopled country, Belgium, though in far less degree. In 1832, when she became an independent kingdom, under a guarantee of neutrality from the great powers, unable to make war or be warred upon, she had 4,064,000 inhabitants. At her last census she had 5,520,000. She has prospered in her manufacturing industries, but, in spite of this prosperity, she has a great deal of poverty within her borders. Pauperism is everywhere. According to an official report, out of 908,000 families in Belgium in a

certain year, 89,000 were wealthy, 373,000 were in straitened circumstances, and 446,000 were in a condition of wretchedness. Here again comes our cynic, and says: "These are the cankers of a calm age and long peace. Belgium is overcrowded, and it would be for her a blessing in disguise to turn loose the plague and the cholera, and 'cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war.' Reduce by one-half the population of Belgium, and the remainder will be far better off."

We are accustomed to regard with horror the spectacle of all Europe armed to the teeth—Germany, Russia, France, Italy, and Austria sustaining immense armies on a peace footing, and speedily doubling their forces at the outbreak, or even the threat, of war. The peace societies call upon emperors and kings to disband their forces, send the men to their homes, and engage them in industrial pursuits. But will these advocates of peace tell us where all this vast number of men released from military occupations can be employed? Think of the fearful addition to the number of the unemployed, if the armies of Europe were disbanded. The position of a soldier of the rank and file in any army of Europe is not an attractive one, but the man gets at least food and clothing and shelter—blessings by no means assured to him if he were returned to civil life—and, furthermore, the industries connected with the provisioning and maintenance of the army give occupation to great numbers of persons in civil life.

Malthus held that population, unchecked, increases in geometrical ratio, while food can only be made to increase in arithmetical ratio. If he had good basis for his theory fifty years ago, how much firmer basis is there for it at the present time, considering the work of science, and of the agencies we have mentioned, in averting disease and prolonging life. He argued the necessity of powerful checks upon population, and claimed advantages for destructive vices and moral and prudential restraints. Setting aside the sentimental and moral aspects of the subject, it may well be questioned whether the labors of the humanitarian, or the fruits of science and invention, have been for the real benefit of the race.

THOMAS W. KNOX.

## SHALL THE JURY SYSTEM BE RETAINED?

RECENT trials of aldermen in New York have again directed public attention to our present jury system. Great defects are alleged to inhere in it, and the press, in many instances, is demanding that vital changes shall be made. Says one of the principal daily newspapers of New York:

"The jury system, as exhibited in the Court of General Sessions, seems to be admirable in one respect, namely, that it gives entire satisfaction to the 'boodlers' and their friends. There are so many ways of arranging for the jury's verdict by the skillful use of funds and influence, . . . that the system is entirely in their favor. The city is to be hunted throughout for twelve men who have no opinions, no prejudices against anything or anybody connected with the case ; twelve men who don't read the papers, or, if they do, don't care a penny whether aldermen take bribes or not ; and, when they are found, a single one of their number can hang the case up, and practically give the accused immunity."

Another influential paper, published in Philadelphia, after giving an account of the condition of affairs in several of the counties of one of our central States, thus comments on another phase of our jury system :

"It is impossible to bring criminals to justice on account of the family ties which bind the desperate characters together. The people are all related to each other, and the jury is certain to be composed of the murderer's kindred. Law is unknown, and justice is a farce."

Lawyers, however, are a conservative class, and they exercise great influence in matters of legislation. It will require more than transient excitement to persuade them to give up a system which they and their predecessors have for centuries believed to be one of the great bulwarks of liberty. "I do not like juries," said a member of the Philadelphia bar, "yet, if we give them up, I am afraid that we shall return to the condition of affairs under the infamous Jeffreys." This is, however, an extreme opinion.

In our republic there is little danger of a Lord Jeffreys. But Jeffreys had juries, and accomplished his atrocious purposes by browbeating and terrifying them. Our people insist upon an honest and able judiciary ; of this we have proof in elections recently held in the city last named, and elsewhere. But another very able lawyer in Philadelphia informs me that, while heretofore he has been an upholder of the jury system, he has now become utterly disillusioned. He affirms that the only good juries that city has are those in the United States Courts, but that the methods of selecting jurors, even in the Federal Courts, are, in all cases having the least political bearing, seriously objectionable. A writer from the same city, some time since, in closing a paper on juries, says, that the vitality of jury trials is exhausted, and that the system is ripe for destruction.

The chief objections to the present method may be reduced to four : that it is uncertain and unsatisfactory ; that it involves great delay ; that it is a source of unlimited expense ; and that it imposes a heavy burden upon those who are compelled to serve as jurors.

As to the first objection, it is a fact generally conceded that nothing is more uncertain than the action of a jury. There are exceptions to this, but even the exceptions do not tend to raise the system in our estimation. In some parts of the Union, while a man guilty of shooting another has, to say the least, a fair chance of acquittal, he is, if charged with stealing a horse or a cow, certain of conviction, unless a vigilance committee chances to seize him and hang him without any trial at all. Again, juries are supposed to be more lenient to evil-doers than judges are ; nevertheless, in every case of the indictment of Chinamen in the Territories that has come to my knowledge, the accused have, where it has been possible, waived a trial by jury. In other words, they have preferred justice to mercy.

The law is, that a jury shall decide a case solely upon the evidence adduced before them, and upon the charge of the court. I believe it fair to say, however, that not one verdict in twenty is founded entirely upon the testimony and the judge's charge. I do not mean to assert that all such verdicts are unjust, but that they do not comply with the law. Religious,

political, or national bias, a neighborhood antipathy, the eloquence of a lawyer, a newspaper article, the use of dice, or a game of cards has frequently decided a case involving thousands of dollars, or imprisonment for years. In one of the most atrocious murder cases that was ever tried before me, the prisoner was acquitted, notwithstanding that the evidence was direct and overwhelming. This result, I afterward learned, was due entirely to nationality. The assassin and several of the jurors belonged to a nation that was noted for culture and refinement rather than for brutal and bloodthirsty proclivities.

This occurred in the West. But a short time ago the Treasurer of the State of Pennsylvania was assassinated by the self-confessed seducer of his daughter. The murderer was tried and acquitted, but was subsequently killed by the son of his victim. This son was then tried, and also acquitted. Apparently, there must have been grievous error committed by at least one of the juries. Such proceedings naturally incite a man to take the law into his own hands, instead of submitting his wrongs to courts of justice. The result in these and similar cases has promoted the action of vigilance committees and of lynch law. These, though prompt and decisive in action, do not tend to increase respect for the law.

In a late case in Pennsylvania a jury awarded the plaintiff—a father whose son was drowned by reason of the carelessness of village authorities—the sum of \$250 as the value of his boy; while in the same State, but a few weeks ago, a man obtained a verdict for \$10,000 against a railroad company for an injury to his foot. In another case of recent occurrence, the jury for twenty-four hours stood seven for the plaintiff and five for the defendant; then they learned from a constable that a horse-race, supposed to have been postponed, would certainly come off that afternoon, and immediately agreed upon a verdict and were discharged in time to see the race.

A leading periodical in New York stated some time since that one thing had been forgotten by those who opposed juries, namely, that parties to suits insisted upon having their causes tried by them. We do not forget it, but we claim that it is the majority of the people, and not merely those who are litigants,

that have the right to say how causes shall be tried. But there are good reasons for saying that the majority of litigants do not favor trial by jury—they merely submit to it. If their cause is just, they willingly leave it to a judge or referee; if unjust, they will in ninety-nine instances out of one hundred demand a jury.

There is a strong and rapidly extending conviction among tax-payers, and it is shared by members of the bar as well as by the press, that decided changes should be made in our present methods. But what those changes ought to be is still an open question. A distinguished judge of the Court of Appeals of New York writes me, in reference to a former paper, that he thinks I am not inclined to do full justice to “the twelve men in the box,” but that he approves of urging the matter upon public attention, as some changes are certainly advisable. A justice of the Supreme Court of the same State, known for his fine scholarship and his broad and advanced views upon many subjects, says, in a letter which I have just received :

“ While it has been my experience that the results of jury trials are sometimes unsatisfactory, yet I regard the system as the best which has yet been devised for the decision of issues of fact, and I have seen no suggestion of changes by which I think it likely to be improved. More care should be taken in the selection of names for the jury lists, fewer exemptions should be allowed, and the best men should be brought to feel that the jury service, fairly apportioned, is a sacred and imperative duty.”

Judge Michael Arnold, of Philadelphia, but a few weeks ago, in the annual address delivered before the Law Academy and members of the bar of that city, upon the subject of “The Law’s Delays,” remarked, as to trial by jury :

“ In the determination of such questions as whether a defendant has signed a note of hand, or whether a debt has been paid, there can, in my opinion, be no better mode of procedure. But trial by jury was never fitted for the determination of many of the questions tried by that method at the present day. And again, look at the delay in jury trials. In our practice a case is called only once in three months, and sometimes once in six months, and if counsel are absent, sick, or engaged, it goes on for another six months.”

It is not denied that a jury is competent to pass upon such questions of fact. Are they, however, any more competent than

a court properly constituted, the members of which for years have given their attention to sifting the true from the false, and to hardening their hearts against the pathetic and tearful advocate who, before a jury, too often gains a victory over his equally learned and astute, but less eloquent opponent? While, in professions, trades, and business of all sorts, special training and special skill are universally regarded as the indispensable conditions of success, or even of admission, it is a curious anomaly that men without experience or discipline are chosen for jurors, that is, for the discharge of functions virtually judicial, and for the accurate sifting and weighing of conflicting testimony. The courts may find the method very convenient for the purpose of deciding questions of fact. It relieves them from great responsibility. Is it, however, the best? It is certainly neither the most prompt nor the most economical. It is, besides, much easier to tamper with a jury than with a court. In the case of McQuade, the second of the New York aldermen to be tried, great fears of bribery were entertained. It was notoriously reported that certain jurymen had been "fixed." Finally, the defendant undertook to avail himself of this condition of affairs by attempting to show that a juror had been intimidated.

The question of what is and what is not proper, in the way of testimony, to go before a jury, raises one of the most delicate and difficult points within the scope of jurisprudence. The number of motions made in reference to such matters, and the amount of delay caused thereby, would, if a correct statement of them were published, startle the country. The charge of the court, the conduct of the jury, and the behavior of the bailiff also furnish plenty of material for applications for new trials.

The admission of incompetent evidence of a feather's weight has often caused a fair verdict to be set aside, an actual murderer to be given a new trial, or a just claimant to be put to yet greater expenses of litigation and still further delay. It is right to say, however, that courts are more and more holding to the rule, as in the recent case of Titus, at Trenton, that they will not interfere with a verdict, even when improper testimony has been admitted, unless it clearly appears that the defendant has been injured thereby.

But it seems strange that while this extreme jealousy exists on the part of courts and counsel as to protecting juries against every improper influence, so great latitude should be given to advocates in summing up. Fiery and eloquent appeals, logic, rhetoric, personal influence, the advocate's own statement of the facts in the case, his especial version of them, and denunciation of the jurors in case they do not find in his favor, are all permitted.

It is not by any means the most learned, sound, and honest lawyer, or the one that has the best case, that usually succeeds with a jury; it is he, rather, who has a profound knowledge of human nature, and who can tell what he does not know as well as what he does know, in a pleasing, ready, and insinuating manner. In many instances advocates have at one time been for the plaintiff in one cause, and a few days later for the defendant in another, with precisely similar facts and principles involved; and yet have won both cases—sometimes before the same jury.

Frequently a client's cause is virtually won the moment that certain counsel accept the retaining fee. Herein lies one of the greatest dangers of the system. The able advocate has greater influence with the jury than have the merits of the case. It is also a fact that juries, far more frequently than courts, will give great weight to the testimony of a smooth-tongued and impudent rascal, who will swear to anything, and bear his cross-examination with cool effrontery; but they will disregard the evidence of the honest, ignorant, and browbeaten witness who tells the truth, but becomes sadly confused under the fire of opposing counsel. I once went from a court-room in company with an intelligent farmer who was serving on the jury. As we passed out he exclaimed: "I am exceedingly disappointed in Mr. X.," referring to one of the most gifted lawyers in western New York; "I thought he was a very able advocate." "He is so regarded," I replied, "and I notice that you jurymen generally find in his favor." "That is just it," said the farmer; "he is no lawyer. He does not spread himself, like the others, and put us on our guard not to be influenced by his eloquence. He is just like one of us. He puts the thing squarely and honestly, and we believe what he says." It is scarcely neces-

sary to observe that Mr. X. had attained to the highest degree of art.

In considering the first objection to our jury system, I have necessarily treated of two others—expense and delay. The fourth objection is, that it places an unjust burden upon those who are compelled to serve as jurors. Numerous are the complaints that the valuable time of intelligent business men is, without any reasonable compensation, occupied in hearing and settling petty disputes between their idle and quarrelsome neighbors. Very often they could much better afford themselves to pay the amount involved than to waste their time in serving. These are the jurors that courts desire to have impaneled. Upon the other hand, those idle hangers-on of courts, who always wish to be drawn, are the very persons who are most objectionable.

If the jury system were completely abolished, probably no one, ten years thereafter, would desire to return to it. As before stated, many judges favor the present method. It is, no doubt, a great convenience for the judges that the decision of issues of fact is left to the jury. But the people are becoming tired of the burden, and the question is, how much longer they should be compelled to bear it? Some writers say that judges have already too much to do. That is admitted. But the number can be increased at far less expense than the present system can be maintained. Now, nearly every cause may be taken to an appellate court. There verdicts can be affirmed, reversed, or modified. The judge before whom the cause is tried has similar power. So, after all, the courts now, to a great extent, control the matter. They can set aside an unjust verdict, but they cannot compel a jury to bring in a just one. Hence, nearly endless delay and great expense are incurred. I know of one case against a railroad company, in which the verdict was set aside five times. These juries awarded from \$25,000 to \$40,000 for personal injuries, for which the court believed \$5,000 would be ample compensation, and the damages were regarded as excessive. The matter was finally adjusted without the aid of court or jury.

Nearly, if not quite, all the objections which have been urged against trials by jury would be obviated by trials by a court. Judges may be ignorant, prejudiced, and corrupt. There is no

question but that some occasionally are. When such instances do occur, however, the people speedily arise in their might, and impeach or remove the offending officer, or refuse him another term of office. Jurors cannot be reached so readily. Even bad judges have some sense of official dignity and professional honor, which prevents them, in many instances, from disgracing themselves. For years, in courts of chancery, very important issues have been decided by the chancellor only, with the aid of a master, and the result generally has been satisfactory. If this is true of equity cases, why should it not be equally so in actions of common law? I should very much like to see all our higher courts of original jurisdiction composed of three judges, who should decide issues of fact as well as of law. They ought, of course, to have expert stenographers, so that every important question might be reviewed by the appellate courts; and writs of error should, in all criminal cases, be writs of right. A much greater change of sentiment, however, will be necessary before such a plan can be adopted.

Among the remedies proposed by different writers are trials by a single judge, the abolition of exemption laws and more care in the selection of juries, specially qualified supervising boards, and laws giving the right to waive a jury. One learned judge states, in a leading review, that "the way of wisdom is not to abolish, but to improve the system."

Two remedies which have been suggested remain for consideration. Where arbitrators are chosen, as is frequently done in Pennsylvania, if two of the three decide for the plaintiff, he wins the case. This plan, which has been found to promote justice and to expedite matters, has grown in favor. If, then, two out of three can justly decide a case, why cannot eight or nine out of twelve jurymen do the same? In view of the number of obstinate, perverse, and corrupt jurymen that are to be found, it does not appear right that in every instance the plaintiff in civil actions, or the prosecutor in criminal ones, should be compelled to have a unanimous verdict in order to gain their cause. It gives any one man on the jury too much power. In Sweden only a two-thirds vote of the jury is required, and I am informed that the plan works well. The same rule prevails in other countries.

In the last Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania a strenuous effort was made to have the fundamental law of the State so changed that juries might be waived in all civil actions, and that three-fourths of a jury might find a verdict. The last amendment was, however, unsuccessful. Henry Hallam, the great writer upon the constitutional history of England, strongly favors "the Saxon polity, the trial of facts by the country, except as to that preposterous relic of barbarism, the requirement of unanimity."

The fact that the defendant in criminal causes can move time and again for a new trial, while the prosecution, under the provisions of the Constitution as to placing a man in jeopardy but once on a criminal charge, cannot do so at all, renders amendment in this particular doubly necessary.

The other remedy, that of enacting laws by which causes may be referred for trial to competent lawyers, and compelling parties who insist upon juries strictly to comply with certain rules, has already accomplished great good. In one State scarcely any civil causes are now tried by juries, except those sounding in tort. In another, by reason of a law compelling the litigant who demands a jury to deposit with the court a certain sum in advance, for the expenses, nearly every cause is tried by the judge alone.

With such changes in the present system many objections would be obviated, and the way gradually paved for further reforms.

EDWARD A. THOMAS.

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## MANUAL TRAINING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

As each age has its own institutions and its own duties, so each age requires its own education, to fit for these duties. The education of the Middle Age, or even of a hundred years ago, will not fit men to perform their duty efficiently under our present institutions. Since the Reformation, and particularly during the last hundred years, the changes in political, social, and, above all, in economic life, have been rapid and great, and education has not kept pace with them. Indeed, no great, persistent effort has been made to suit education continuously to changing conditions, and it is only now, when we are discovering through bitter experience the effects of inappropriate education, that we are induced to turn our attention to it and try to better it.

As might be expected, the defects in our present educational system show themselves most clearly in our economic relations. It is always the material shoe that gives the hardest pinch. Naturally enough, then, reformatory effort is directing itself especially to those branches of education which bear most directly upon economics. This is not only natural, it is also right. Man's material concerns, though lowest in the scale, are fundamental, and must take precedence in time of all others. Now, economics concerns itself with two things, (1) the production of

wealth, (2) the distribution of wealth.\* Any education, therefore, that would prepare men to do their duty efficiently in our present economic conditions must concern itself with these two things, and it must do so in two ways—theoretically and practically. It must show not only how wealth, to the most desirable amount, is best produced; it must also give practical instruction in production. It must, further, not only show how wealth is most equitably distributed; but it must also seek to develop an ethical readiness to accept and further such distribution.

Thus, a complete economic education, such as our present circumstances demand, would necessarily consist of three branches, (1) a practical branch, (2) a theoretical branch, (3) an ethical branch. Since practice must precede theory, and theory rational ethics; since, moreover, the production of wealth must precede its distribution, economic education will properly begin with practical training in the production of wealth, with the development of productive skill.

Now, in the production of wealth there are two main branches, (1) the production of raw material from the earth, (2) the production from raw material of things satisfying human needs or desires. For brevity's sake, we may call the former primary production, the latter, secondary production. The practical part of economic education ought evidently to extend to both. Training ought to be given in agriculture, horticulture, arboriculture, mining, etc., as well as in the various arts of manufacture and trade.

Manual training, in its broadest sense, means the training of the hand for any purpose, and extends to writing, drawing, and exercise in the liberal and mechanical arts. Piano-playing demands an enormous amount of manual training. But, in ordinary usage, the phrase means only the training of the hand in the arts of design and of manufacture. In this sense it is but one branch in a system of practical economic education, and requires to be supplemented by others.

\* I use the term "wealth" here in its ordinary economic signification, but with a protest. The confusion of wealth with the necessities of life, and of capital with the instruments required for the attainment of these necessities, is an abundant source of confusion, and often of base equivocation. Wealth is what a man possesses beyond the necessities of life. Capital is wealth used to procure more wealth, and nearly always involves usurpation of labor.

These remarks are in no way intended to disparage manual training, but to show its proper place in economic education. Manual training is the favorite of the day, and there is no harm in this. At the same time, we must be careful not to give too much importance to it, lest we end by provoking a reaction against it, when it shall prove not to accomplish, by itself, all that is expected of it.

In any case, seeing that a very large portion of our citizens must earn their livelihood by manufacturing, and that success in this requires manual training, such training must be included in our systems of education. But it is not merely our economic system that demands manual training; our whole view of life demands it. Two things are essential to life as we conceive it—culture and freedom. Without these life is not human. Now, manual training is at once an essential part of culture and an essential condition of true freedom. It is simply the culture of one set of the active human powers. At present, even among so-called cultured people, there is a large number of manual incapables and ignoramuses, who, so far from being ashamed of their incapacity, rather look down upon those who possess manual culture, forgetting that the man who cannot use his hands skillfully is cut off from one of the most fundamental conditions of independence.

It is a settled fact, then, that manual training is demanded as an essential part of modern education, both economic and liberal. The question that remains is, How shall this training be imparted? That it will involve a considerable outlay of time and money may be regarded as certain. It will, of course, also call for a large number of teachers capable of imparting manual instruction. It does not, however, follow that we shall have to add either to our school-budget or to the number of our teachers.

While complaints are continually being made that the children in our schools are already so overcrowded with work that their health is in danger; while in many of our largest and most opulent cities there is not sufficient school accommodation for all the children demanding admission; while even in New York an attempt has recently been made to reduce the salaries of the teachers already appointed, it seems useless to talk of adding to the number of studies, or of making arrangements which look as

if they must call for more extensive school accommodation and a new body of specially trained teachers. It seems as if we must say: Manual training is a most valuable thing, but we must forego it, because there are so many other important branches to be taught, and because we cannot afford the money to pay for additional school accommodations and the additional teachers such as it would demand. Let us consider these two objections in their order.

The first is by far the more formidable. If it be true that the children in our schools are already overcrowded with work, and that this work is more essential than manual training, then, of course, manual training must not be thought of. But I am thoroughly convinced that neither of these things is true. The children in our schools are not by any means overburdened with work, and much of the work which they do is far less essential than manual training, while some of it is altogether useless, and worse. The fact is, that American children generally have hardly a notion of the amount of patient plodding that European children go through. I am entirely convinced that the cases in which naturally healthy children lose their health by what we are pleased to call study are rare in the extreme, and that the cases cited to prove the contrary are due either to original weakness or to bad habits, arising from want of parental care and discipline. There is no country in the world where children are made so much of, no country in which they are so badly disciplined, and hence so much exposed to danger, as in the United States. To the disciplined children of Europe the work done in our schools would seem mere play. If our children were disciplined as they ought to be, manual training might be added to the list of studies in our schools without danger of overcrowding. But we need not add even an hour's work to that now done there, in order to introduce it. Let us do away with what is nonsensical and hurtful in our present courses, and plenty of time will be left for all the manual training that is desirable. Do away, for example, with a great deal of the arithmetic, a great deal of the formal grammar, the whole of the elocution and elocutionary reading that are now taught. Above all, do away with the whole wicked system of school exhibitions, which not

only waste valuable time, but teach so many evil lessons of vanity, envy, and selfishness, and whose cheap, vulgar applause so tends to unfit young people for the sober, unapplauded duties of real life. Do away, also, with the whole marking and ranking system, which goes so far to misplace the motives for study, encourages cramming and display, and occupies so much time.

If these things and others of the same kind were removed, plenty of time would remain for manual training. Nay, more, much of what would be left after such removal might be taught more readily and effectually in connection with manual training. The very learning of the alphabet ought to be made a lesson in manual training, and indeed it is so, wherever children learn the letters by writing them. Instruction in writing is manual training. We know that in the ancient world reading was taught by writing, and a great deal of manual dexterity thereby attained. But other forms of manual training might be introduced in connection with the learning of the alphabet. Children might be taught to mold the letters in some soft material, or to cut them out in paper, card-board, or wood. Again, the elements of arithmetic ought to be taught by means of an abacus, as was done in ancient times, and each child ought to be made to construct its own. Geography ought to be taught by means of map-drawing or globe-making, and so on. This method of instruction would not only impart manual training, and cultivate the active, in connection with the cognitive, faculties, but it would, moreover, be the most effective mode of teaching, insuring accuracy and retention. Indeed, there is hardly a branch of useful instruction now given in our schools that might not be imparted better by being connected with manual training. By thus connecting mental with manual training, the teacher could do away with all that is so wearisome and unwholesome in class recitations, devote special attention to each pupil, promote each as soon as he was ready for promotion, and make them all interested doers, instead of timid or vain babblers. And, even if this method should require more time than the other (which it would not), it would be quite safe to draw upon the time now devoted to mere useless play or foolishness. Play is an excellent thing, and every child ought to have a fair share of it; but there are many kinds of

manual employment which might with advantage take the place of a good deal of play, and, indeed, would soon come to be regarded as the most interesting play—for example, sawing, turning, planing, carving. But the arts of primary production, especially gardening, would furnish some of the best substitutes for play, as they could be carried on in the open air. I have been in Italian schools, where each boy had his own garden-plot to cultivate and tend, and in almost every case I found the boys interested in, and benefited by, their work.

It is certain, I think, that manual training might, under judicious management, be introduced into our schools of every grade, with great advantage to the pupils and without calling for any additional time. This disposes of the first objection.

The second takes this form. The public treasury cannot afford the means to pay for the additional school accommodation, and the additional trained teachers that would become almost a necessity, were a system of manual training introduced into the schools. Now, this is simple, unmitigated nonsense. The public could well afford three times the sum it now pays for education, and be richer afterwards. Indeed, no public money is so well invested as that which is invested in education. It is a strange American peculiarity, however, that we are willing to invest means in anything rather than in men. The result is that we have big railroads, big bridges, big steamers, big hotels, big fires, big accidents, big frauds, big "boodlers," and little men. We have everything but the main thing.

But, knowing that the public considers anything a safer object of investment than itself, I hasten to assure it that the sums at present devoted to public education would, if judiciously applied, be amply sufficient to secure all the accommodation and all the teachers necessary for manual training.

In the first place, as regards the teachers: there is no reason in the world why every teacher in the schools should not fit himself or herself to impart elementary manual training. Every normal school ought to have a department of manual training, and every candidate for a position in the schools ought to pass a satisfactory examination in that branch. Teachers, above all other persons, ought to have universal culture, and of this a

very essential part is manual culture. I believe that a great deal of manual training might be introduced into our school curriculum without the appointment of any new teachers, except in the highest grades, and of these I shall speak further on. So also as regards accommodation: a great deal of manual training might be introduced without calling for any more or larger schoolrooms. Already drawing, one of the most important branches of manual training, finds room in many schools. To be sure, it is very often badly taught; but it would not require any additional room if it were well taught. And the same is true of other branches. I have before me a pamphlet written by an Italian country schoolmaster, from which I translate the following most apposite passage:

"I am advocating a work-school, not a workshop. To turn the primary school into a training-school for mechanics would be to fall into a very grievous excess. . . . Manual labor was introduced, some time ago, into the houses of correction and into the orphan asylums. Why, then, should the children in the elementary schools, the sons and daughters of those who contribute to swell the contents of the public treasury, be less expert workmen and worse educated than those miserable creatures who fill our institutions of public charity? Does not this seem a grave social injustice?

"How shall we provide tools? you will ask. How shall we fit up the workshop? Where shall we find teachers to instruct in the various mechanical arts, if we have no pecuniary means? . . . I reply: Every little workman, once in love with his work, buys his own tools, as soon as he is able to make use of them, or else he sets about persuading his parents to buy him, at one time, a file; at another, a pair of pincers; at another, a hammer; and he will find this an easier task than that of the schoolmaster who tries to persuade them to buy a grammar, an arithmetic, or a geography. And be assured that the boy, once in possession of his tools, will occupy his hands, and find work for himself. Instead of buying playthings, he will make them; and, what is more, he will not break them to pieces next day, in order to see how they are made inside. . . . For the purposes in question, the schoolrooms at present existing are sufficient, if only slight modifications were introduced into the desks, rendering them serviceable for work, as well as for study, as they now are in many well-regulated girls' schools. Again, the simple use of the more common implements may be taught by the common-school master, without his pretending to be either a mason or a carpenter. . . . This will answer in the lower classes. For the higher classes, on the other hand, in which the pupils will have to proceed farther in the learning of handicrafts, a separate workshop, with special teachers, will be necessary. We must erect shops as an addition to the school-building, and grant the free use of them to workmen distinguished for good conduct, morality, and ability, on condition

that they teach their trades to those school-children who desire to learn them. This is already done in the boys' Orphan Asylum at Milan."\*

Though these remarks are intended to apply to the country schools of northern Italy, they will, with slight modifications, apply to the city schools of the United States. Elementary manual training—not only writing and drawing, but also the use of tools—can unquestionably be taught in our present schools, without any additional space or teaching force, if we will only economize wisely in other directions.

The case is different with the higher forms of manual training. For these, unquestionably, special classes and special teachers will be necessary. Every large city will require several such classes. The question is, How are the means to be obtained? I answer, By curtailing certain expenditures at present made. And here I am forced to touch upon a sore and much-disputed point in our educational system—the state's duty with respect to higher education.

To remove all chance of misunderstanding, let me say at once that I see no reason whatsoever why the state (or community) should not undertake the whole business of education in every grade. All the forms of higher education are beneficial to the state, and hence there is no intrinsic reason why it should not pay for them. Whatever it can do more thoroughly and effectively than private individuals or corporations, that it ought to do. There is no other limit to its competency. But if the state is to educate at all, it must take care to distribute the benefits of that education fairly. Above all, it must not give to any the superfluous, while any lack the necessary. It must not teach one youth Sanskrit and quaternions, while it leaves another without the three R's and the elements of moral and manual training. And here I must draw, in spiritual matters, the same distinction that I drew above in regard to material matters, the distinction between necessaries and wealth. I would call that amount of education which is required in order to enable a man to make an honest, independent livelihood—to secure the first of the "inalienable rights" promised by the

\* Luigi Poli, "Il Lavoro Manuale nelle Scuole Elementari Rurali." Varese, 1886.

Declaration of Independence—a necessary; all beyond that I would call wealth or capital. Now, I say that the state has no right to confer educational wealth or capital upon any, while others lack necessities. It appears to me, moreover, that, for a very large portion of our people, manual training is one of the very first of educational necessities. To deprive these of such a necessary while conferring upon others wealth is, I believe, a crying injustice. I say, therefore, that no state or community has a moral right to pay out public money for the higher branches of education, such as are taught in our high schools and colleges, while any portion of the population requiring manual training is deprived of it. I am strongly in favor of public high schools and colleges; but I maintain that if any community cannot support both high schools and manual training schools, it is bound to give precedence to the latter. Nay, more, if any community now supports high schools, but has no manual training schools, it is bound to exchange the former for the latter, or else maintain both.

But, after all, I do not believe that any such exchange is necessary. By lopping off rotten and unnecessary branches from our high-school courses, and giving these courses a practical scope, including manual training, the desirable result might be attained.

It may not be uninteresting to compare the "general curriculum" in a western high school with the curriculum of a western manual training school :

<i>High School.</i>		<i>Training School.</i>
<i>First Year.</i>		
1. Algebra.		
2. Physical Geography.		
3. English.		
4. Drawing.		
5. German or Latin.		5. Arithmetic.
[6. Optional Bookkeeping.]		6. History.
		7. Physiology.
		8. Carpentry.
		9. Wood-carving.
		10. Wood-turning.
		11. Pattern-making.
		12. Care and Use of Tools.
	<i>Manual.</i>	

*High School.**Second Year.*

1. Geometry.
2. Physics.
3. Drawing.
4. Chemistry.
5. Physiology.
6. German or Latin.

*Training School.*

4. Algebra.
5. Mechanics.
6. History.
7. Literature.
8. Molding.
9. Casting.
10. Forging.
11. Welding.
12. Tempering.
13. Soldering.
14. Brazing.

*Manual.**Third Year.*

## 1. Trigonometry.

2. Zoology.
3. Art.
4. Astronomy.
5. History.
6. French and German, or Latin.
2. Geometry.
3. Bookkeeping.
4. Literature.
5. Political Economy.
6. Civil Government.
7. Mechanics.
8. Chemistry.
9. Drawing.
10. Machine-tool Work.
11. Study of Machinery.
12. Management and Care of Boilers.

*Manual.**Fourth Year.*

1. Analytical Geometry.
2. Calculus.
3. Shakespeare.
4. Latin or French, and German.
5. Mental and Moral Philosophy.
6. English Literature.
7. United States Constitution.

The former of these courses extends over four years, the latter is confined to three, and yet there can be no question which of the two would afford the better education. The former has twenty-five courses; the latter, thirty-eight. The former contains a certain number of branches that cannot be counted as

necessaries in education, *e. g.*, French, German, Latin, Astronomy, and the whole of the fourth year's course, except English Literature. By lopping these off, not only is there time left for a very thorough course in manual training, but the curriculum is shortened by a year. I am, therefore, thoroughly convinced that our public education would, in every way, be a gainer if our high schools and colleges were turned into manual training schools, after the model of those in Chicago and St. Louis. And I am quite sure that this could be done without any great increase of expense—perhaps without any increase at all.

It appears, then, that while both our modern life, as a whole, and our present economical condition demand that manual culture should form a part of our system of education, all the objections usually urged against its introduction can be readily met. At the same time, those persons who are championing manual training, as if it were the most essential part of education—as if by means of it all the ills that flesh is heir to were to be cured—must bear three things in mind: (1) that practical training is but one branch of education; (2) that manual training is but one branch of practical training; and (3) that even the most practical training cannot by itself greatly better any large number of persons, unless at the same time other conditions are fulfilled. A man may be as skilled as he pleases, his skill will be of small value to him so long as he has not free access to the necessary correlates of labor—the earth and its products. If all the men and women in the world were skilled mechanics tomorrow, but were dependent upon land-owners and capitalists for access to labor's correlate, all their skill would do little more than help to fill the coffers of the self-appointed captains of industry—the *condottieri* of our time. It is of the utmost importance, then, that while we seek, by every means in our power, to promote manual training, we do not allow ourselves to forget that it is but one element, and by no means the most momentous, in the solution of the great social and economic problem which now presents itself to us. That problem calls for a new education for all the faculties of each citizen, and, above all, a new moral training for the soul of the republic.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

## SOCIALISM AND UNSOCIALISM.

THE perils of Socialism are filling the minds of multitudes with alarm ; has it occurred to any of these anxious souls that Unsocialism presents a danger quite as imminent ? The reckless pedestrian on the railway sometimes steps from the track, when he sees the train approaching, and stands on the other track, spell-bound by the screaming terror, only to be run down and crushed by the train coming from the opposite direction. That the socialistic uprising discovers some ugly phases is not to be denied ; and the eyes of many of our students of social problems are so firmly fixed on these that they fail to see other tendencies quite as hostile to the peace and welfare of society, that assail us from another quarter. It is the purpose of this essay to turn the attention of its readers toward these dangerous tendencies, by many unobserved, which are best described by a word that signifies the exact antithesis of Socialism.

This Unsocialism, that we ought to fear, if we do not, is a danger older than Socialism—as much older as tyranny is older than rebellion. Socialism is, in fact, the natural consequence of Unsocialism. Just as the rigors of the Roundheads were a natural reaction from the laxities of the Cavaliers; just as the excessive severity of a father is almost always followed by foolish indulgence on the part of his children toward their children, so the extreme of Socialism looks back to an opposite extreme, from which it is the natural recoil. This law of progress by antagonisms has been made the theme of a stimulating treatise ; it is well to note the workings of this law under our eyes. Any movement of popular opinion which goes far to one side of the normal line of progress is pretty sure to be the diagonal of a force that started quite as far on the other side.

The demand of the Socialists for a radical reorganization of society is a startling demand. It pushes far beyond the limits

of justice and moderation; it asks for much that reason could never grant; it strikes at many things that are precious to all right-thinking men. What it calls for is a complete suppression of the individual in the interests of the commonwealth. If it tolerates some limited possession of private property it allows no scope for private enterprise; the individual initiative is estopped; the work of every hand is ordered, prescribed, directed by the state; for genius it has no room; the men that it produces must surely be stunted specimens. That may easily enough be inferred from experience. Scientific Socialism has not, indeed, had any opportunity to show what kind of men it could produce, since it has never yet been put in operation; but Communism, as a school for character, is nearly the same thing; and we have had abundant means of judging the power of Communism to produce men. If it has yet developed any strong specimens, the world has not heard of them. Where is the poet, artist, inventor, orator, statesman, born and reared and trained in a communistic society? In some ways scientific Socialism might offer rather larger opportunities to the individual than he finds under Communism; in other ways it would even more fatally restrain his power and release him from the responsibility which is the spur of vigor and the staff of virtue. That individuality would be repressed with iron hand under a socialistic *régime* is a foregone conclusion. The liberty in defense of which we have poured out so much bad rhetoric and good blood would scarcely have a name to live, were Marx or Hyndman to be accepted as the prophet of the new dispensation. Mr. Bradlaugh, the English radical, would seem to be sufficiently "advanced," as a political thinker, yet he rises up to denounce the socialistic programme because it leaves so little room for personal liberty. "Your 'social state' would own all the public halls and places of assembly," he says. "Would you permit me to use one of them for the purpose of holding a meeting to arraign and oppose your policy? No; you would not; and therefore I will have nothing to do with your 'social state.'" I have given the substance of his trenchant criticism, and it is the substance of the answer which ninety-nine out of every hundred Anglo-Saxons will make to the demand of Socialism when they fairly understand it.

The alarm of thoughtful men at the rapid spread of socialistic theories is not, therefore, to be wondered at, nor can their resistance to this scheme be too prompt and resolute. Danger there is, in this direction ; and every patriot ought to be up in arms against it. But if what we have just been saying is true, this undue restraint of liberty which Socialism threatens must be the reaction from an undue extension of liberty in the times now passing. The proposition to minimize the individual indicates, to the social pathologist, that the individual has been over-magnified, in days not yet distant. And that is precisely what has happened. We are noting one of the vibrations of the pendulum that regulates the wheels of human progress. Feudalism could never have been killed but by an excessive development of individualism. Men would not have gained their freedom if they had not been willing to sacrifice for it everything else. The philosophy of that conflict, the philosophy of Rousseau and Locke, exaggerated liberty. The individual was all ; society was nothing. The individual was the creator of society ; of course he owed nothing to his creature. Society was, indeed, a great convenience, but it was not a necessity ; he need not have entered into it if he had not chosen ; he could withdraw from it at his pleasure. Claims of society upon the individual there were none. The obligations which he owed were only such as he had freely contracted to pay ; in him were the prerogatives of sovereignty. The state was his handiwork ; the land was his, whenever he took possession of it ; the universe revolved around him.

A monstrous over-statement was this of the rights and powers of the individual ; but in that tremendous break from status to contract which was made in the eighteenth century, such an exaggeration was natural, perhaps indispensable. The fruit of it, in politics and in society, has been slowly ripening ; we are beginning to gather the harvest. Individualism was a good club wherewith to fight feudalism ; it is a bad corner-stone whereon to rear society. Rights are sacred, but duties, also, are inalienable. The forgotten fact is that these are reciprocal. The man who asserts his rights at the same time asserts the duty of others to respect and confirm his rights. To say that I have a right is to say that society owes me a duty. And to confess that an-

other has a right is to confess that I, as a member of society, owe that other a duty. Nor does this obligation spring from any consent of mine. I am born into this complex of social relations, and inherit the responsibilities that can no more be separated from it than gravitation can be separated from matter. When this fact is obscured or understated, trouble is sure to come. The philosophy which makes the impression upon its disciples that every man possesses the maximum of rights from society, and owes the minimum of duties to society, will not result in peaceful and stable communities. The intent of it may be to protect the individual from the domination of other individuals ; the effect of it will be to absolve the individual from those social obligations which are the foundation of all human welfare. It aims at liberty, but it ends in Unsocialism.

The fundamental maxim of this unsocial philosophy is thus succinctly stated : "Every individual seeks the greatest gratification." To this the dominant theories of the past hundred years may be reduced. And the assumption is that this is precisely what the individual ought to do, or must do. The supremacy of egoism is not merely noted, it is justified. Adam Smith and Malthus regard it as a beneficent law; universal egoism will promote universal welfare. Later philosophers pronounce it an inexorable law; no effort of man can change its operations; there is therefore no condemnation for those who are as egoistic as they can be, and no use in trying to avoid the results that flow from the operation of this principle. The moralists of this school say that the supremacy of egoism is right; the materialists that it is inevitable; both that it neither can be nor ought to be changed.

It is sometimes said that social science, and, in particular, economical science, has nothing to do with the right and wrong of men's actions. Science, it is said, "is solely concerned to explain the 'what is' of nature." It finds men acting from certain motives, and it classifies their actions, and reasons upon the facts it finds. It discovers that men ordinarily follow the maxim which bids them "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," and it assumes that fact in all its reasonings about exchanges. But this is not the whole case. In all our study of the social organism, the question must arise whether the facts with which we are

dealing are normal or abnormal facts. Are they phenomena resulting from the healthy action of society, or are they the symptoms of social disease? When the physiologist is observing the functions of any organ he wants to know whether the organ is in a sound condition. The action of the lungs in pneumonia is not identical with the action of the lungs in perfect health. Suppose the physiologist frames his theory of the action of the lungs from facts observed in the midst of pulmonary disease. They are facts, and his inductions are scientific; but the laws which he thus establishes are not the laws of the healthy human body. In like manner the student of the social organism must be able to tell whether the laws with which he is dealing are the laws of health or the laws of disease; whether he is working as a physiologist or as a pathologist. Economical speculations are often vitiated by the failure to observe this distinction. Morbid conditions are treated as though they were healthy conditions; the laws of social disorder are declared to be the laws of social order.

The society in which "every individual seeks the greatest gratification" is a diseased society. Make that principle supreme and anarchy is the result. The assemblage in which every individual consistently follows the maxim to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest is the realization of hell. Society it is not; it is the antithesis of society. Repulsion, not attraction, is the force by which its members are related to one another. Yet the conduct based upon this maxim is assumed, in much of the theorizing about social questions, to be normal conduct.

A traveler journeying from some western camp into the mountains finds a poor shopwoman with a stock of bread that she cannot sell, and buys of her a ten-cent loaf for a penny. He puts it into his haversack and sets out upon his journey. In a lonely place at the bottom of a cañon, far from human habitation, he finds a miner with a broken leg, nearly dead from starvation. But the starving miner has ten thousand dollars' worth of gold in his possession, the fruit of years of hard labor. Our traveler has bought his loaf in the cheapest market; he sells it now in the dearest. The helpless miner parts with all his gold, because he must, to save his life. It is a hard bargain, but is not the traveler doing exactly what he has been taught to do? What has

the "commercial maxim" to say in reproof of his conduct? Does not the individualistic economy assume that such conduct is normal? Mr. Sidgwick seems to think that it does. He says:

"For instance, we should consider it extortionate in a boatman, who happened to be the only man able to save valuable works of art from being lost in a river, to demand for his services a reward manifestly beyond their normal price; that is, beyond the price which, under ordinary circumstances, competition would determine at that time and place. Still, it is by no means clear that such conduct is 'contrary to the principles of political economy,' as ordinarily understood. Economists assume in their scientific discussions—frequently with more or less implied approval of the conduct assumed—that every enlightened person will try to sell his commodity in the dearest market; and the dearest market is, *ceteris paribus*, wherever the need of such commodity is greatest. If, therefore, the need of a single individual is specially great, why should not the price demanded from him rise proportionately?" \*

The principles of political economy, as ordinarily understood, do, then, according to this high authority, justify men in acting unsocially. It may be answered that "the principles of political economy" are not rightly understood when this inference is drawn from them. It is quite true that the restatement of these principles which is now being made corrects this error. But Mr. Sidgwick is speaking of a school of economists whose theories have been in the ascendant in England and in this country for a hundred years; and what he says about the impression made by their teachings upon the minds of the people at large is undeniable. If the ordinary understanding of their doctrine was erroneous, they ought, certainly, to have bent their energies to the undoing of so great a mischief. But it is not easy to believe that the popular mind has wrongly interpreted these theories. When Malthus says that "the Great Author of nature, with that wisdom which is apparent in all his works," has made "the passion of self-love beyond comparison stronger than the passion of benevolence," and that "by this wise provision the most ignorant are led to promote the general happiness, an end which they would have totally failed to attain if the moving principle of their conduct had been benevolence," † he calls not only science

\* "Political Economy," p. 585.

† "The Principles of Population," p. 492.

but natural theology to the support of Unsocialism. If God has made man "to pursue as his primary object his own safety and happiness," with no concern for those about him, why should man be found fighting against God? And when some economists of this school concluded to dispense with God, and put Nature on his throne, their doctrine of the survival of the fittest came to the same result—the worship of power, the contempt of the weak, the triumph of egoism. "A race of powerful incarnate selfishnesses" such a regimen would produce, but not a society.

The kind of conduct which is assumed by certain economists in their scientific discussions, is, then, a kind of conduct which makes society impossible; which tends to destroy society. The competitive man is the only man of whom they take notice; the co-operative man they totally ignore in all their speculations. Yet society is the achievement of the co-operative man; the competitive man is the architect of pandemonium.

"The notion of civil liberty which we have inherited," says one strong writer of this school, "is that of a status created for the individual by laws and institutions, the effect of which is that each man is guaranteed the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare." It is a neat and compact expression of the essence of Unsocialism. On such a basis society is impossible. To describe this monstrosity as a "status" is absurd; it would not stand long enough to be photographed. Such an aggregation of humanity never was on land or sea, and never will be. There have been theorizings of this sort in the books and in the brains of philosophers; but no collection of laws and institutions ever undertook to guarantee to each man the use of all his powers exclusively for his own welfare. You might as well speak of a solid in which each atom is guaranteed all the liberty that belongs to atoms in a gaseous state. It would be quite as rational for the body to guarantee to the hand or the eye the use of all its powers exclusively for its own welfare. "The solidarity and interdependence of the modern economic world," says a recent writer, "makes the old individualism an absurdity. From a modern point of view there is no such thing, in strictness, as a mere individual. Market prices, wages, profits, all these are social, not individual, products. Every

man's economic acts more or less affect every one else; and every one is dependent on others for the means of economic action." \*

Absurd and unscientific as this conception is, it has, nevertheless, been dinned into the ears of the multitude so constantly for the last century that it is hard to get them to take any other view of social relations. Economic science is rapidly clearing itself of these errors, but the philosophy of the street and the mart is still rank individualism. In the scramble for gain every man is quite ready to believe that all his powers are guaranteed to him exclusively for his own welfare; that when he buys in the cheapest market and sells in the dearest he is fulfilling all righteousness, no matter how many homes he may lay waste nor how many lives he may destroy. That grave doubt, which Mr. Sidgwick confesses, "whether the whole individualistic organization of industry, whatever its material advantages may be, is not open to condemnation as radically demoralizing," is shared by many to whom the national wealth seems a lower good than the national welfare. Rather it is not, to many of them, any longer matter of doubt; the fact is altogether too plain that the virus of this unsocial philosophy has been poisoning the very sources of the national life. That hard and merciless spirit which often characterizes the people of what are called the upper classes in all their judgments of those beneath them is due to the prevalence of this philosophy. "The anti-social temper and attitude of mind produced by the continual struggle of competition," of which Mr. Sidgwick speaks so feelingly, vents itself in sneers and scoffs and curses on every side of us. Not all of the rich and the strong display this spirit; there is a goodly company of nobler minds; but of many circles this cold, fierce breath is the natural atmosphere. Social classes have been told that they owe each other nothing. There are those who like to believe this doctrine and try to live up to it; but the effort is attended with constant irritation. Innumerable obligations bind together the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, the seeing mind and the shaping hand. They are made for one another, and they cannot tear themselves asunder. But when the more fortunate classes strive to separate themselves from those less fortunate, and

\* "The Claims of Labor," p. 270.

find that they cannot do it, the straining of the natural tie causes pain; they are angry with the bond, and they vent their anger in bitter words toward those to whom they are bound. Always it is the repudiation of natural relations that causes the sorest enmities. Unsocialism denies the natural social relations.

Aversion to "the anti-social temper and attitude of mind produced by the continual struggle of competition" is, in the opinion of Mr. Sidgwick, an important element "in the impulses that lead thoughtful persons to embrace some form of Socialism." There can be no doubt of it. And if thoughtful persons, who suffer only sympathetically from this Unsocialism, are often ready to welcome the levelers, what must be the feelings of those less thoughtful, when they encounter, as they do every day, the cold contempt of wealth and power? The existing tendencies toward Socialism are the natural fruit of Unsocialism.

That remedy, as we have seen, would be almost as bad as the disease. "There is no need," says Professor Foxwell, "to substitute socialism for individualism: this would but leave matters worse than before, so long as the individual remained unchanged. What is wanted is to socialize the individual."\* That is the very problem. The task of the men of the eighteenth century was to individualize society. That has been well done—too well done. Our task is to undo part of it—"to socialize the individual." Of all our social needs none is deeper or more urgent than that which Mr. Sidgwick characterizes as "the moral need of some means of developing in the members of a modern industrial community a fuller consciousness of their industrial work as a social function, only rightly performed when done with a cordial regard to the welfare of the whole society." Instead of guaranteeing to every man "the use of all his own powers exclusively for his own welfare," this later and better economist would train men to use their powers for the general welfare. When this purpose becomes universal we shall have stable society and universal peace.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN.

\* "The Claims of Labor," p. 270.

## WOMAN SUFFRAGE PROBLEMS CONSIDERED.

SENATOR HOAR, addressing the Massachusetts Legislature, once said that he was first converted to woman suffrage by finding that he could not argue against it for five minutes without denying the fundamental principles of representative government. And Colonel Higginson said long ago: "Woman must be enfranchised . . . and there are no objections to this except such as would equally hold against the whole theory of republican government." It is no wonder, therefore, that Colonel Higginson, stating in the January *FORUM*, with rare literary ability, what the remonstrants regard as "unsolved problems," has only succeeded in suggesting difficulties which experience has disproved, and in raising doubts long since outgrown.

The change from a government of men alone to a government of men and women will certainly be very great. Its magnitude, as Colonel Higginson truly says, is imperfectly comprehended both by friends and foes. This is not strange. The many momentous changes from despotism to manhood suffrage have also been made without an adequate comprehension of their nature or clear prevision of their consequences. Yet these changes have been radical and fundamental. From a government like that of Russia or Turkey, which is the expression of the autocratic will of a single individual ruling by "divine right," to our own, which is the expression of the aggregated will of millions of men ruling by "majority right" and the consent of (one half) the governed, the change has been slower and more difficult than will be that from a majority of one sex to a majority of both sexes. Because, when the rule of the majority is once conceded, and a suffrage based upon citizenship established, a complete and logical application of these principles is only an additional step in a path already traveled.

Nor will the relative number of men or women in a com-

munity have any great weight in the determination of woman's enfranchisement, since it is impossible that all men and all women will ever be arrayed against each other at the ballot-box. Moreover, under the forms of a republic, no violent revolution can be caused by the admission of any new class, however numerous. When all women vote all men will still remain voters. Men will not be "numerically as powerless as women now are" who have no votes. In fact, men will not be in a voting minority, even in Massachusetts, for many years. The idea that all women will vote at once, "like a tidal wave," is a chimera. Political tastes and habits grow by exercise. Classes recently enfranchised do not all at once avail themselves of their opportunity. Thus, in Massachusetts, where men of foreign birth are numerous, only sixty per cent. of men vote, while in Kansas, peopled mostly by Americans, ninety per cent. go to the polls. So in Wyoming Territory, when full woman suffrage was established, eighteen years ago, only a few of the women voted at first; gradually more; and now, as we are assured by Judge Kingman, from actual inspection of the poll lists, a larger proportion of the women than of the men habitually vote; the ratio being nine-tenths of the women and only eight-tenths of the men. One of the greatest difficulties in the working of manhood suffrage in communities not accustomed to it is to get the voters to express at the polls any opinion whatever. Thus, in the Spanish-American republics, under constitutions as democratic as our own, it is almost impossible to change an administration without an insurrection.

The progress of government from despotism to manhood suffrage has consisted in successive extensions of suffrage to classes previously disfranchised. Repeatedly, if not usually, the newly admitted voters have outnumbered the former holders of political power. The nobles have always outnumbered the despot whom they have controlled; the voters on a property qualification have always outnumbered the nobles whom they have supplanted; Jefferson's "white man's government" counts more millions than the property-tax payers who alone were at first permitted to vote in twelve out of our thirteen States. In South Carolina and Mississippi, by the Fifteenth Amendment,

in 1867, plantation slaves suddenly became and have ever since been a majority of the legal voters. In other Southern States iron-clad test oaths disfranchised most of the white men, and placed the negroes in a temporary majority. The numerical preponderance of women in some States, therefore, is not a valid argument against their enfranchisement, nor likely greatly to retard it.

Every extension of suffrage hitherto made has proved a public benefit. No extension of suffrage, once made, has ever been wisely recalled. In no case has it effected a political millennium, but the good has always vastly outweighed the evil. Among them all there probably never was or will be so startling an innovation as was the enfranchisement of the freedmen by the Fifteenth Amendment. Suddenly to place the government of States in the hands of men whose very personality had been legally denied, who had been reared in enforced illiteracy and driven to their daily toil by the lash; men without property, without family, without the habit of self-control, of a different color and an alien race—this would have been strange enough. But it was imposed by the iron hand of the conqueror, as an instrument of coercion, as a visible evidence of subjugation, without the concurrence and against the wishes of the entire body of men who had hitherto constituted these political communities; and the unwelcome status was enforced by federal bayonets. Negro suffrage, under such circumstances, was the crucial test of the republican principle. Woman suffrage, however suddenly inaugurated, will never carry with it any such shock. It will come by a majority of legislative votes, as a part of the existing order of society. The new voters will be graduates of our free schools, a majority of our church members, and readers of our newspapers. Yet "wisdom is justified of her children." Universal manhood suffrage has been attended with serious evils. But it has reconstructed the entire South within a single generation, in the likeness of republican liberty. It has converted a seething volcano of disaffection and discontent into loyal and prosperous States. Probably no communities in the world ever made, in twenty years, such rapid advances, material and moral, social and industrial, as the former slave States have made since 1867. Men who forced negro suffrage on the reluctant South

will not long permit "unsolved problems" to count against the enfranchisement of their mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters.

It is hardly worth while to discuss whether the rightfulness of woman suffrage is as plain as was that of personal liberty. Suffice it that under American institutions suffrage is a right and not a privilege. It is a personal right, an inherent right, the right of every citizen of mature age and sound mind, not convicted of crime. Lucy Stone has well said: "The right of the citizen to a voice in making the laws is the golden rule of political justice. Deny this and you justify despotism. On the principle of limited suffrage aristocracies are blameless and republican institutions are impossible." The Declaration of Independence is not a glittering generality, but a legal proclamation by the States of the principles on which their governments are founded. All men are endowed with inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights (the rights of women equally with men) governments are instituted, "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The United States Constitution declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens thereof and of the States in which they reside." Women are persons, therefore citizens; they are governed; suffrage is the only recognized form of political consent; therefore women equally with other citizens have a moral right, and should have a legal right, to vote. Its exercise may be regulated but not abrogated. It may be nullified by force or fraud, but the right remains; it inheres in the American citizen. It is not a question of how many men or women will choose to exercise the suffrage, but of the right of any one citizen or class of citizens to exclude another. Is it said that suffrage is not a personal right because a baby in its mother's arms cannot vote? No more can a baby exercise its right to liberty or the pursuit of happiness. But the right inheres in the infant, though it can only be fully exercised at legal maturity. The right to help make the law and impose the tax belongs alike to woman and man. Her exclusion is a personal wrong, as his exclusion would be a personal wrong. The indifference of the many and the hostility of the few have absolutely no bearing on the right of every individual citizen to vote.

Nothing can be more groundless than the fear that the mingling of men and women at the caucus, at the town meeting, and at the polls will endanger morality. Colonel Higginson, on a former occasion, has thus refuted the objection that "woman suffrage will lead to a dangerous intimacy of the sexes:"

"As no political intimacy would exceed that which already exists or may exist between the physician and his patients, the clergyman and his parishioners, the school-superintendent and his teachers, the merchant and his book-keepers, the mill-owner and his operatives, the objection is idle. If you honestly prefer Turkish institutions, go and live where they prevail; but if the American system is the best, let it be made consistent with itself."

The seclusion of women and the segregation of the sexes are the bane of morals. In all ages and countries where the virtue of women has been thus "protected," disastrous results have followed. American women walk the streets unveiled, go unattended to public meetings, speak unquestioned to mixed audiences, travel without escort, are active members and officers of churches, take leading parts in literary, artistic, scientific, and philanthropic societies, engage in business, practice law and medicine, preach, lecture, sing, play, hold public offices, and in thirteen States vote for school committees; they enjoy more personal freedom and exercise larger social responsibilities as the years go by. Are they thereby demoralized? Nobody believes it. The result is more virtue, not less; fewer scandals, not more. It is not usually these active and useful women who are sullied by the breath of calumny. It is not the advocates of woman suffrage, men or women, who multiply divorces. The "intestine feuds which twenty years ago rent the woman suffrage movement" were not caused by "suspicion" or private scandals. The point of dispute was whether George Francis Train and Victoria C. Woodhull should be recognized as editors of woman suffrage papers, and invited to speak on woman suffrage platforms; and whether the discussion of woman suffrage should be complicated with that of delicate and difficult social questions. The Beecher-Tilton controversy, to which Colonel Higginson alludes, did not grow out of the woman suffrage agitation, and had no direct connection with it. Forebodings of possible evil to grow out of "the utterly unrestricted mingling of men and

women in periods of great excitement and under the strongest inducements to use whatever means of influence may prove most potent in dealing with one another," are as baseless as were those of Professor Agassiz (one of the purest and noblest of men), once expressed in my hearing, during a discussion of co-education. Speaking of mixed classes of young men and women, the Cambridge professor said he feared that if, at eighteen years of age, he had been a member of such a class, he might have found it difficult to fix his undivided attention upon his studies. But the experience of mixed classes in Oberlin since 1832, and more recently in almost all American colleges and universities west of the Hudson River, has shown that nothing so conduces to the good manners and morals of the students as the companionship of the sexes in the recitation-rooms and social life of these institutions. It is too late to revive monastic fallacies.

It is suggested that "woman suffrage will hardly promote, at first, the purity and decency of political campaigns." We think otherwise. In Wyoming and Washington territories, politicians always ask of a possible candidate: "Will the women vote for him?" If he is known to be immoral he is not "available." The danger is not that men and women in public life, under universal suffrage, will be unjustly charged with immorality. It is that, under an exclusively masculine suffrage, men of notoriously dissolute life are often elevated to office in disregard of the affront thereby offered to good morals. When women vote, a higher standard of public and private morals will prevail.

Opponents of woman suffrage are not always convinced by the arguments of its friends. But the fault is not in the arguments. The same was true in the antislavery agitation. I once asked a Kentucky slaveholder how he reconciled holding men in bondage with the principle that all men have a right to liberty. "You talk," he said, "as if niggers were white men." "Are they not men?" I urged. "Not in the sense you mean," he answered. He added that "niggers did not want to be free unless they were perverted by abolition emissaries," and depicted the frightful evils that would follow emancipation—amalgamation, miscege-

nation, massacre, and a war of races. Emancipation came, and no such results followed. Wendell Phillips swept away these pessimistic vapors of a morbid imagination in one admirable sentence :

"In all great social changes the most far-seeing intellect is utterly unable to foresee the ultimate consequences. Ask yourself on all such occasions if there be any element of right and wrong in the question, any principle of clear natural justice that turns the scale. If so, take your part with the perfect and abstract right, and trust God to see that it shall prove the expedient."

And Colonel Higginson knocks down the whole card-castle of groundless surmises in his significant closing sentence :

"Meanwhile it must always be remembered that the main object of the woman suffrage movement is not specific, but general. If it benefits society and legislation as a whole, so much the better; but its immediate aim is to secure for woman two things which our political system now denies her—self-respect and self-protection."

We may add, that when the disfranchised half of our citizens have thus secured self-respect and self-protection, "society and legislation as a whole" will be benefited accordingly.

It is said that women do not want to vote, although they have made a more persistent demand for suffrage than has ever been made by any or all classes of men. No petitions for suffrage of any great number or magnitude have ever been made by male citizens. The poor white men did not ask for it in 1790. The freedmen did not ask for it in 1867. The agricultural laborers of England, recently enfranchised by Mr. Gladstone, did not ask for it. In each case, suffrage was given without their asking, by politicians, for party purposes. Contrast the apathy of these disfranchised men with the interest among women, as shown by hundreds of thousands of names appended to woman suffrage memorials and petitions to Congress and State legislatures during the past thirty years. The true expression of a class is not given by majorities, but by its enlightened representatives. Most of the women eminent in literature, art, education, philanthropy, and reform are arrayed in the ranks of the suffragists.

It is said that women will not vote if allowed, and the

numerically insignificant statistics of school-committee suffrage are cited. These figures prove that only intelligent, public-spirited women have as yet taken the trouble to vote, and that the result has been good as far as it has gone. Under parallel circumstances few men would vote.

In special elections like these most men take no interest, and accordingly such elections are a favorite device for carrying measures of doubtful popularity. In Boston, a few years ago, a "special" election was held to decide whether parks should be inaugurated. It involved an expenditure of millions, present and prospective. Only one voter in twelve voted for parks; yet the measure was carried, because only one voter in fourteen took the trouble to vote against them. Give women live political issues; apply to them the means used to rouse male voters, and their response will in time become as general.

In England, for eighteen years, single women and widows have had full municipal suffrage upon the same terms as men. In all the recent debates in Parliament over full suffrage for women, the friends of the measure have emphasized the fact that municipal suffrage has worked well, and the opponents have not denied it. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech against including women in his franchise bill, acknowledged that they had exercised municipal suffrage "without detriment, and with great advantage." Such an admission, from such a source, ought to be conclusive. But facts are more conclusive still. After twelve years' experience of municipal woman suffrage in England, Parliament voted to extend it to the women of Scotland; and within three years it has been extended also to the women of Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Manitoba. In Toronto, this year and last, reformed city governments have been elected by majorities due largely to the votes of women.

In Wyoming Territory, where women vote on all questions, nine-tenths of all the women vote. We are told that the actual scale of this experiment is small. So was the population of Athens extremely small. Yet that little town of Greece, which stood for the same immortal principle of representative government, solved many weighty problems, and will be remembered when the swarming millions of Persia and India are forgotten.

So will it be with Wyoming. Governor Campbell, in 1874, in his message to the third Legislative Assembly, said :

"The experiment of granting to woman a voice in the government, which was inaugurated for the first time in the history of our country by the first Legislative Assembly of Wyoming, has now been tried for four years. I have heretofore taken occasion to express my views in regard to the wisdom and justice of this measure, and my conviction that its adoption has been attended only by good results. Two years more of observation of the practical working of the system have only served to deepen my conviction that what we, in this Territory, have done, has been well done ; and that our system of impartial suffrage is an unqualified success."

Governor Thayer, in 1876, said :

"Woman suffrage has now been in practical operation in our Territory for six years, and has during the time increased in popularity and in the confidence of the people."

Governor Hoyt, in 1882, said :

"Under it we have better laws, better officers, better institutions, better morals, and a higher social condition in general than could otherwise exist. Not one of the predicted evils, such as loss of native delicacy and disturbance of home relations, has followed in its train. The great body of our women, and the best of them, have accepted the elective franchise as a precious boon, and exercise it as a patriotic duty. In a word, after twelve years of happy experience, woman suffrage is so thoroughly rooted and established in the minds and hearts of this people that, among them all, no voice is ever uplifted in protest against or in question of it."

Governor Warren, in 1885, wrote :

"Our women nearly all vote, and since in Wyoming, as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil. While I had no hand in passing the act which gave to women this privilege, I must acknowledge its success now after fifteen years' trial. No attempt to repeal the law has been made for ten years, and none is contemplated."

In Washington Territory, two general and two special elections have been held since women were enfranchised, in 1883. Chief-Justice Roger S. Greene, in 1885, wrote Senator Hoar :

"I am more and more impressed with the fundamental wisdom and practical excellence of woman suffrage. Not a single ill consequence as yet appears. Five-sixths of those who were qualified voted at our last general election, and I do not believe that there is in our Territory to-day a single well-informed and decent woman who would willingly give up her right to vote."

Senator Hoar adds: "No testimony on the Pacific coast could surpass, if any could equal in value, that of Chief-Judge Greene."

In Utah women have voted very generally for eighteen years. Apparently they are about to be disfranchised by Congress precisely because they do vote.

Every great extension of suffrage hitherto has been effected by party leaders for party purposes. It is therefore unsafe to affirm that "women will be enfranchised on general principles, if at all." The debate and vote in the United States Senate, January 25, 1887, point toward an opposite conclusion. Twenty-four senators, all Republicans, voted or were paired for woman suffrage; forty-one senators—fourteen Republicans and twenty-seven Democrats—voted or were paired against it. Thus nearly two-thirds of the Republican senators were for woman suffrage, while all the Democratic Senators were against it. Again, of the forty-one votes and pairs from New England and the Middle, Western, and Pacific States, taken together, twenty-four—a majority—were for woman suffrage, and only seventeen—a minority—against it. But all the twenty-seven senatorial votes from the Southern States were against it. Thus the woman suffrage votes represented the most progressive sections and the strongholds of Republicanism.

The general welfare will be greatly promoted by the voting of women. Their votes are needed, most of all, because women differ from men in position and character. The "impassable gulfs of temperament and experience," which Colonel Higginson truly says separate them from men, will never, let us hope, be overcome. The woman most needed as a voter will always be the most womanly woman—the woman most unlike a man. A government of men and women will have the masculine characteristics with the feminine attributes superadded. Consider what the latter are. Women are less influenced than men by mere physical appetite and passion, more influenced by affectional and religious considerations. They are more gentle and peaceable, more sympathetic and humane, more chaste, temperate, cautious, and economical. Are not these the very qualities lacking in public life? Women are more law-abiding than men. Ten

men are convicted of crimes where one woman is thus convicted. Now, the qualities more largely developed in women must affect legislation when directly expressed at the ballot-box. Every class that votes makes itself felt in the government. If women are less belligerent than men, their votes will be a power for peace; if more temperate, their votes will promote temperance; if more chaste, they will promote purity; if more economical, they will check reckless expenditure; if more law-abiding, they will promote law and order.

A political society of men alone is a one-sided affair, and a political society of women alone would be equally at fault. Both sexes are needed, as helpmeets, each for the other. Voting is an authoritative expression of reason and conscience. The brute force of society is at the call of the law, but law is superior to brute force. Voting is not a masculine, nor a feminine, but a human function. Woman suffrage will not array women against men, but will unite men and women for the general welfare. In public as in private life, in the state as in the church and in the home, men and women will be not rivals nor enemies, but co-workers. Women will be called upon by men to help save society from its vices, and they will respond to the call. Not because women are wiser or even better than men, but because they are different, and this difference needs to be represented. We want neither smoking-car politics nor petticoat government, but a state and national home, where good fathers and good mothers are alike indispensable, "in honor preferring one another."

HENRY B. BLACKWELL.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

WHEN one begins this task of inventorying the books that have helped him, he becomes aware that he involves himself in a sort of personal confession of faith. If he publishes his lists and makes any sort of explanation of the secret that occasioned his successive attractions and repulsions, he reveals the very roots of his present convictions. He takes the reader into his confidence and shows him the inner judiciary of the man, which passes judgment on the past life and justifies the present view of the world as the true one. Each person must think that his present survey of the world is more accurate than his former surveys, for he now sees clearly their false estimates and makes due allowance. I am not speaking of practical life, but of one's inner judgment of himself. He may be conscious that once he acted more wisely than at present, but he will not admit that his view of the world was then so just as now.

The books that have helped one, therefore, are to be divided into two classes: books with false, or, at best, indifferent tendencies, but which aroused the latent energies to industry and self-activity; books which were affirmative in their tendencies, and incited to healthy growth in insight and in practical endeavor. The negative books precede the positive books. They belong to that period of life which the Germans name *Die Aufklärung*—that clearing up which arrives when one breaks away from use and wont, throws off adherence to blind authority, and begins to think for himself. Hitherto he has followed the directions marked out by prescription; he has obeyed the voice of the family, the ethical sense of the community, or the commands of the church, without questioning the ultimate grounds of their authority. They have in some sort given him the net results of the aggregated wisdom of the race, summing up the lessons of life and death, happiness and woe, error and insight, to the end

that he, as particular individual, may profit by the experience of his entire species. The views of the world that have been imposed upon him, therefore, and the habits into which he has been trained, are deeply rational in their structure, although their form is purely dogmatic, and that of external, arbitrary authority. What is needed is that he shall find in his own reason the necessity for these views and habits that have been forced upon him.

One will never cease to hope that a wiser education will arrive, whose methods will bridge the gulf between blind obedience to authority and conscious insight into what is rational. But at present the period of self-activity begins in most cases by deep-reaching negation or skepticism. The individual denies authority and all that it has taught him. He has not yet acquired any insight into the world-order, and yet he incontinently throws away the most precious gift that he has received, namely, the tradition of mankind, the aggregated thought of all humanity.

In my own case I floated down on the surface of the stream of use and wont, receiving and applying after a sort the lessons of authority until my sixteenth year, when I began to read with avidity a class of literature whose chief interest to me was its protest against some phase or other of authority. There were geological books revising the current interpretation of the book of "Genesis;" astronomical books re-enforcing geology by intimations of a far-off nebular condition of the universe, and with a development theory to account for what we now find; phrenological theories which professed to find a natural basis for an inventory of the powers of the mind, and, consequently, an ideal standard of perfect development which would serve as a basis for criticism of all human views and actions; there was a rising tide of books on mesmerism, spiritualism, water-cure, vegetarianism, socialism, and all manner of reforms. I felt the exhilaration of the reformer who sees the evils of the past and knows the true remedy.

There was the famous "Vestiges of Creation," ascribed to Robert Chambers, setting forth the development theory of the universe, as a running down without a winding up. Directly and indirectly that work inspired a literature of books of purely speculative character, all having as an object the attainment of a

consistent view of nature as a whole. I read and pondered these books from 1850 to 1855, as continuously as school studies or practical business would permit. Later I came to the literature of spiritualism, which attacked by implication the miraculous foundation of religion by furnishing modern miracles in inexhaustible supply and on unimpeachable evidence, and all to be explained on the basis of disembodied spirits of men.

It was to phrenology, however, that I turned with the most eager expectation, in this my era of hobbies. There was one book in particular which gave me real help—a book on "Memory and Intellectual Improvement," by O. S. Fowler. It gave marvelous accounts of men with poor memories who had made them strong through persistent efforts of the will to cultivate them. They memorized whatever they were prone to forget, and by repetition soon acquired the power to recall without special effort. In 1852 I began a special effort to cultivate my memory of dates and numbers, and by repeating my efforts at intervals in after years I succeeded in acquiring a better than ordinary memory of such things. Phrenology treated what it called the "intellectual faculties" as so many powers of direct observation and retention, or memory. It has, unfortunately, never defined, named, or even discovered any of the really higher intellectual powers of the mind—such, for example, as psychology is wont to group under the name of "insight." It separates, as independent faculties, degrees of the same power, as, for example, "causality" and "comparison," and confounds different powers in one faculty, as in its faculty of "causality," which it makes the "organ" for perceiving causes, principles, and laws; and yet, after all, does not understand its own terms, but makes causes synonymous with means and instruments. To this cause is due the failure of phrenologists to suggest any good measures for the cultivation of thought, while they give good enough rules for the memory.

In 1858 I read an eloquent essay by Theodore Parker on German literature. It spoke of German achievements in philology and history, in theology and philosophy. I was highly excited to learn that four great philosophic lights had ascended into the sky to shine for ages; they were Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. I at once resolved to devote so much of my life to the

study of these writers as would suffice to enable me to think over their thoughts and see them as true, or else see their fallacies.

Already I had for some time felt the necessity of knowing philosophy, in order to meet its attacks on my favorite ism, phrenology. I now left off reading books of mere protest and turned to a series of works of a different character. I had begun to realize that the abstract independence of the spirit of protest is only a half-freedom, and in this respect not entitled to its assumption of airs of superiority over blind obedience to authority. The book that helped me most to see this was Goethe's "*Wilhelm Meister*." I turned round from the attitude of a carping criticism of the civilization in which I lived, and became a sympathizing student of its means and purposes. Just at this time, 1857, I had removed from an Atlantic State to Missouri. The spirit of the border land is constructive. Man finds raw nature before him, and is impelled to energetic activity to subdue the wilderness and transform it into a reflection of his will. Hence, on the frontier, man becomes a builder of civilization and has no leisure to criticise it. If he does not like his results he may easily change them, where all is so fluid; or he may accept them as the best he can realize under the circumstances. In the older communities there is a pressure from above that irritates the young man of much aspiration. Somebody else's will has already done what he would do. He does not find his place as builder so easily as in the West. He uses his superfluous energies, therefore, in grumbling or even in active tearing down.

Goethe treats this very problem in "*Wilhelm Meister*." It has two sides, that of individual culture and that of social combination. The gospel of culture runs through the whole, a continuous thread, but it culminates in the subordination of culture to the nobler aim of building up the institutions of humanity. The theater in all its phases and the vocation of actor are dwelt upon as a kind of foil to true culture. The latter rises to the conception of an ideal of character which it strives by all means to realize in itself. The youth attempts to build out of himself a new self on the plan of a nobler ideal. He must put on this new self and wear it until it becomes a second nature. Such is all true aspiration after the good and true. But in the drama the

actor assumes a part and plays it, whatever it be, evil or good. He puts it off at will and takes another *rôle*. In "Wilhelm Meister" we come to see that the man of culture is limited to one *rôle*. The best actor can assume all characters, and may himself be quite indifferent as to character, as Goethe shows us in the person of Serlo. In the "Travels of Wilhelm Meister," Goethe prophetically shows the world at large beginning to be affected by the sociologic problems which have become so prominent a century later. The necessity of the continual readjustment of vocations in an age of invention of labor-saving machines is properly considered. Migration and education, he thinks, are to solve the problem. The true vocation of the wealthy and the nobility, he shows, is to use their advantages to help society, to act as stewards of their property, and administer it so as to render possible a higher degree of self-help among all classes of society.

Goethe's distinction of culture into three grades impressed me very much. "For the lowest man, whatever he does is a trade;" he does it mechanically and as a dead routine. "For the cultured man it becomes an art;" and he strives to add to the routine everywhere some new touches born of fresh thought and higher ideals. But "the highest culture sees in the humblest activity its identity with the entire universe of practical activity," so for it the spirit of the whole is everywhere present, and there is nothing mean, nothing low, if it is a necessary part of the whole.

In the "Wilhelm Meister" I first came upon principles that helped me to solve my chief practical problems. His saying, "Thought expands but lames; action narrows but intensifies," I found a reflection which enabled me to govern my school (for I was a schoolmaster). In the sudden emergencies of practical life I had found myself trying to reflect when I ought to have been ready to act. I began to make elaborate preparations for whatever business I might have before me for the next day, and soon increased my practical power tenfold. I endeavor to re-read Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister" every year, and always find it more suggestive than before.

While my studies in Goethe were going on I was fulfilling my resolution to study Kant and his great successors in philoso-

phy. I commenced his "Critique of Pure Reason," with all the strength I could muster, in my twenty-third year. After repeated attacks upon the work, reading a few pages at a time and turning back to the beginning again and again, nearly a year had elapsed. I could not as yet see clearly what Kant was attempting to say. Indeed, I found his style of thought so difficult that I did not seem to understand one single page of it all. I do not remember that I was particularly discouraged by all this. I found, to my great delight, that I was acquiring a power of reading with ease other works that had formerly been very heavy and dull. I was gradually training my feeble thinking powers, and soon after I had devoted a year to the "Critique" I broke through its shell and began to reach its kernel. It formed a real epoch in my life. It seemed to me that I had just begun to find life worth living. The year seemed so eventful to me that I was accustomed to say, "I have made an intellectual step this year as great as the whole step from birth up to the time I began to study Kant." I saw what was affirmative in his philosophy, and put aside his negative conclusions as logical inconsequences. The relation of time and space to reason seemed to me to assure the immortality of man and the personality of God. My study of philosophy continued without interruption from 1858, and each year I seemed to get a new insight which confirmed and re-enforced the one of the first year, and at the same time gave me a more useful application of the principle.

Studies of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel followed after the first year's study of Kant, and I must report that both Fichte and Hegel proved to be much harder in their systematic expositions than anything I had found in the "Critique of Pure Reason." Two works of Hegel made and still make on me a deeper impression than all other books. In reading his larger "Logic," I always feel myself ushered into a sort of high court of reason, in which all ideas of the mind are summoned to the bar and put on trial. Each one is examined and cross-examined in the light of the requirements of a principle that shall suffice for an explanation of the world of man and nature. The defects of such ideas as quality, quantity, cause, identity, force, as world-principles, are exhibited in a manner that reminds one of the expres-

sion of Spinoza: *Sub specie æternitatis*. The mental atmosphere of the book has a quieting and soothing effect on the student. All the collisions and petty details of terrestrial affairs seem to fall away, and one gazes, as it were, into their eternal archetypes, and sees the essence of the conflict, the problem reduced to its lowest terms. In the concluding portion of this "Logic" Hegel finds the highest idea, the idea of a Personal Being in whom will and intellect are one. This is the idea of God, whose knowing is creating. To me this has appeared to be by far the most important thought reached by the German mind. I have found great light in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, who states this highest thought again and again as the outcome of Christian theology. The study of German thought helped me to comprehend the Italian. Indeed, Hegel's greatest merit seems to me to be that of interpreter of the deepest thought of all nations.

This faculty of interpretation shines out pre-eminently in his "Lectures on the Philosophy of History," which I place by the side of his "Logic," as the second of his greatest books. I believe that I have studied this book through nine times, with intervals of two years between my studies. (I use the word "studied," because no one can *read* a book of Hegel's.) I make historic excursions, reading up recent works on the subject, and then, taking up Hegel, I have occasion ever to admire his suggestiveness. The book at each new reading seems to have a crowd of valuable thoughts that had before escaped me. Even in places where Hegel depended on incorrect information, the best accessible when he wrote, the spirit of his treatment of the subject is often able to neutralize the error.

He studies the data of history with a view to discover the trend of the whole. The great underlying thought is the contrast between the spirit of Asiatic civilization and that of European. The Oriental mind strives toward formlessness, while the European seeks perfect form, and finds it in the idea of free self-activity, the activity of Divine Personality, and the activity of man in his image. The variety that is discovered in the unfolding of these two opposite tendencies, as it appears in the Chinese, Indian, Buddhistic, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian, Greek,

Roman, and Christian civilizations, furnishes fresh fields for perpetually renewed historical studies. This work of Hegel's comes nearer to being a genuine theodicy, a justification of Providence in human history, than any other work I know. "The world-history," says he, "is the onward progress of man into consciousness of freedom."

I came under the power of Carlyle's genius a year before I commenced Goethe. He was of great assistance to me in the way of emancipation from the spell of those earlier writings of which I have spoken. Their tendency was in the direction of finding a solution of the problem of life in physiological and hygienic conditions. Their view of the world also was materialistic. I am in the habit of describing the contents of the shelves of my library that hold the reading of that epoch as "the books of my saurian period." It was a sort of reign of Kronos, a series of hobbies, one devouring another. The first real insight reached puts an end to this whirling eddy of opinions.

I read first the "Hero Worship" in 1857, finding it somewhat dull reading. Having acquired some familiarity with his style of expression and with his leading thought I took up the "Miscellanies," and the author soon became fascinating. As I grew in capacity to understand him he gained more and more power over me, until I could only pity my former self, who had found anything of Carlyle's dull. I suppose that I caught less than one in five of the ideas of the "Sartor Resartus" on first reading. I struggled with the ponderous and complex art-form of the work, and finally extracted the chief thought and many minor reflections of exceeding value to me. But I returned again and again to the book in after years, with the vain hope of discovering any affirmative significance in his "everlasting yea." In my later years I have come to believe that Carlyle's solution of the problem of life, at least in that early work, was rendered nugatory by the very terms in which he stated it. In other words, he presupposed the impossibility of an affirmative answer. He assumed that all form in the universe is only external clothing of some formless essence. This is a lapse into Orientalism. Time and space, all human institutions, all metaphysical systems, the human will and intellect themselves, are only clothing; that is

to say, only external form for what is formless in itself. I do not attempt to apply this key to his other and later works. The "History of Frederick the Great" and "The French Revolution" seem to me the greatest epic poems since Homer's "Iliad." Taken with the "Letters of Oliver Cromwell," they cover what is essential in modern history.

Although I began to read Emerson's "Essays" directly after I read the "Hero Worship," it was long before his serene insight became visible to me. His brilliant epigrams dazzled me, but I missed any connection between them. There was no sequence. It was first in studying his essay on "Experience," years afterward, that I discovered a unity. I found the same unity in the book on "Nature," and afterwards, in other ways, the poems came to have new meaning. I have no greater favorites than the poems entitled "The Lords of Life" and "Spiritual Laws."

In 1861 I began to read Sir William Jones's complete works, dwelling chiefly on his translations. The "Sacontala" and the "Hitopadesa" became great favorites. I afterwards read the "Vishnu Purana," and later borrowed from Mr. Emerson his copy of the "Sankhya Karika" of Kapila. I found Hindoo literature a shoreless sea for many years. There seemed to be endless variety and no unity. In 1872, however, I read for the first time the "Bhagavad Gita," and the source of my confusion began to dawn upon my mind. I had looked for a real difference between the systems of thought. A difference with our western modes of thought, European and American, means something radical. But with the Oriental Hindoo all distinction is illusion. I found that all his philosophy and all his literature presupposed the same formless unity underlying all. It is the destiny of all to be absorbed into that unity and lose its individual being. With this insight the literature of India becomes quite easy to follow. Its great value to our western culture I am ready to acknowledge, but I do not see how we can ever recognize the validity of its fundamental ideas. Its value is chiefly negative, aiding us in getting rid of sensuous conceptions in the realm of thought. It is a sort of cathartic for the imagination.

I had hoped to find room to speak at length of the great help I have derived from the yearly study of Dante, begun twenty

years ago. It is my experience with great world-poets that the first reading yields the smallest harvest. Each succeeding reading becomes more profitable in geometrical ratio. At first, Dante's "Divine Comedy" was a dumb show written over with hard, dogmatic inscriptions. It has become to me the most eloquent exposition of human freedom and divine grace. Strange to say, its poetic power impresses me more and more and its dry allegories sink out of sight. His less deep thoughts are put into allegory and he is able to restate their meaning in plain speech. But his deepest thoughts were unconscious to Dante the philosopher, and only revealable by Dante the poet in the structure of his poem. His theory, for instance, of the seven mortal sins, is not adequate as a key to his poetic treatment of them in the "Inferno" and "Purgatorio." He is nowhere able adequately to state his solution of the difficulty involved in the use of the Cabala, for the Cabala is founded on Gnosticism, and implies the already mentioned Oriental theory of the formlessness of the Supreme Being. Nevertheless, Dante is able, poetically, to make the doctrine of the celestial hierarchies harmonize with his doctrine of Divine Personality.

I will venture to illustrate by one example how Dante's representations are deeper than mere allegories.

In one of the ditches of the Malebolge\* he beholds the fortune-tellers approaching. Each unhappy soul, silent and weeping, comes slowly along the circular valley, with its head twisted round so that it looks out over its back. The soothsayer's business is to look into the book of fate and to see all the future as an accomplished fact. He, therefore, turns the future into the past, and leaves no room for free, rational choice. All is determined already to the fortune-teller. To him, therefore, all time is past. He looks out backward and there is not a real future for him, no fresh possibilities—hence, paralysis of will; poetically embodied by Dante in those paralytics who look only backward. The vision is so complete that it tells more than a long treatise full of reflections.

WILLIAM T. HARRIS.

\* Canto XX. of the "Inferno."

## DO WE NEED PROHIBITION?

ONE aspect of prohibition has been sadly neglected. The discussion of the question has been confined largely to the political justice or practicability of this method of dealing with the liquor problem. Men have regarded the question as simply two-sided. They sought, and are seeking, an answer to the two queries, Is prohibition politically sound, and Can it be enforced? I believe there is another side to the subject that should be turned to the light. Are all those social and political forces which may be classified as anti-temperance so strong, so aggressive, and so dangerous in this country, that they demand for their control or extirpation a special mode of legal treatment which is out of harmony with the temper and spirit of American jurisprudence? I would not lightly estimate the strength of the saloon-interest in our great cities, or obscure, for a moment, the frightful evils of intemperance. I know the awful woes which follow in its train. A just estimate of these woes has made me, in theory and practice, a total abstainer. But prohibition obstructs, in so many ways, the rights of the innocent and law-abiding citizen, it meddles with the social and personal privileges of so large a number of people, that it may be not unfairly described as revolutionary in its character and purposes. If any State in this country can enact a law which renders the owner of a building, who knowingly allows a glass of sweet cider to be sold and drunk on the premises, liable to imprisonment in the county jail for one year and a fine of \$1,000; or, in other words, makes a man a felon for an act which is absolutely innocent *per se*, such a commonwealth can only plead in justification a supreme and pressing public necessity.

The prohibitionists offer such a plea in justification. They assert that the "rum power" has grown so enormously in the last two or three decades; has so threatened our political liberties

and our very social existence ; has gotten such a fiendish grip upon the rising generation, that all the reserve moral forces of society, backed by the numberless institutions which exist for the suppression of vice, are powerless to contend with this giant evil. A good minister in my own city puts it in this fashion :

" An old proverb says, ' Fire is a good servant but a bad master.' On some quiet evening, when it shines on the hearth, I might willingly discuss the best method of regulating it, whether with grate or stove, Baltimore heater or furnace. But when the house is on fire, and smoke and flame are filling chamber and hall, I want to turn on the alarm and bring the engines to put it out. I want the prohibitory influences of water, and it is idle to talk of regulation. So, strong drink may be a good servant, but it is undoubtedly a very bad master. And when it is now raging through the land in a conflagration of death, consuming manhood, blighting womanhood, and threatening the destruction of home and State, our first duty is to extinguish, if possible, the fire."

This is typical of the persistent efforts to " fire the prohibitionist heart." Are there any facts to justify such an inflammatory figure ? That the facts relating to intemperance and the drink-habit are bad enough is admitted on all sides ; but has there been retrogression and not advance in the matter of temperance ? We who oppose prohibition are convinced that no necessity exists for such a legal measure ; that the moral forces of society are abundantly able to cope with this evil ; that these forces are, in fact, slowly but surely curing it ; that the extending of public education, the refining and purifying of the social habits of the people, and their gradually enlarging interest in the great and absorbing questions that affect their social and political destiny, are all as effectually and as certainly eradicating intemperance as they are destroying, let us say, intolerance and religious bigotry. The facts abundantly sustain these conclusions.

I shall not rush to the statistical tables for those figures which are supposed to resemble the Father of his Country in their constitutional inability to be unveracious. Figures, like fire, make a good servant but a very poor master. You cannot settle this question by making a hasty comparison between the statistics of 1840 and those of 1880, and deciding that because the consumption of liquor increases in a ratio greatly disproportioned to the increase of population, this nation is on the down grade

of drunkenness. There are many modifying facts to be taken into account, not the least of which is the truth that statistical science, like confidence, is a plant of slow growth. In 1840 the mass of people were not aroused to the significance of the drink problem ; and the aggregate of liquor which came under government supervision bore a very undetermined proportion to the amount really consumed. All classes of people manufactured and drank large quantities of hard cider, New England rum, apple and peach brandy, and various kinds of home-made beer. The question of the magnitude of the drink problem is to be decided by cumulative testimony drawn from different types of facts. Let us turn our attention to some of these facts.

I. What were the drinking habits of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth ? I know of no historical writer in this country who treats this special subject, but Trevelyan, in his admirable "Life of Fox," presents a vivid and startling picture of the social habits of England, and the social life of this country was very conscientiously based on English models. He says:

"No man can study the public or personal history of the eighteenth century without being impressed by the truly immense space which drinking occupied in the mental horizon of the young, and the consequences of drinking in that of the old. As we turn over volume after volume, we find the same dismal story of gout . . . It is pitiful to witness the loftiest minds and the brightest wits reduced to the most barren and lugubrious of topics—talking of old age at seven and forty."

This is a kind of testimony which is of incalculable value, because it reveals the numberless little streams of experience by which history is unconsciously and undesignedly created. Miss Martineau, writing about the condition of English social life at the end of the last century, says :

"The habit of intemperance in wine was still prevalent among gentlemen, so that we read of one public man after another whose death or incapacity was ascribable to disease from drinking. Members of the cabinet, members of parliament, and others are quietly reported to have said this and that when they were drunk. The spirit decanters were brought out as a matter of course in the evenings, in middle-class houses; and gout and other liver and stomach disorders were prevalent to a degree which the children of our time have no conception of."

M. Guizot says, "The Sheridan who had been electrifying Parliament with his eloquence, might the same night have been picked up in the streets drunk." But come to our own century. According to John B. Gough's statement, the first temperance society in New York State was formed in 1809. Its rules would not be regarded as excessively rigid by the Women's Christian Temperance Union, but in that day they subjected the members to social persecutions of the most brutal character. These fanatics solemnly pledged themselves, under the dread penalty of forfeiting twenty-five cents, not to get drunk except on "Fourth of July and other legal holidays!" Mr. Gough says their cattle were hamstrung and their homes burned over their heads. People would not endure the presence of such social pests. In his very readable book, "My Study," Dr. Austin Phelps gives a graphic picture of the social life of New England in the first and second decades of this century. We have from his charming pen the edifying portrait of a grave and reverend minister who, after a series of pastoral visitations, climbs upon his horse with great difficulty, and who gravely declares that he must either abandon this branch of his ministerial duty, or else quit drinking. A hasty glance at the records and financial accounts of the New England churches of seventy years ago will reveal the extraordinary part which West India rum played in all "solemn assemblies" of ministerial brethren, while New England rum would seem to have been almost a "canonical beverage." About twenty-two years ago, John Bright, in the English House of Commons, made a statement which is as conspicuously true of this country as it is of Great Britain. He said :

"I am old enough to remember when, among those classes with which we are more familiar than with the working-people, drunkenness was ten or twenty times more common than it is at present. I have been in this House twenty years, and during that time I have often partaken of the hospitality of various members of the House, and I must confess that during the whole of those twenty years I have no recollection of having seen one single person at any gentleman's table who has been in the condition which would be at all fairly described by saying that he was drunk. And I may say more, that I do not recollect more than two or three cases, during that time, in which I have observed . . . that any gentleman had taken so much as to impair his judgment. That is not the state of things which prevailed . . . fifty or sixty years ago."

The statements made by Senator Vest, of Missouri, in a speech delivered in 1882, so exactly fit into the declarations of the venerable English legislator, that I cannot refrain from quoting. He says :

" Has intemperance increased in the country? I deny it. I am fifty years old, and I know that intemperance has not increased, whilst the population in the country in my own life has sprung up from eighteen millions to fifty-one millions nearly. Intemperance has not increased in proportion with that population. I remember when, in my boyhood days in Kentucky, the first rite of hospitality was to extend alcoholic drink to guests both coming and parting, and it was found upon my father's table as regularly as a bowl of milk or bread and butter, for home consumption. Hundreds of you here to-day know what I say to be true. The victims of intemperance in those days were numbered by the hundreds and thousands ; public men in the country fell from it in the halls of Congress; and to-day, I say here as a fact, that out of seventy-six senators in the Congress of the United States, more than half, and I believe more than fifty of them, do not touch or taste or handle alcoholic drink in any shape whatever. And I say more than that. A member of the House of Representatives or of the Senate who would ever dare to show himself in a state of intoxication in the public councils would never disgrace his seat again in either House. One of the most brilliant, one of the most fascinating, of all the public men I have met in my career in Washington in those years, was guilty of excess publicly, and at the renominating convention he received not one single, solitary vote. . . . Why, to-day, in Missouri, look at the change ! . . . I recollect when free whisky and free votes were the mottoes of both parties."

A member of my own church, less than twenty-five years ago, resolved, in giving a large party, to banish wine from the supper-table. Perhaps this was the first time in the social history of St. Louis that such a thing was done, and society was first moved to amazement and then to admiration over the sturdy courage manifested in thus defying social usage and tradition.

II. Another line of testimony which tends to prove the stupendous advance which this country has made in the matter of temperance is found in what may be called the steady evolution of the temperance sentiment in all departments of our social organism. Fifty years ago, not only was there a vastly greater quantity of liquor consumed by respectable people, but the moral and religious atmosphere surrounding the drink-habit was strangely different from what it is to-day. Not only was excessive drinking not disreputable, but drunkenness itself was going through a process of development, by virtue of which it slowly became a vice.

Justly to appreciate this, look at the history of any phase of the temperance movement. I have before me the "Fifth Annual Report of the Permanent Committee on Temperance of the Presbyterian Church," for 1886. The report is really a review of the temperance work done in this church in a hundred years, and is of intense interest. The earliest reformer in this direction among Presbyterians, to whose work can be traced permanent results, seems to have been Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia. For many years this eminent physician labored, apparently without success, to arouse the members of his own church to the terrible dangers and consequences of intemperance. At last, in the year 1811, he gained the reluctant ear of the General Assembly, which sent to the churches a "note of confession and warning, confessing with shame the prevalence of the sin of drunkenness, even among some of the members of the household of faith, who were debasing themselves, by the gratification of their appetites, to a level with the beasts that perish." A committee was appointed "to devise measures which . . . may have an influence in preventing some of the numerous and threatening mischiefs which are experienced throughout our country by the excessive and intemperate use of spirituous liquor." The report comments upon the fact that this action "seems to have contemplated, at that time, only mitigating the evils of 'excessive' and 'intemperate' use of ardent spirits." The action of the committee was followed by instantaneous and salutary results. In the Presbytery of Long Island a resolution was passed recommending the members of the church "not to treat each other, as a part of hospitality in friendly visits." And they resolved further that in the future "no ardent spirits nor wine shall constitute any part of our entertainments at any of our public meetings." The distinguished committee appointed by the General Assembly of 1811 reported a resolution to that body in 1812, in which the ministers are urged "pointedly and solemnly to warn their hearers, and especially the members of the church, not only against actual intemperance, but against all those habits and indulgences which may have a tendency to produce it."

In the year 1813 the Methodist Church voted down this resolution: "Resolved, that no stationed or local preacher shall

retail spirituous or malt liquors without forfeiting his ministerial character among us." As early as 1818 the Presbyterian Church uttered its protest against social treating, "except in extraordinary cases." This protest is specially directed against this habit on the part of "ministers, elders, and deacons in the Presbyterian Church." It the year 1822 we find the "excessive use of spirituous liquors" in "the bosom of the church itself." In 1824 this church felt called upon to sound a note of alarm because "the odious and destructive sin of intemperance" seemed to be increasing, "producing blasting and destruction to . . . churches." In 1826 was formed the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, on the principle of total abstinence, but, "obviously from a sense of prudence," the society "did not require a pledge of total abstinence." In 1829 the church appointed a day of solemn fasting, humiliation, and prayer, with special reference to the sin of intemperance; while in the next year, by the action of its representative body, it is placed squarely in sympathy with the principle of total abstinence.

In 1840 came the great Washingtonian movement, which somewhat antagonized the churches, and perhaps, for the time being, determined the growth of the temperance sentiment along other than ecclesiastical lines. In 1842 the question was propounded to the General Assembly (O. S.), "whether the manufacturer, vender, or retailer of intoxicating drinks should be continued in full communion." The Assembly rejoices in the temperance reformation, but "cannot sanction the adoption of any new term of communion." But in 1865 the church declares that it is "not adopting a new term of communion to exclude persons from sealing ordinances on the ground of their manufacturing and vending intoxicating drinks as a beverage." This deliverance was reaffirmed in 1871 and 1880, in the reunited church, and may be called the settled judgment of this great body. As early as 1845 the Presbyterian Church showed its general sympathy with the prohibitory forms of legislation. The study of the temperance reform in other churches would show the same interesting process of the evolution of the temperance sentiment. "Once," says a veteran worker, "we had to inquire anxiously, 'Where can we find a pulpit occupied by a minister who will

preach a temperance sermon ?' now we might ask, 'Where is the pulpit to be found from which temperance sermons are not preached?'" In Scotland, the very stronghold of drunkenness, the Free Church has one thousand and thirty-five congregations ; and "five hundred and fifty ministers, seven-eighths of the divinity students, and a large proportion of the Christian workers" are total abstainers. The like is true of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Sixty years ago, then, temperance was intrenched in the leading Christian churches of the land. The great ecclesiastical bodies could only be aroused to the recognition of the crying evil after patient and pathetic efforts. By slow and painful steps the churches felt their way in this delicate and difficult reform. The leaders and creators of the religious sentiments of the community evidently needed to be educated into the very idea of temperance. We saw that the great Methodist communion, which may now be called the Napoleonic guard of temperance, would not, in 1812, forbid dram-selling by its preachers. This single fact reveals a change of sentiment respecting the matter of temperance which is as marvelous as it is wholesome.

In the minds of thoughtful people, then, are we not abundantly justified in our conviction that the cause of temperance has grown as rapidly as any other social reform in this country ? The very sensitizing of the public conscience which makes so vivid and awful the evils of intemperance, and minimizes, in the imagination, the gigantic efforts being made for their removal, is a most valuable part of the moral education we have been unconsciously receiving during a half-century of national life. But a sensitive and inflamed conscience is not always or often the safest guide in determining what shall be the character and course of social reforms. It too frequently finds its moral satisfaction in hasty, immature, if not violent, activities. It is not a grateful task, and certainly not a popular one, to underestimate, even in seeming, the awful evils of the drink-habit. They are sufficiently enormous to command for their extirpation the utmost energy and wisdom of every lover of his country and his kind. But, have they so far outstripped in growth and power the wholesome forces of Christian civilization that these forces must be

practically abandoned for a legal measure which seeks to curb the license of the vicious by destroying the rational liberty of the virtuous? Surely not. Such a confession would impeach Christianity itself. It would, moreover, defeat the end it had in view. The belief that rum was slowly but surely drowning out the manhood of the race would stimulate a few conscientious reformers to superhuman effort, but it would depress the great multitude of men and women whose best encouragement would be the memory of half a century of defeats. Men would inscribe over the door of this reform the words of Dante: "Who enters here leaves hope behind." But, in truth, each decade has marked new victories in the temperance cause, and every such moral victory has been attended by splendid revivals of religion. To use the words of John A. Andrew:

"The temperance reformation sprung out of the heart of a deeply moved community. It was truly and genuinely a Gospel work; it was a mission of love and hope. And the power with which it wrought was the evidence of its inspiration. While it held fast by its original simplicity; while it pleaded with the self-forgetfulness of gospel discipleship, and sought out, with the generosity of an all-embracing charity; while it twined itself around the heart-strings and quietly persuaded the erring, or with an honest boldness rebuked without anger, it was strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, verifying the prophecy of old, that one might chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. But when it passed out of the hands of its evangelists and passed into the hands of its hirelings; when it became a part of the capital of political speculation and went into the jugglery of the caucus; when men voted to lay abstinence as a burden on their neighbors, while they felt no duty of such abstinence themselves (even under the laws of their own creation); when the Gospel, the Christian Church, and the ministers of religion were yoked to the car of a political triumph, then it became the victim of one of the most ancient and most dangerous of all the delusions of history."

JOHN SNYDER.

## FOR BETTER, FOR WORSE.

"FOR better, for worse." How many young creatures repeat these words, unthinkingly, or thinking that the future will be all better and no worse; that marriage is a kind of earthly paradise, and those only are to be pitied who stand without the gate. They are; for a single life is necessarily an imperfect life. But a perfect married life, though there is such a thing, is the rarest thing under the sun. Of the thousands who have known the rapture of love, even of satisfied love, there are only tens, nay, units, who live to know what the poet calls "comfort of marriage;" the unity of interests, the entire reliance, the faithful companionship; that peaceful habitual affection which replaces passion; under which, month after month, and year after year, these companions for life sit every day at the same board, and lay the tired head every night on the same pillow, quite certain, and quite content in that certainty, that nothing but the inevitable "till death us do part" will ever involve separation.

It is only those who understand and believe in this ideal of marriage who have a right to speak on a much-discussed subject, which has been viewed in many phases, but chiefly from the worldly side, the man's side. I wish to say a word or two on the moral and spiritual side, and the woman's.

There is a difference. A man makes his own marriage. It is he who takes, or is supposed to take, the initiative; to woo, ask, and win. If the marriage turns out a mistake, he has, ordinarily, no one to blame but himself. But there are myriads of women who by persuasion of friends, or of the lover himself; by that spirit of self-sacrifice to which "the weaker sex" is constantly prone; from poverty, pride, disappointed affection, and other less pitiable and more ignoble motives, marry in haste and repent at leisure; wake up from a temporary hallucination to find themselves in the position of a creature fallen into a bog,

where the more it struggles the deeper it sinks. All the deeper that its struggles are, for the most part, dumb.

Not always. It is a curious fact that while a man who has made an unfortunate marriage is generally dead silent on the subject, women, if they make no open outcry, often secretly complain, and those most who have the least to complain of. For these, there need not be felt, nor asked, the slightest pity. If their life is destroyed, they destroy it themselves; not merely by the first foolish step which many make—for the average of marriages result only in a convenient mutual toleration—but because they will not make the best of things; will not take in the vital truth that happiness, or, perhaps, I should say blessedness, consists, not in obtaining what we crave for, but in turning into noble uses that which we have.

Many a wife goes about making "a poor mouth" about mere trifles. Her husband has not given her the position she expected; he likes town and she the country, or *vice versa*; he has a good heart but a bad temper; his relatives are unpleasant, or he takes a dislike, just or unjust, to hers. All these minor miseries silly women dwell upon, instead of taking them—and the husband—"for better, for worse," and striving by all conceivable means, by patience, by self-denial, by courage when necessary, and by silent endurance always, to change worse into better. This can be done, and often is done. If we who have lived long enough to look on life with larger vision than the young, are often saddened to see how many of the most passionate love-marriages melt away into a middle age of misery, we have also seen others which, beginning in error and possessing all the elements of future wretchedness, have yet by wise conduct, generally on the wife's side, ended in something not far short of happiness.

Every woman who takes upon herself the "holy estate"—and it is holy—"of matrimony" has to learn soon or late—happy if she learn it soon!—that no two human beings can be tied together for life without finding endless difficulties, not only in the world outside but in each other. These have to be solved, and generally by the wife. She must have a strong heart, a sweet temper, an unlimited patience, and, above all, a power to

see the right, and do it, not merely for the love of man—"as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord" (which was a state of things belonging to a polygamous and not a Christian community)—but for the love of God; which alone can tide an ill-assorted couple over the rocks and shoals of early married life, into a calm sea and a prosperous voyage.

I state this so that if what I am about to say be somewhat iconoclastic, it may be clearly seen that I wage war against false idols and not against true gods. And I write, not for those whose matrimonial lot is the average one, neither very happy nor very miserable; who, having made their bed, must lie upon it, and make the best of it; but for those whose lot has turned out, as the man said of his bad wife, "all worse and no better;" who are tied and bound, not always by their own fault, with a heavy chain, the iron of which enters their very soul, and from which they have no hope of escape but death.

The question I wish to raise is, how long a woman should endure that chain; how far she must, or may, righteously put up with the husband whom, under whatever circumstances, she has taken "for better, for worse," and found hopelessly "worse." The opposite question, as to how a man should deal with a bad wife, I do not enter into. Men are the law-makers, and can be trusted to take care of themselves.

In ancient times most nations were polygamous, including the Jews, upon whose marriage laws ours are founded: witness St. Paul's advice about Sarah, "whose daughters ye are," repeated to all wives in the marriage service of the Church of England. Women were held to be the mere goods and chattels, first of father, then of husband, and were bought and sold accordingly. Early Christianity, while raising the woman to the level of being "one flesh" with the man, held her to be absorbed in him, as "bone of *his* bone and flesh of *his* flesh," giving her few or no rights of her own. Only of late years has she been recognized as a separate entity, with feelings, duties, rights; man's partner and helpmeet, but in no sense his slave, as she really was throughout all the Middle Ages of Europe, though ostensibly treated as a goddess. Now, public opinion has changed. The once lauded "patient Griseldis" would be

scouted in most modern society as a woman whose conduct showed a cowardice absolutely criminal; and in many honest minds even Tennyson's lovely story of "Enid and Geraint" leaves an ugly doubt behind whether the man was not a brute and the woman a simpleton.

Yet still, despite advancing civilization, there is in some people a lurking feeling for the brute and against the simpleton; a clinging to the letter of the law, "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder;" forgetting that many marriages seem made not by God but, if I may say it, by the devil, and that even the marriage service itself warns us that "as many as are coupled together otherwise than as God's Word doth allow, are not joined together by him, neither is their matrimony lawful."

There are many marriages which, if "the secrets of all hearts" were "disclosed"—I quote still from the marriage service—are unlawful from the first; and many more that become unlawful afterward; to continue in which is far more sinful than to break them. Besides infidelity, the one cause for which English law—though, I shame to say, not always social opinion or custom—justifies a woman in quitting her husband, there are other wrongs, equally cruel, and equally fatal in result, which society allows her to endure to the bitter end. A man may be a confirmed drunkard, a spendthrift, a liar, a scoundrel so complete that no honest gentleman would admit him within his doors; and yet the wretched woman, his wife, is expected to "do her duty," to stick to him through thick and thin—so goes the phrase. She must shut her eyes to all his sins, and make believe to herself and the world at large that none exist; "obey him and serve him" according to her marriage vow; continue to be the mistress of his house, and—most terrible fate of all!—the mother of his children. And the world, even the virtuous half of it, will uphold her, praise her, affirming that she only does what every loyal wife ought to do, and that she is quite in the right to do it.

I say she is in the wrong, culpably in the wrong; that her noble endurance, falsely so-called, is mere cowardice, and her conjugal submission a degradation as sinful as that of many a woman who omits the marriage ceremony altogether. Even

her self-sacrifice is a crime, for it does not end with herself alone.

And here I draw the line—which law as well as public opinion ought to draw—where endurance is bound to end. A childless wife may, if she chooses, immolate herself, like a Hindoo widow, in the moral suttee which many good people still hold to as a part of the Christian religion; but when she is a mother the case is totally different. There is one “cause for which marriage was ordained”—I still quote from the prayer-book—which has been overlooked by our legislators, viz., the children.

The divorce laws in all countries make the grounds of separation personal between husband and wife, and the question of duty is held to lie solely with these two. Whereas, for both, and beyond both, is a higher duty still; that which they, and society, owe to the innocent creatures whom marriage has brought into the world; who did not ask to be born, and yet must support existence, tainted by the sins and darkened by the sufferings of parents who never considered them at all.

I may startle many by affirming that the first duty of every woman who deliberately chooses the lot of Mother Eve is her children. Nature herself upholds this law. In most brute beasts, from the time the double life begins the mother is wholly a mother; and solely, the father having nothing at all to do with his offspring. Higher forms of existence recognize the double parental tie; but still the claim of child upon mother and mother upon child, begun through physical sufferings and joys of which men are equally ignorant, and continued through years of patient care of which they are quite incapable, constitutes a bond like nothing else in the world. I do not hesitate to say that it is a closer bond and a stronger duty than that toward any husband, unless it be a husband who fulfills all *his* duties, and is as truly a father as the mother is, or ought to be, a mother. And when these two duties clash, as duties often do in this world, I believe the mother ought to choose the duty to her children. A man can take care of himself; can ruin or save himself; for, however she may imagine it, very seldom can any woman save a thoroughly bad husband. Nor, though she mar-

ried him, is she responsible for him beyond a certain extent. She is responsible for her children from the hour of birth ; nay, for the very fact of their existence.

It would be entering on too wide a field of discussion to open the question whether those who are stricken with any hereditary taint should marry, or be allowed to marry, at all. And this paper is meant to deal with a woman's position and duty after marriage, when time has proved without doubt that the marriage was not "made in heaven," but in—the other place. Is she justified in destroying not only herself but her helpless children, in that hell upon earth which a bad man can create around him by his unrestrained vices ?

That word, vices, answers the question. No mere fault or misfortune, such as incompatibility of temper, hopeless sickness, or worldly ruin, does in the least abrogate that solemn "for better, for worse ;" but vice does. Confirmed drunkenness, evil courses of any kind, utter lack of principle, cruel tyranny, or that violence of temper which is akin to madness, and as dangerous ; anything which compels a woman to say to her children that to serve God they must not imitate their father, warrants her in quitting him, and taking them away from him. Whenever things come to that pass that the vileness of the father will destroy the children, physically and morally, then the mother's course is clear. She must save them ; not suffer their father's sins to blight their whole future existence. For—let me dare to utter the plain truth—they ought never to have existed at all. To make a drunkard, a debauchee, a scoundrel of any sort, the father of her children, is, to any righteous woman, a sin almost equivalent to child-murder. And she slays not only their bodies but their souls ; entailing on them an hereditary curse which may not be rooted out for generations.

Therefore, for any good woman married to a thoroughly bad man, there is but one duty—separation. Not divorce, for that, by permitting re-marriage, which the victim would seldom or never desire, would allow the victimizer to carry into a new home the misery he has inflicted on the former one ; but legal separation, *a mensâ et thoro*, to be easily and cheaply attainable by all classes ; giving to the wife the position of a widow, and to

the children the safety of being fatherless ; for a bad father is worse than none.

The question of income, and maintenance of children, would have its difficulties. A wife who thus voluntarily leaves her husband should only take away with her what is absolutely her own. She only wishes to be free from him ; she does not want his money. Also, though this may sometimes fall hard, I think the support of the children should devolve upon her. This prevents the possibility of mercenary, worldly, or vicious motives, and places the separation entirely on moral grounds. There are few mothers who, if put to the test, would not prefer the sharpest poverty for themselves and their children, rather than the misery of a home in which the name of husband and father is a mere sham, where—sharpest pang of all !—they have to sit still and see their little ones slowly contaminated by one to whom they owe nothing but the mere accident of existence.

By the outside world, this condition of quasi-widowhood should be held, if sad and difficult, in no way dishonorable. To it would attach none of the degradations and foul revelations of divorce ; indeed, the fact that separation was easy would make divorce all the more difficult, as should be. Easy divorce loosens all the rivets which hold society together, and while giving no consolation to innocence, offers a premium to guilt. The great safeguard of marriage is that it cannot be undone ; the consciousness that no power on earth can ever really place either party in the same position as before their union. Otherwise, how many couples would separate in the first year of their marriage. But the mistake, known to be irrevocable, is borne, and sometimes partially remedied. When irremediable, the utmost that both parties can expect, and the most they would desire, is to get free from one another, as free as they can ; and save their children from the consequences of their fatal error.

This, and no more than this, I think they have a right to. One can deeply pity a woman whose husband is imprisoned for forgery, or a man whose wife is shut up permanently in a lunatic asylum ; but though these things involve and justify a life-long separation, they form a ghastly and dangerous argument for divorce. And speaking as a woman, and for women, I doubt if

divorce should ever be permissible. Few women would care to become the wife of a divorced man, and very few would feel it right to marry at all while the husband, however erring, was still alive.

But the spectacle of a woman who refuses to condone vice and perpetuate evil; who has strength to cut off a right hand and put out a right eye, rather than sin against God and ruin the young souls he has intrusted to her, would be deterrent rather than dangerous. Many a man who, knowing his wife dare not or cannot leave him, is selfish, tyrannical, brutal, breaking every law of God and man except those for which he would be openly punished, if he thought she could get rid of him by means short of divorce, and without the odium to herself and the freedom to him that would result therefrom, might possibly amend his ways. If not, he would richly deserve that justice without mercy—for mercy to the sinful is often mercilessness to the innocent—which is society's only safeguard against such men. They are not fit for domestic life; and though in public life some of them brazen it out to the last, the best that can be done for them is to save other women from them; and to help their wives to gather together the fragments of a wrecked existence, and teach their children to cover over with wise and duteous silence the very name of father.

There are fathers—and fathers. Those who deserve the name will not resent my distinguishing between them. And no good husband is harmed by laws which protect hapless women against bad husbands. On the other hand, there are some women as unfit to be mothers as they are to be wives, and God help the man whose ill-fortune it is to have chosen such a one! But, as I have said, the choice is his own. He is, apparently, at least, the active, not the passive agent in his own lot. And whatever it is, either from a consciousness of this, from pride, or self-control, or because he finds it easier to escape from than a woman can, he generally bears it in heroic silence.

So should she. If, refusing to lower her womanhood by continuing to live with a bad man, she has courage to quit him and take all consequences of her most righteous act, she deserves not merely pity but respect. But she deserves neither if, while

tamely submitting to her misery, she raises a feeble wailing or a monstrous howling against it. Such women encourage bad men by yielding to them, and irritate good men into a confusion of wrong and right, by appealing to the noblest quality of masculine minds, compassion.

It is to obviate this, to set up a standard by which good men can fairly judge good women, that I write the present paper; stating principles which legislators have scarcely noticed enough: first, that in most cases of unhappy marriage, the first thing to be considered is the good of the children; secondly, that while divorce, being undesirable in itself, and dangerous to the community at large, should be made as difficult as possible, separation, restoring to both parties all rights which they had before marriage, except that of re-marrying, should be made easily and honorably obtainable; and thirdly, that the possession and maintenance of the children should devolve entirely upon the mother.

What men should do in a similar case—and there are such things as bad wives as well as bad husbands—I do not attempt to say. I speak only for women, hoping my words may strengthen some of them to break through the cruel bondage of body and soul under which they languish, and which has been riveted by the false interpretation put by so many well-meaning, narrow-minded people upon the words—most sacred words to all who really understand them—“for better, for worse.”

THE AUTHOR OF “JOHN HALIFAX, GENTLEMAN.”

## REMEDIES FOR MUNICIPAL MISGOVERNMENT.

THE problem of governing great cities is one of such pressing importance that it cannot be too much discussed ; but it is desirable that discussion should be directed to a practical solution of the problem, and not wasted on generalities and idealities. To all intents and purposes the problem is a new one, and it confronts us in the United States in its most formidable aspect ; for we must find the means of municipal self-government on the basis of universal suffrage.

Neither the history of the past nor the experience of other countries can afford us much help. The great cities of former times were the seats of national power and under the sway of national rulers. Their affairs were the first and most immediate care of governments which extended their dominion from them to outlying regions and distant provinces, which were really subordinate to the capitals. To-day, in Europe, all cities of the first magnitude are national capitals, and their government is involved more or less closely with that of the nations to which they belong. London can hardly be called a municipality. It is a combination of local districts with their separate vestries, and of a national capital under the control of the imperial government. Its Board of Works, for general purposes, and its School Board are creations of Parliament, and practically subject to its control, while the "City," with its lord mayor and its aldermen chosen by the "guilds," is an anomalous survival of the Middle Ages. The administration of Paris is a highly centralized organization of power for local purposes, but it is a branch of the national power. Both the Prefect of the Seine and the Prefect of Police are subordinates of the Minister of the Interior, and responsible to national authority. They generally survive changes of the cabinet, and there is even more stability in the municipal administration than in that of the republic. In other

European capitals there is the same hold of the national authority upon local administration, which, whether it is desirable or not, is with us an impossibility. In large provincial towns in Europe the measure of popular control is defined by the national government, and modified by restrictions on the suffrage.

Our leading cities, with a single exception, are not even State capitals, and the intervention of State authority in the administration of their affairs has proved to be a hindrance, and not a help. It is a thing to be rid of. If we have nothing to learn from the government of ancient cities, and little from that of the cities of other lands, we find our own traditions and experience of no assistance except to teach us what to avoid. The town meeting is an ideal democracy for a small community, and as our towns grew we tried to adapt it to new needs, but with poor success. In taking a leap from town to city organization, an imitation of the political systems of the States was adopted, with the three branches of executive, legislative, and judicial, the last confined mainly to criminal jurisdiction. There was no fitness in the arrangement to the chief functions of local administration, but, the worst of it was, that the people lost entirely their close relation to the administration of their own affairs.

There was, first, a division of responsibility between mayor, aldermen, and councilmen, then its dissipation through committees of the city council and executive commissions, for whose composition and performance of duty nobody could be held strictly accountable. Offices multiplied, some to be filled by election and some by appointment, without any clear ground for the distinction, and no single person or body was clothed with a responsibility that could be clearly grasped and readily enforced. No better provision could have been made for the operation of local political "machines," having for their object the capture and distribution of the spoils of municipal service and employment. They were the inevitable product of the conditions provided for their successful operation. It mattered not whether they were the existing party organizations, controlled and directed to this end by those who made it their business to find opportunities for plunder in the municipal service, or whether they were got up for the purpose; they were bound to

exist so long as such a tempting field was presented for their exploitation.

The evils and abuses which sprang from this dissipation of responsibility have been the cause of many restrictions upon local self-government and of frequent appeals to State legislatures for relief. These have resulted in tinkering of charters and assumption of control over many matters by State authority. Instead of removing the cause of the evil this has only complicated and aggravated it. City politicians, intent upon retaining or increasing their power to control and distribute for their own advantage the patronage of municipal government, made alliances with country politicians to secure their ends by an interchange of favors. This was made comparatively easy by the ignorance of rural legislators of the real needs and conditions of the administration of affairs in great cities, their lack of a sense of direct responsibility in the matter, and their readiness to be persuaded that city populations were incapable of self-government and would be benefited by the supervision of State authority. They were ready to give the benefit of their wisdom and disinterestedness —for a consideration. For years the plunder of the city of New York has been shared between its own politicians and those of the State. While its people have borne the disgrace and the expense of bad government, they have been deprived of the responsibility, and of the opportunity to remedy the evils from which they suffered. Such improvements as have been made in the last few years have come through extorting from a reluctant legislature, by an aroused public feeling, some small measure of self-control. What is true of our largest city is in a measure true of all our large cities.

The first requirement, for the solution of the problem of municipal government, is the absolute and complete restoration to the people of the city of the right to control their own local affairs. They are as much entitled to this right as the people of the smallest rural community, and they are not less capable of exercising it, provided a system is devised adapted to their needs. There must be the means of concentrating the whole force of popular suffrage upon one point, as clearly perceptible as that of choosing a board of selectmen in a New England village. Let

the responsibility be laid upon one man, with such weight that he cannot escape it, and cannot bear it without a strong spinal column, surmounted by a clear and vigorous brain, and the man will be found. Knowing how much is to depend upon him, the people will insist upon finding the right kind of man, and those who have great interests at stake will be especially zealous in the quest. Strong as party feeling may be, it will give way to a nearer and more strenuous self-interest. The mayor should be the fulcrum over which the whole municipal system is moved, and then the lever of popular suffrage will have whereon to rest. The administration should be divided into clearly defined departments, with specific functions confided to each, and over each—except that having the care of public education—should be placed a single head, appointed and removed by the mayor, without division of responsibility. The heads of departments should have no fixed terms of office. Tenure of office continuing so long as no cause for removal was given, would beget experience and efficiency of inestimable value, and entire freedom from disquieting fears and uncertainties, and would make removals without good cause something which a responsible mayor would hardly think of. With a subordinate service filled by the application of sound civil-service rules, there would be a stability that no set of politicians could shake. There would be an official class? Surely, there would be a set of men trained to the business of the city as men are trained to banking or railroad business, to professional work, to mechanical trades, to other employments in which careers are found in this life. Why not? By no other means can this business be properly done. There is an official class now, but constituted by irresponsible politicians for their own benefit, rather than by the people for the benefit of the public service. Under a system of concentrated responsibility, the people would control the machinery of local government by choosing the representative of their own power and will, in the person of the mayor. The position of a recent writer in the *FORUM*, that the mayor should hold office for a long term, and be ineligible for a second, is open to serious objection. The system, once well established, would be safe, and the mayor should feel his responsibility to the people. The power of re-

moving him should be with them, and they should have the chance to exercise it at moderate intervals, and should have the liberty of not exercising it. Neither long terms nor prohibition of re-election is consistent with popular control. Removal by the interposition of some outside power, or a process of impeachment, would be a vexatious and uncertain expedient. If a mayor abuses his trust, let the people learn their lesson and pay for it, but give them a chance to condemn the derelict servant and choose a better one.

Heads of departments would naturally become the advisers of the mayor, and why should they not constitute a council for general purposes, such as are incorrectly spoken of as legislative? Strictly legislative functions there are none in a municipality, and regulations to facilitate and guide executive business are best made by those who have the business to do. But if a popular representative body, to watch over the administration for the people, is insisted on, it should not be large, and chosen from numerous districts or wards. That would be the New York Board of Aldermen magnified and made worse. It should be moderate in number, and chosen from the whole city by a method that would secure a fair minority representation. There is not space to present arguments in favor of this plan, but to those who study the subject its advantages must appear obvious.

We come to the great bugbear of this whole subject—universal suffrage in populous cities. This must be boldly faced and accepted. There is no getting around it or running away from it. Unless popular government is destined to break down sooner or later everywhere, it must hold at the points of greatest stress. There is in great cities a vast diversity of character, capacity, and condition, but the average is not lower—nay, it is decidedly higher—than in rural communities. If the average of intelligence and integrity can be brought to bear with full force upon the machinery of local government, it will not produce proportionately worse results in the city of New York than in the smallest village in Maine or Kansas. Of course it is conceded that there is a considerable body of citizens who will not exercise the right of suffrage intelligently and conscientiously, under any circumstances, but it is a small proportion of the

whole. The mass of the people are really interested in good government, and can be made to understand where their interests lie, if the question is simplified so that they plainly see that all depends upon the election of one competent man. It is easy to mislead men in a mazy wilderness, but where there is but one plain road before them they will take it. Moreover, with one responsible head to be chosen, and with subordinate places to be filled by a systematic test of fitness, the motives and incentives that lead self-seeking men by various devices to control the votes of the unthinking will be taken away or greatly lessened.

There has never been a time when the intelligent and honest people of any large American city could not control its affairs if they saw fit to exert their power. It is useless to make appeals to a busy people to perform political duties and take possession of party organizations. They simply will not do it. Men who are engaged in carrying on the great industrial and commercial interests of the community are absorbed in their various pursuits, and though they grumble at bad municipal management and heavy taxes, they will not make the sacrifice of time and inclination to remedy the evil by their own efforts, so long as it is more profitable to pay the cost and attend unremittingly to their own private business. They will inevitably leave the work of politics to those who make a business of it. They are quite willing to leave the work of municipal government to those who make a business of it, provided the means is afforded to insure efficient and honest work, without continuous attention to the matter on their own part. The time and effort required of them must be reduced to a minimum ; it must be made clear that such effort can be used with effect, and it must be plain that their own self-interest depends upon its effective use. If a sound municipal administration is made to depend upon the choice of a mayor once in two or three years, and a system of complete responsibility under him is established, the one occasion that will invoke a supreme exercise of the power of the suffrage and bring out a full vote will be the election of a chief magistrate of the city, and means will be found for presenting a fit candidate for the support of all men who appreciate the momen-

tous consequences of the choice. Appeals to ignore party considerations will be unnecessary, for motives stronger than party feeling will be supplied by the very circumstances of the case. It is only by reaching such motives that party considerations can be overcome. It may be an advantage to have municipal elections separated from political contests, but that advantage is commonly overrated. With the way clear for effecting municipal reform, and securing good government by the concentration of the popular power upon one clearly visible point, party organizations would have to give way, whatever other objects they might be engaged upon. Without this they would transfer their efforts to the municipal canvass, whenever it might take place.

The essentials of good government for great cities where universal suffrage prevails are these: the election of the mayor, and of no other executive officer, by the people, at comparatively short intervals; the distribution of administrative functions into clearly defined departments under single heads; the appointment and the removal for adequate cause of the heads of departments by the mayor, without any division of responsibility; no limitation of terms for such heads of departments, except by cause for removal; the filling of the subordinate ranks of the service by a system of rules to test merit and fitness for both appointment and promotion. Elections separate from those of State and nation, a popular council for general supervision in matters of taxation and appropriation, and methods of consultation for devising plans, regulations, etc., are incidental matters which would present little difficulty when once the system of concentrated responsibility and direct dependence on the power and will of the whole people was established.

New York is the city in which the need of reform is most pressing, and in which the difficulties of the task are greatest, but a system that would overcome the difficulties there would be equally efficacious for Philadelphia, Chicago, and every other large American city. The holding of a convention to revise the Constitution of the State of New York affords an opportunity for taking a radical step for reform in the government of its cities, and the solution of the problem in that State will be of

inestimable value to others where the difficulties are less formidable. The bond which fastens the municipal administration to the State legislature should be broken. The power of the legislative body to meddle by special acts should be taken away, and it should be required that all laws affecting the government of cities should be general in their application. As the needs of cities vary with their size, an opportunity should be given for dividing charters into at least two classes, those for cities with a population not exceeding 200,000, and those for cities having a population in excess of that number. It should be specifically provided that, in the case of cities in the higher grade, the administration must be divided into distinct executive departments, each under a single officer, with the exception of the Department of Education, and that such officers shall be appointed and for cause removed by the mayor alone, who shall be elected by the people. There should be secured to such cities the absolute right of control over all matters of purely local concern. The people of the city of New York may, by one resolute and vigorous effort, secure in the Constitution of the State a guarantee of self-government under a charter that will make it possible, and by their example they may point the way to success for others. Once made dependent upon themselves, they will have the strongest motives for vindicating their right and their ability to manage their own affairs, and in so far as they fail they will have to pay the penalty. A child learns to walk only by getting upon his feet. To learn to swim one must plunge into the water. The only way for a city to govern itself is to get the chance and go about it, with the full consequences of failure before its eyes.

AMOS K. FISKE.

## THE HYDROPHOBIA BUGBEAR.

ONE of the singular facts in medical biology is that, with the increasing knowledge gained in the field of contagious and endemic diseases generally, much substantial advance cannot be recorded in the history of rabies, or, as it is sometimes called, "hydrophobia." This is not due to any neglect of the subject. Owing to the terrible nature of this malady, it has proven an attractive field of research to those who are animated by an earnest desire to prevent and relieve human suffering, as well as to those who are fascinated by the sensational and mysterious. Perhaps it is owing to the latter element that we have not entirely emancipated ourselves from certain beliefs, which are the relics of mediæval superstition. Other epidemic disorders are accompanied by evidences approaching in exactitude the degree of mathematical proof. The symptoms observed during life, as well as the signs found in the dead body, in such diseases as small-pox, typhus, and cholera, are characteristic, decisive, and constant. The symptoms of rabies in man are vague, conflicting, and inconstant, while post-mortem study in man, as in the dog, has yielded no result of other than negative value.

Much of the observation made of suspicious dogs is made through optics disturbed by fear, and by persons who are incompetent to describe and interpret what they see. Usually, too, the suspected animals are killed before they can be submitted to scientific examination. The result is, that hydrophobia alarms are annually excited without sufficient cause, to the detriment of the human inhabitants, as well as their humbler fellow-creatures. If a dog froth at the mouth, run with his tongue out, and carry his tail drawn under him, the revolver or the policeman's baton is called into service. Such signs, however, are observed in stray dogs that have been chased, or are afflicted with ordinary diseases. Driven into a corner, the poor vagrants may make

a desperate stand, and use the weapons of defense with which nature has furnished them. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it may be safely assumed that the sympathy expended on the persons thus bitten might be diverted into more useful channels.

The best authorities to-day incline to regard the majority of cases of reputed rabies in man as spurious. They believe that many of the sufferers who develop the imaginary disease were bitten by animals suffering not from rabies, but from epilepsy, or from gastro-intestinal disease; nay, even by healthy dogs. The serious and oft-times fatal influence of terror and expectant attention, fostered by popular alarm, is attested by other epidemics of imitative nervous disorder, and is a familiar fact to those who have carefully studied the influence of the mind on the body. From the fifteenth century, when Alsatian peasants imagined they were changed to wolves, ran on all fours, howling and tearing children to pieces, insisting that their limbs be lopped off in order to convince others that the wolfish fur grew inward from their skins, down to the present day, when those dreading hydrophobia bark like dogs, mew like cats, and are thrown into convulsions at the sight of water, the records of hydrophobia are replete to overflowing with delusion, superstition, hysteria, and unconscious simulation. The tragical-comical case of a number of persons dying in the sixteenth century after having eaten of a pig that had been bitten by a dog which in its turn had been bitten by another and rabid one, found its counterpart a few weeks ago in Russia, where a medical editor, a follower of Pasteur, suggested the treating of a number of persons in the Pasteur institute at Odessa, for no better reason than that they had partaken of milk from a cow bitten by a rabid dog. That writer not alone out-Pasteured Pasteur, but also emulated the solicitude of the German count\* who in an antique folio figures an apparatus for restraining rabid persons. It consists of an iron cage, an oilcloth vesture, handcuffs, and a mask with eye-glasses, like a diver's head-gear. The object of this was to protect the attendants against the exhalations of rabid virus supposed to emanate from the body. Such extra-

\* Graf von Salm-Reifenscheid.

gance was not out of harmony with the knowledge of a day when a patient's illusive vision of young dogs growing out of his *excreta* passed as a sign of rabies. To-day he who manifests such hallucinations runs some risk of forfeiting sympathy ; he would be suspected of delirium tremens, and the medical question most likely to arise in his case would be, whether a "hair of the dog" that did the biting be proper to administer or no.

Even at this day, cases of epileptic, alcoholic, and traumatic delirium are reported as rabies, and, if they happen to coincide with a "scare," contribute to the intensification and prolongation of public alarm. It was fortunate indeed for the peace of mind of New York and its environs that the case of Rudolph Herbig happened after the subsidence of the "Newark dog-craze." He was seized in October last with a fit, on a street of that city, snarled and barked like a dog, frothed at the mouth, and tried to go upon his hands and feet. An old scar on his arm was attributed to the bite of a dog received five years previously. This showed signs of recent irritation. Had Herbig died, his death would have been attributed to rabies. He recovered, and it was learned from his mother that he had had a similar attack four years previously, during delirium resulting from an injury to his skull. At Wadesborough, South Carolina, a man was reported as having died of rabies two years after having been bitten by a mad dog. Inquiry revealed the fact that a few days before his death he had been severely stung by a large number of bees on the left arm. Sometimes the bite of a dog is followed by disastrous results through other channels than rabies. One of the recently reported deaths attributed to hydrophobia in Chicago occurred under the following circumstances : A large dog belonging to a butcher bit a man, severely lacerating his leg. At the hospital amputation was advised. The patient refused to submit, and his wife, superior to surgical principles, had him taken home. Here he died of blood-poisoning. The dog was alive and well some time after.

In order to determine how great the danger in the United States from rabies is, the writer has carefully followed up all the newspaper reports of alleged outbreaks of the disease. In not a single case has satisfactory evidence of its existence been obtained.

The recent reported outbreaks are mostly located in or near two centers, Newark and Chicago. From the latter city the information was received that the Illinois State Board of Health had no knowledge regarding the deaths from hydrophobia to which the newspapers referred. As this board comprises careful investigators, specially interested in rare diseases, it is very probable that the said reports were *canards*. In the more recent epidemic at Niles Center, seven miles from Chicago, which led to a slaughter of the dogs in that village, the human subjects were cured by the "mad-stone," which is a harmless species of the "faith cure." The subsidence of the panic was largely due to a sensible physician, who declined to make a premature diagnosis. At Newark scientific tests were made, and showed that neither the persons dying of alleged rabies, the dogs that had bitten them, nor the children reputed to have been saved by Pasteur, had been afflicted with that disease. Biggs, of the Carnegie Laboratory, and Law, of Cornell, inoculated dogs with material from the deceased pound-keeper, Neall, as the writer did with matter from the deceased Hertlin, and in every case with negative results. The veterinarian, Runge, kept the dogs bitten by the suspected animal in quarantine for four months, and then discharged them as not rabid. Finally, the children bitten by the same dog, who were not treated by Pasteur, are to-day as free from disease as those who were. Scores of observations might be added, all tending to prove that during the past two years there has been no reported case of rabies in man in this country which could not be referred to an error of observation. Before scientific tests all the newspaper alarms are shown to have been either fabrications, exaggerations, or mistakes. In Pennsylvania a number of nervous persons were needlessly rendered unhappy by a sensational report to the effect that rabies had become epidemic, and that a large number of school-children had been infected by dog-bites. The nucleus of this report was an epileptic fit in a little black-and-tan dog, induced by his having swallowed a chicken bone. A similar scare in Jersey City was traced by Doctor Quimby to a similar source.

From a consideration of the foregoing facts a lesson can be learned which will yield good results in the event of another

scare. We are approaching a season in which the faithful companion of man becomes liable to various forms of distemper, to overheating, and to other conditions which produce phenomena that may be mistaken for those of canine madness. It may be safely assumed that only a minority of dogs reported as mad are really so. The disease most commonly confounded with rabies is of a typhoid character, and has been but imperfectly studied. The reasons for the existing confusion will be apparent from the following considerations, in which it has been attempted to include a description of the most recognizable and least disputed signs of the disease.

Rabies in the dog, in its onset, is characterized by a change in the habits and manner of the animal. It is unusually dull, or the reverse; becomes morose, and liable to sudden explosions of passion; does not complain when whipped, though shrinking from the blow, and manifests an abnormal sensitiveness to light, to sound, and to touch. Its bark is a sort of hoarse, prolonged howl, followed in rapid succession by a number of shorter and lower howls, made with the mouth open. There is considerable irritability of the wound to which the transmission of the disease is due. Many of these symptoms are also found in other diseases to which the dog is liable, and it is difficult to make a positive declaration whether the dog be mad or not, at this stage. It is, however, but erring on the side of safety to quarantine all dogs manifesting these symptoms, and all animals bitten by them, for two hundred and forty days. If within that period more decisive symptoms do not develop the dog can be allowed his usual liberty, for beyond that period the disease has never been known to follow a bite. In true rabies, either furious madness, paralysis, or lethargy develops within a few days. The madness is characterized by the animal's running amuck, biting and lacerating everything within reach. The dog that merely bites those strangers who attempt to handle it, or defends itself against assailants, is not to be regarded as rabid. The rabid animal bites without provocation, and will even attack its master. In former times it was considered a test of rabies to offer the suspected animal water. If it did not shrink from it, it was regarded as non-rabid. There could be no more mischievous error. The rabid dog does not

fear water; on the contrary, he desires and would drink it if he could; a spasmodic affection of his throat prevents his swallowing, and thus interferes with his drinking.

In Germany, where state medicine occupies a very respectable position, rabies has become almost an unknown disease. Every proprietor of a dog is compelled to pay an annual tax, and provide his dog with a token indicating that the tax has been paid. He is compelled in cities to provide it with a muzzle, which interferes with no other act than that of biting. Every suspected dog is instantly quarantined, and placed under competent veterinary supervision. What has been the result? When Gibier recently applied to the Berlin authorities for a rabid dog, to experiment on, his wish could not be complied with, because there had not been a case of rabies in that city for three years. In the Grand-Duchy of Baden there were, in the five years preceding the introduction of the new law, one hundred and eighty-five cases among dogs, sixteen among other domestic animals, and seven in human beings. In the five years following the enactment, there were thirteen cases among dogs, one among other animals, and none in man. To follow the enlightened example set by these communities may remain an unattainable ideal for some time. Meanwhile, we may console ourselves with the reflection that rabies in man is a rare disease in the United States, and that no demonstrated epidemic affecting the human species has occurred within the past fifteen years. Notwithstanding every effort made by the writer to secure the observation of a case of rabies in man or in the dog, not a single opportunity has offered itself during the last eight years, and in New York but one dog has been reported as rabid by competent authority since the dog-pound there has been opened. In the overwhelming majority of cases reported as "lyssa," "rabies," or "hydrophobia," it was either not shown that the subject had been bitten by a dog at all, or that the dog had been mad, or, finally, some ordinary disease had been mistaken for rabies. The errors that have been committed in this direction would be amusing but for other and tragical attendant features. It is incomprehensible how the absurd theory could so long linger in medical treatises, that a dog by biting a man can inoculate him with canine characteristics, mak-

ing him bark, snap, howl, and run on all fours like a dog. It were as logical to claim that one bitten by a rattlesnake should hiss, grow rattles and a forked tongue, and wriggle on the floor.

Considerable attention has lately been directed to the novel plan of prophylactic treatment proposed by the distinguished biologist, Pasteur. Unfortunately, little hope can be held out that his method will accomplish any good results. Aside from the fact, which Dulles\* of Philadelphia has pointed out, that he derived his original virus from a doubtful source, he introduced innovations in the theory of preventive inoculation which are based on theoretical, and in part gratuitous, assumptions. It would be altogether unprofitable, at this stage of Pasteur's researches, to follow him either through his argumentation or his long list of apologies and after-thoughts. Starting with the assumption that he could prevent the outbreak of rabies at any time during its incubation, his first death induced him to shorten the period to thirty-six days. The ink on the proclamation announcing this limit was scarcely dry, when a Roumanian who complied with its conditions perished. Then Pasteur successively announced twenty and sixteen days as the period during which the inoculations must be made to protect efficiently. The rapid succession of deaths of Cladicié, Videau, and others inoculated within the last-named period led to other kaleidoscopic transformations in his theories and methods. It was, however, too late to acknowledge that his project had been prematurely fledged. Pasteur institutes had begun to grow up in various parts of the globe. In New York, the death of a Pasteur institute was almost simultaneous with its birth. The demonstration of the fact that Pasteur had claimed as instances of cures the four Newark children, who had never been in danger of rabies, aided by that practical American instinct which prevents us from being misled by pronunciamentos, is responsible for its early demise. In Italy the conductors of an anti-rabies institute have been denounced by high authority as guilty of sensationalism, as verging on quackery, and a distinguished *savant*† has felt himself compelled

\* "Comments on Pasteur's Method of Treating Hydrophobia," in the "New York Medical Record," February 13, 1886.

† Bordoni-Uffriduzzi, in the "Riforma Medica," January 19, 1887.

to warn his countrymen against its selfish and irresponsible management. The institute at Odessa shares with the parent institution at Paris the unenviable notoriety of having caused death in cases where the subject might have entirely escaped rabies but for the forced and intense inoculations to which Pasteur and his pupil Gamaljea have recently resorted. It is even hinted that a new virus, which is not protective against rabies, but competent to produce fatal paralytic states, has been created in the Pasteur laboratory. The results obtained by the writer in 1886, which proved that the successive inoculation of non-rabid material for several generations culminates in the formation of a powerful toxic agent, acting with the rapidity of a ptomaine or of a snake poison, have been recently confirmed by Daremberg. He demonstrated before the Paris Biological Society that the spinal cord of rabbits treated in this way was competent to produce exactly the same train of symptoms which those rabbits showed from which Pasteur derived the material devoted to his inoculations.\* The boy who recently died in Russia was not bitten by a mad dog. Reveillac,† who died in Paris, perished with a train of symptoms singularly resembling that developed in Pasteur's rabbits, and his initial pains did not start from the bite received but from the point of inoculation. In addition to these alarming revelations it is shown by Colin ‡ that Pasteur's method has not materially modified the mortality from rabies in France. The claim that it has saved over two thousand lives is based on assumptions no better grounded than those which have been alleged time out of mind, for mad-stones and nostrums, faith cures, and other more legitimate medicinal agents. It is but a few weeks since that three English patients, discharged as cured from the Pasteur institute, died in rapid succession, with symptoms pointing to some powerful nerve-poison. The physician in charge of one of these cases § directly attributes the death to the treatment, and goes so far as to hint that Pasteur's apologists do not appear to be animated by scientific candor, in hesitating to accept the evidence

\* Paris letter of the "British Medical Journal," 1887, p. 133.

† The "German Medical Weekly," January 13, 1887, p. 37.

‡ "Bulletin of the Academy of Medicine," November 9, 1886, pp. 390, 392.

§ Dr. J. H. Clarke.

furnished by these cases, and attempting to assign some other and far-fetched cause of death. In the present unsatisfactory state of Pasteur's experiments it does not seem advisable to submit patients to the risk of inoculation with an unknown poison, when it is, after all, but a remote possibility that a person bitten by a really rabid dog, and treated on correct surgical principles, will ever develop the disease.

Let it once be inculcated in the public mind that the symptoms which tradition assigns to rabies are fictitious, and, like the fear of water which has given a name to the disease, never occur after the bite of a dog; that it is no more possible for a dog to inoculate a man with the tendency to bark and run on all fours than it is for a man to inoculate a dog with the faculty of speech and an upright gait; and nine-tenths of what has been drifting through medical and other literature as rabies in man would disappear. If it were once thoroughly understood that fear and expectant attention may not alone develop serious nervous symptoms, but actually cause death, many who are threatened with "lyssophobia" would cultivate that healthful self-control which was so happily inculcated by Dr. James Gordon Spencer in the Watertown case, and Dr. Exton in the Arlington case. The moral management of persons bitten by suspicious dogs is a most important feature. A number of cases are on record in which patients suffering from the most agonizing symptoms of "rabies" recovered on hearing that the dog that bit them was alive and well. On eliminating the cases of spurious and improperly designated rabies from the mortuary tables, the number of real cases remaining will be found so small that the entire subject of the prevention and treatment of rabies in man will seem an insignificant problem as compared with that relating to the part borne by domestic animals in conveying the contagion of measles, diphtheria, and scarlet fever, the deaths from which diseases in any given day exceed a hundredfold a whole year's mortality through rabies.

EDWARD C. SPITZKA.

## PRACTICAL USES FOR THE BALLOON.

EVER since I became thoroughly acquainted with the characteristics of the balloon, I have been steadily convinced of the absurdity of attempting to control its horizontal movement. Buoyancy is the only property it possesses that might seem to fit it for the purpose of aërial navigation ; but in any practicable form of air-ship the power which shall be found equal to propelling it will be competent also to raise it. The balloon must of necessity be controlled by the movements of the air-currents ; and were it possible, by the employment of any force whatever, to propel it against the wind, its delicate structure must soon collapse. But the fact that the balloon cannot be steered in no way affects the general problem of aërial navigation. It may yet take a long time to solve that problem, but there are two considerations which give us assurance of its eventual solution : I allude to the fact that birds can propel themselves through the air, often bearing aloft a considerable additional weight, and to the inventive genius of man.

Meanwhile, we have the balloon, by means of which we are able to ascend through the atmosphere to regions otherwise inaccessible. The value of the balloon as an instrument for meteorological observation is unquestionably very great. It has frequently been used as a means of studying atmospheric phenomena, but it has not yet been adopted as a part of the ordinary apparatus of the weather bureau either here or in Europe. The weather service and State meteorology have grown to enormous dimensions within the last few years, the work being liberally sustained by the people, in the hope that out of apparent chaos the laws may be developed which govern meteorological phenomena. Now, for the attainment of this end, the balloon would seem to be an indispensable auxiliary. We may not doubt that had it chanced to be first employed in these

days of weather bureaus and signal offices, its obvious value for meteorological research would not have been overlooked; but that, if the science of meteorology is ever to be developed, the services of the balloon must be invoked, I make no question at all.

To one who has never made an aërial excursion it may appear that the history of one balloon voyage, barring accidents to the aërostat and the passengers, is in all essential particulars the same as that of any other, and that it might all be written in one word—drifting. Yet if three hundred and sixty-five such voyages were made in every year for years to come, no doubt every one of any considerable duration would present a distinctive character, possessing interest and value for the scientific meteorologist. Sometimes the experiences of the balloonist are entirely new. Thus, on one voyage, after I had risen to the height of 7,000 or 8,000 feet, the balloon passed slowly through an exceedingly thin stratum of vapor, which extended as far as the eye could reach, while otherwise the sky was cloudless. As I surveyed this expanse, long, flat, feathery lances of vapor were continually seen shooting forth with inconceivable swiftness, remaining visible for an instant, then disappearing. Neither from the earth nor from any considerable height above could this action be seen, because of the thinness of the layer of vapor, but to an observer in its immediate vicinity the action was plainly visible; and so closely did it resemble the aurora borealis as to suggest the identity of the two phenomena. The effect was probably due to the friction of two currents of air varying in temperature, the warmer of the two carrying invisible vapor which the overlying colder one developed momentarily, after which, reabsorption taking place in the warmer current, it would disappear again. I am confident that with the aid of the balloon the true nature of the aurora can be ascertained. If balloons formed a part of the outfit of our signal service, upon the appearance of the aurora borealis at any station observers could mount at once to such heights as would enable them to come in direct contact with it, and note all its peculiarities. With balloons in constant readiness we should be able to solve not only this, but many other problems of meteorology.

Of the usefulness of balloons in time of war no doubt remains. During the siege of Paris sixty-four balloons were dispatched from the city, passing over the heads of the enemy; they bore tons of mail matter for the outer world, and hundreds of carrier-pigeons. Most of the voyages were made by inexperienced persons, hurriedly instructed by practical aéronauts, and it is not strange that a few of the balloons should have gone astray and never been heard of afterward. Upon the battle-field, for reconnoitering and signaling purposes, the balloon might render services of great value. But military officers have little practical knowledge of the art of ballooning, hence the comparative inefficiency of the balloon service during our late war.

An aërial voyage across the Atlantic has long been the day-dream of aéronauts. For a long time it was believed that at the height of about three miles the wind blows constantly from west to east, at the rate of fifty or sixty miles an hour, and that the balloon which should reach this current and remain in it long enough, say three days, would be wafted across. The success of such a voyage depended upon two unproved assumptions: first, the existence of the constant air current; and, second, the possibility of remaining at such altitudes the required length of time. The records of high ascents prove conclusively that while an easterly current may be found on some occasions at such heights, it is no more stable than those of lesser altitudes. As for the second assumption, no balloon has ever yet been kept afloat for twenty-four consecutive hours after all connection with the earth had been severed. Nevertheless, the difficulties that confront the balloonist who essays the aërial passage across the Atlantic can, in my opinion, be overcome.

It is a well-established fact that the drift of the whole atmosphere is somewhere between due east and northeast. There is a marked preponderance of west winds over all others. It has also been held, with frequent corroboration, that most of the storms rising in the far West, after reaching our eastern coast, continue directly across the ocean. There are then two ways by which we may make the aërial voyage from continent to continent, provided our balloon can retain its buoyancy long enough: we may set out with a favorable wind, trusting to the general

drift; or we may move off with the storm as it leaves our shores.

Now let us consider why it is that the balloon remains in the air for so short a time, and whether there are any means by which its buoyancy may be longer sustained. All balloons lose gas by percolation through the envelope; but this is not the only nor the principal cause limiting the duration of aërial voyages: the causes which do set the limit are overflow of gas and loss of ballast. The life of the balloon while in the air depends upon the amount of sand ballast or other disposable weight carried in the car. Although there are, of course, modifying circumstances, which will allow the same amount of ballast to last much longer at one time than at another, nevertheless it must be expended from time to time, as loss of buoyancy occurs, the voyage necessarily ending when it is all gone. To understand why the overflow of gas takes place, it must be remembered that the rarity of the air increases with the ascent, and that the gas within the balloon expands in the same proportion. Thus, a balloon that at starting is full, on ascending to the height of a mile and three-quarters will have lost one-fourth of its contents by overflow from the open neck. At three miles and a half fifty per cent. of the gas would be gone, though in consequence of the tenuity of the air the balloon would appear to have as much in it as ever. An account taken of the ballast would show that for every thousand feet of gas lost a corresponding weight of sand had been lost also. If more sand remains we may rise higher, or we may let ourselves down slowly, and before reaching the ground, by discharging sand and rising slowly again, we may prolong the voyage to the utmost; but when all the surplus weight has been disposed of, the balloon can rise no more.

The English aëronaut, Green, first suggested the employment of the drag-rope, and used it with advantage on his famous voyage from London to Weilburg. Some thirty years ago I began to experiment with it, with highly satisfactory results. On one occasion, with six companions, I spent eight hours over Lake Erie, traversing more than half its length by the aid of the drag-rope. Caught out upon the ocean at another time, the balloon-car drifted high and dry above the waves till we fell in with a

yacht, when our line was made fast, and the boat taken in tow. Our course lying parallel with the beach, a little steerage-way from the rudder of the yacht enabled us to run ashore together. This appendage, the drag-rope, will keep the balloon from rising above a given height, and losing gas by overflow. Then, by reducing the loss from leakage to a minimum, we should be able to make protracted voyages.

Experience has shown that balloons properly made may, when held by ropes, be kept afloat for thirty days or more, and that the loss of gas need not exceed one per cent. of the contents every twenty-four hours. At this rate a balloon containing three hundred thousand cubic feet of gas would lose but ninety thousand feet in thirty days, leaving two hundred and ten thousand feet, which would be sufficient for supporting it yet a while longer. Some modification of the drag-rope would, of course, be necessary for an ocean voyage. A portion of the rope would continually rest upon the water and be gliding over its surface. Loss of gas from leakage would be compensated for by small discharges of ballast daily, and in this manner the voyage could be continued at a constant height. I do not suppose the trip would occupy a month, but contingencies must be considered. With a west wind, that should carry the voyagers well out to sea during the first twenty-four hours, final success would be more than half assured; the general easterly drift of the atmosphere would soon accomplish the rest. In the light of my experience with balloons, I not only think this scheme feasible, but would venture to conduct such an expedition myself. Let some one immortalize his name by providing the means, and I will pledge myself to the task of accomplishing the voyage.

I must confess that I do not see at present any practical value in the proposition to reach the North Pole by balloon. If such a feat is to be of any avail, the means of return must, of course, be provided. No doubt a point of departure may be found in the line of prevailing winds toward the pole, and a balloon might, by means of the drag-rope, drift to the pole itself; but what then? Will the discoverers alight and attempt to return on foot? Or will they continue their journey and endeavor to reach civilization thousands of miles beyond the pole, with no

possible means of escape should they fail? Capable men would not be wanting to take the hazard, did our experience warrant the undertaking. But first let us have a practical test of our ability to cross the ocean, to handle enormous balloons and keep them afloat for a long time; let us learn more of the drift of the atmosphere; in short, let us ascertain the requirements, advantages, and disadvantages of balloon operations on a grand scale; then may follow the discovery of the North Pole by balloon, when all other means shall have failed.

The experiences of an aéronaut are not gained without some hazard; to exaggerate their impressiveness were impossible, and for their sake a wise man might well incur even greater risks. The wind has no beaten track, and no regard for boundaries, so that swamps, lakes, forests, and mountains must be overpassed. The Atlantic Ocean, the great lakes, and the wilds of the North and South might, without undue strain of the imagination, be figured as dire monsters lying in ambush to devour the aerial traveler who dares to make his voyage amid the shadows of night. As an illustration of this I recall the events of a September night some years since. The representative of a newspaper, who had already made many ascents with me, was my companion on this occasion. We ascended from the Grafton County Fair Grounds at Plymouth, N. H. A drizzling rain was falling as we rose, and continued through the night. It was a little after 4 o'clock P. M. when we entered the clouds.

As we continued to ascend a clear space was reached. Then we entered another cloud stratum, from which we emerged at the height of two miles. Above us was still another stratum, but we did not rise to its level. Shortly after, on descending into the strata beneath, the dense fog about us became suffused with a roseate glow from the setting sun. We could see nothing save our balloon and the surrounding fiery cloud.

Scarcely an hour had passed since starting from Plymouth, when we began to descend through the lower clouds, with the view of ascertaining our whereabouts. The descent was stayed by an unexpected obstacle, a projecting mountain peak, and we had to discharge ballast to clear it. A second attempt was foiled in the same way. The two obstructions proved to be

Mount Jefferson and Mount Adams. Other mountains of the White Mountain range had been crossed while at greater altitudes. At length, after we had passed down through the lowest stratum of cloud, houses were observed in a valley below, and in a few moments were passed; then the great forest rolled beneath; and no further sign of human habitation broke the wild prospect.

Up to this time our course had been a matter of conjecture, but now the compass—which was useless in the clouds—showed it to be northeastward. In the distance we recognized Lake Umbagog—for we had seen it before—and toward it the balloon was rapidly drifting. Nightfall found us over the lake, and upon one of its banks we descried a camp-fire. Hallooing as loudly as we could, to attract attention, we soon observed a canoe darting out into the lake with some one bearing a torch; a man had evidently heard the call, and he was searching for us upon the water. To descend at that point from the elevation at which we then stood was impossible, but after this experience we were tempted to sail low for a while, and in doing so the drag-rope came in contact with the trees upon the side of a small mountain, and was allowed to glide over their tops until the crest had been passed. Then, settling down on the lee side, we lay becalmed for half an hour. A landing could have been effected by means of the drag-rope, but how should we have escaped out of that wilderness? Hundreds of miles away to the northeast we knew there were Canadian habitations, but our ballast seemed totally inadequate for such a distance. Nevertheless, we launched our bark once more into space, and through the darkness drifted on our way. How to economize our sand ballast so that we might continue afloat throughout the night was a momentous question, for it was not then known that there was any exception to the rule of continual fluctuation of height. In rising, therefore, only so much ballast was discharged as barely sufficed, and consequently the ascent was very slow. Among the clouds once more, there was sufficient light to observe the lower portion of the balloon hanging in limp folds. For hours we watched for the time when there should follow a loss of the buoyant power from overflow, and a consequent loss of our precious ballast.

Sometimes the clouds beneath us would break, revealing the inky depths below; at others openings would appear above us, showing the higher clouds, and once the bright face of the moon; but the next instant the fog would close in upon us again. We were ever alert to catch sounds from the earth. How welcome would have been the bark of a dog, the crowing of a cock, or the tinkle of a cow-bell, but there was one monotonous sound of falling waters the whole night through, relieved only by the occasional mournful cry of a loon.

It was amid the gloom of this tedious night that we became aware, for the first time in the history of balloon practice, of a fact of inestimable value to the aéronaut: that a balloon may at night reach a height where it will remain, and from whence it cannot be displaced except by a very considerable loss of gas or of ballast. For six hours after quitting the shelter to leeward of the mountain we floated steadily along, till we had crossed the great Maine and Canada wilderness. Perhaps the balloon was attracted by the cloud and held within it by the law of gravitation. But I must add that the same action has occurred on other night voyages I have since made, when no clouds were visible; in such cases there may have been dense bodies of invisible vapor capable of exerting a like force of attraction. Whatever may be the cause, the fact cannot be disputed.

Immersed as we were in the cloud and all unconscious of motion, we should have been unable to judge in any degree of the progress we were making, had not the sounds from the cataracts been sufficiently varied to prove to us that we were by no means standing still. There came at last a different sound, that of the surf breaking upon a long line of sandy beach. Then it passed beneath our feet and seemed to glide off in the distance. It was presently a faint murmur, and soon came absolute stillness. We were well out at sea. Meanwhile a gradual descent had been made, until the swish of the drag-rope was heard in the water. There was no immediate danger, but the situation was not a pleasant one to contemplate, for, unless fortune should favor us with a return current, or drift us toward some island or vessel, we stood a good chance of being lost.

There was a gray mist or fog between us and the water, so

that we had as much light as when we were in the clouds. Resting our arms on the edge of the car for half an hour or more, we peered into the mist, when suddenly appeared a black line stretched across our pathway. Simultaneously we prepared to seize it, whatever it might be, but to our astonishment we could not reach it. The swish of the rope in the water meanwhile assured us that the balloon was in motion. As we watched the line it grew wider and wider, and then the fog slipped away from under us, the drag-rope began twitching over tree-tops, and the inky-black forest lay beneath us once more. Soon we found a shelter, where we lay until dawn of day. Upon rising again we espied a road and, having effected a landing near it, made our way to a neighboring little place called Sayabec, near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, two hundred and fifty miles below Quebec. That road was the only one that lay across our track for hundreds of miles.

The descent of a balloon in a remote backwoods settlement is almost invariably productive of amusing incidents. Landing once in a mountainous district in the State of Georgia, my companion and myself were astonished at hearing loud shrieks and exclamations issuing from a house near by, while in the doorway we saw an old lady upon her knees, praying with great vociferation. The whole neighborhood had been aroused, and an earthquake could not have created greater commotion. In the woods, not far from our landing-place, we found a bag of meal lying in the path. It had been dropped by some panic-stricken native. Further on a fishing party had abandoned several strings of fish. Our comedy came measurably near an ending in tragedy, for we had a narrow escape from the shot-guns of a gang of illicit distillers, who took us to be revenue officers.

On the occasion of a recent descent in southern Virginia, a devout colored woman, catching sight of the balloon, gazed upon it in rapt admiration, exclaiming: "Dar comes my blessed Jesus, walking on de clouds! I take my chillen out on de public road! Suffin gwine to happen! Hallelujah!" and she went on shouting till the truth was explained to her. Another Afro-American, hearing me call to him, started off at full speed, crying as he ran: "Gabriel's done called me, I heard him holler!"

Very amusing was the experience of Elliot in one of his descents. He had ascended from Charleston on a summer afternoon, and was carried slowly down the harbor, landing at last, just at nightfall, on one of the islands. There was to be a burying that night, and the dead negro, Dick by name, lay in a cabin, while a dozen live ones sat outside telling spook stories, when Elliot dropped down in front of them. There was a yell, a scramble, and in a moment all but one had disappeared; he had been caught by the aéronaut's anchor and dragged some distance, screaming piteously: "Oh, Massa Debil! Massa Debil! I'se not de niggar! I'se not de niggar! Dick's in dah! Dick's in dah!"

I have often wondered why people go so far and spend so much money for sight-seeing, and yet neglect the grandest of opportunities always awaiting them nearer home. We can better satisfy the desire to view the wonderful and sublime in nature on one favorable balloon voyage than in months of mountain climbing. When we survey a diversified landscape from any ordinary point of observation on the earth's surface we get glimpses only, see just little bits of nature; when we contemplate the same scenes from a balloon we have the entire panorama spread out before us. An ever-changing position heightens the interest by presenting new objects for our contemplation and wonderment.

Here I am tempted to give a rather detailed account of a voyage I once made from Buffalo, N. Y., to southern New Jersey. Our attachments to the earth having been severed, we beheld at one glance the city, with all its houses, streets, and parks, lying at our feet; and a clamor and din of sounds assailed our ears, as if every voice and noise in the city were striving to be heard. Increased height reduced the babel of sounds to a mere hum, and finally quiet reigned. Drifting westward, we stood a mile above Lake Erie, and what a spectacle that was! The sun in the west cast a golden sheen over its bosom, upon which danced many a tiny boat. Turning our eyes northward, and following the Niagara River past Grand Island to the rapids and Goat Island, we saw a little white cloud hovering above the mighty cataract. Farther on Lake Ontario appeared, and was lost again as it mingled its blue with that of the sky beyond.

Then came a change of current, bearing us southward to new scenes. Fields of verdure and golden grain began to roll beneath our feet. Tiny houses, ribbon-like roads, winding streams, ponds, and groves, were seen with wonderful distinctness. A railroad train gliding along seemed no bigger than a snake, yet we could distinctly see the rails. An hour or more above these rural scenes and we reached the forest tract known as the Cattaraugus woods. The balloon descending to hearing distance, we were greeted with a chorus of ten thousand warblers. This lasted while we were partaking of our evening meal. My companions had all been with me on other aerial flights, and like veterans they settled themselves down now, each in his place, to enjoy the experiences of an all-night voyage. Darkness encompassed us till after midnight, when the moon rose to light the way. Meanwhile the stars shone brightly, enabling us to detect the mountains and clear their summits. The Alleghanies lay in our course and were crossed during the night. We sailed at comparatively low altitudes for a while, increasing the height as the mountains rose higher and higher in front of us. Once we came very near being caught by a tall dead pine on the very peak of one of the mountains, but a lively discharge of ballast sent us clear of it just in time to save the balloon from utter wreck.

We moved on at a higher level after this, and soon had our first glimpse of the moon, as it peered from above a cloud. But still for some time it failed to light up the world below, and the contrast of the darkness beneath with the flood of light above, together with the silvery and transparent forms of the fantastically shaped clouds which hovered about and accompanied us, was profoundly impressive. Soon the pines upon the mountain tops caught the rays of light, and directly after the whole earth below became a reality once more. The mountains appeared like great waves of a verdant sea caught in the height of a tempest and fixed forever in their places. Far as we could see, the billows reached in long, majestic lines. A river rising in these mountains, and rolling with a gentle murmur beneath our feet, seemed to mark out the course before us, and for a long time we followed it with but little deviation.

Moonlight gradually merged into daylight. The river below widened, the mountains declined in size, farms became frequent, and at last came a stretch of country wholly under cultivation. The river was recognized to be the Susquehanna. York County, Pa., looked like a huge garden. Just before crossing the Maryland line the sun rose above the eastern horizon. The gas expanded rapidly with the increasing heat, adding to the buoyancy of the balloon so that it ascended to a height of three miles. We passed into Maryland, and Havre-de-Grace was almost directly under our feet. No cloud obstructed the prospect in any direction. In our rear and in the west rose the Alleghany Mountains, forming a dark and rugged horizon. Before us we had a distinct view of Maryland and a great part of Virginia, with their villages and their farms, their forests and streams. On our left lay Chesapeake and Delaware bays. Northward rolled the Delaware River like a silver band, past my native city, and far beyond. East of these lay New Jersey, the southern portion of which was in full view, while beyond, the Atlantic rose like the rim of a bowl to the azure sky. A change of course eastward bore us across the State of Delaware into New Jersey, and we landed in Cumberland County, near the eastern shore of Delaware Bay, having been in the air over thirteen hours.

SAMUEL A. KING.

## CONFessions OF A QUAKER.

As in Nehemiah's time, so the work of the church in this our day is largely one of "rebuilding the walls." But there is very much rubbish that must first be gotten out of the way. If we would reach the foundation-stones of Christ and the apostles we must dig down through ecclesiasticism, conventionalism, and traditions. And this means toil, patience, self-denial, and courage. As a divine ideal, the Church of God is perfect, "a new lump and unleavened." Yet in its actual, visible, and militant condition it is of a mixed character. There is the "old leaven" to purge out, the "old man" to put off, and "false doctrine" to put away. We have read history to little purpose if we fail to note the alternations of progress and regress, of revival and decline, that have characterized the church in all ages; and that every genuine revival of religion has begun with an exhortation to "stand in the old ways." In the days of the kings, under the old covenant, such restorations had in view chiefly the discharge of religious duties. In the after reformations of Luther and others, the primary work was the rescue of Christian doctrine from the corruptions of Romanism. In the still later religious awakening of the seventeenth century, the central idea was not so much works, or doctrine, as experience—Christian experience and its fruits. This was pre-eminently true of the "Friends," who took their rise about 1650. Their attitude toward the state church is thus authoritatively set forth by William Penn:

"Setting aside some school terms, we hold the substance of those doctrines believed by the Church of England as to God, Christ, Spirit, Scripture, etc. But that wherein we differ most is about worship and conversion, and the inward qualification of the soul by the work of God's spirit thereon, in pursuance of these good and generally received doctrines."

These distinctive principles of the Friends were illustrated by a degree of real Christian vitality, zeal, and energy in the early

days of the church, that stands in remarkable contrast with its later history ; for though other denominations have insensibly come into substantial accord with these principles, the church which was the most zealous in asserting them has itself been in decline. An inquiry into the causes underlying such declension must possess an interest to all who to-day hold dear the privileges of religious liberty. For it is not too much to say that the early Quaker church pioneered the experiment of independent church organization, and that, in the struggle for civil and religious liberty, it did much to win for Englishmen the right to worship God according to their conscientious convictions. About thirty years ago an English gentleman (not a Friend, I think) offered a prize of two hundred guineas for the best two essays upon the question, Why has the powerful witness at one time borne to the world by the Society of Friends been gradually becoming more and more feeble ? The same question has engaged the attention of candid members of the Friends, as well as other denominations, for generations ; but it has been dealt with rather from the standpoint of external and secondary causes, than from that of internal and fundamental ones. Of course, much that has been said is both just and true, yet the question ever recurs ; and we are bound to confess that in our past investigations, rather than go down into the serious business of humble confession, we rise again to resolve that, after all, there is no change to be desired, "either in our usages or principles," and that our only lack is "more zeal and earnestness." Comparing ourselves with others is quite sure to result in the vain but comforting assurance of our own superiority. If, however, a true answer can be discovered and fairly acknowledged, at any cost, with an honest purpose to apply the remedy, we are sanguine of a blessed future for the church. And it is with such a hope that this examination has been entered upon. A glance at a few important points will perhaps sufficiently account for the remarkable growth of the early Quaker church.

1. And, first, we must of course note the peculiar conditions produced by both the civil and religious movements of that age. Bishop Hall describes "the woful havoc that the hellish fury of war hath made everywhere in this flourishing and populous island

—the flames of hostile fury rising up in our towns and cities, the devastation of our fruitful and pleasant villages," etc. And equally sad was the state of religion. Formal, outward, and worldly, it did but mock those whose hearts hungered for spiritual realities. In their indifference to this, the great parties of Puritan and Papist were engaged in unholy rivalry for an alliance with the state. But sects without number were springing up from one end of England to the other. Each of these schisms had its own peculiar tenets or principles. And while they all differed in some respects, they were all agreed in an enthusiastic expectation of a "godly, thorough reformation," and the trend was toward pietism. But, so far, all had failed to satisfy the demands of the age. At such a moment, as Spurgeon says, "God sent into the world George Fox." He and his compeers discerned, with remarkable clearness, both the needs and the spirit of their time. And, inasmuch as they had come to an experimental knowledge of Christ enlightening and saving their own souls, they recommended a like experience to others, as a solution of the problems that troubled them; they then sought to unify and incorporate into a worshiping body those thus brought out of darkness into light. They exhibited the logical outworking of the very theories already dimly seen by multitudes. Of course, their success was remarkable, and the result was that the "Friends' Church" became *the* sect of that age.

2. In most pronounced and unmistakable terms, they claimed to be the restored Church of Christ. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that some extravagant claims were made to that effect. But they were honest and earnest in the attempt to reform the corrupt church, and could consistently take no lower or narrower ground. And yet they evidently had no thought of erecting a new church; in fact, they disclaimed any such intention. But they did claim to be the very ark of salvation for the people, and a holy church. And they afforded to that age just such signs as it demanded, to establish this claim.

3. A "personal experience" of the salvation they preached was, of course, the primordial and fundamental fact in the Christian's life, as they viewed it. The early preachers, as Fox, Howgill, Burrough, Naylor, have left on record plain and authen-

tic evidence of this. They were witnesses unto a personal Christ, who had not only died for them, but lived to save them, and did save "to the uttermost." They witnessed to an experience in which the Holy Ghost really acted upon their wills and faculties, energizing them to speak and work. The very name of "Friend" implied their perfect readiness to be thus led into paths either new or old. The names of sects, as "Presbyterians," "Congregationalists," "Methodists," etc., generally designate some special church polity, or method of organization or government. Not so "Friends"—a term having no reference to usages of any description, but indicating nearness to Christ, and confessing to a covenant to "do whatsoever I command you," or to be bound, in all things, by his example and precepts. Now, this name, with all that it involves, was acknowledged and chosen by the denomination itself. And in this simple fact is to be found the real explication of our separate existence as a people. And all attempts to ground it upon some peculiarities of usage do violence to the truth, and insult the memory of the fathers.

4. The Bible was their creed, theology, and discipline. They constantly decried all other confessional tests, and defended every tenet by direct appeal to the Bible. "For thanks be to God," says William Penn, "that only is our creed, and with good reason; since it is fit that only should be the creed of Christians, which the Holy Ghost could only propose, and require us to believe." Robert Barclay affirms that they proclaimed "doctrines and principles of truth as they were delivered by the apostles of Christ in the Holy Scriptures." And Edward Burrough distinctly defines the object of their existence as a sect to be the restoration of primitive and scriptural Christianity, in doctrine, discipline, and practice. A "discipline" formed no part of the original compact. There appears to have been no outward or written rules at all until about 1670, and very few indeed until near 1700. And when George Fox had to deal with schismatics he simply appealed to the Scriptures, which, he said, "prescribe how men should walk, both toward God and man." They relied upon the indwelling and presiding Spirit, as the bond of church unity. As spiritual worshipers, the Friends were freed from the slavery of forms, and at liberty to follow the leadings of the Spirit. With

reliance upon him as the maker of all forms, they needed little prearrangement for worship. He could animate and bless that which was both new and old, and they were ready for either. They had no respect whatever for mere tradition, and had completely broken with the past. And when they called men away from "man-made creeds to the Church of the living God," they meant it. They called them not to their creed, nor to themselves, nor to their ancestors, but to Christ himself.

5. Again, incessant and tireless work characterized this early church. Easy-chair piety had no place with them. They well knew that without Christ they could do nothing; but instead of sitting still from year's end to year's end, declaring their helplessness, they illustrated the complemental truth, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." They really believed they were co-workers with God, and gave good evidence that this was not an illusion.

Religion was the whole business of the Quakers then. Nothing less than diligent efforts for the salvation of the race could at all consist with their high claims to spirituality, and they felt it. To this work all temporal engagements must give place. Men of every trade gave up their occupations in order to make spiritual conquests. It was expected of those who joined the church that they should become missionaries, and nearly every one did go to preaching. And their ministry was aggressive—"fiercely aggressive," we are told. To become a Quaker then was almost synonymous with becoming a preacher, and involved the necessity of defending the truth embraced. Itinerant and lay preaching was just suited to the people and the times. Thus the most effective agency for religious work almost ever known was developed and utilized by this church. The sum of it all is, that in the days of George Fox "they sought God, and as long as they sought the Lord, God made them to prosper," so that in England alone there were more Friends then than in all Christendom now; and perhaps we may understand why this is so if we briefly compare the modern with the early Quaker church.

I. The peculiar and providential tendency of our age is toward catholicity and union, not sectarianism. Christian associations, congresses, and alliances all over the world proclaim an earnest

desire and endeavor for the oneness of Christians. It is true these efforts have been ineffectual and wide of the mark, in so far as either good doing or good thinking has been exalted as the true ground of unity; that will never be found in what men do or think, but in what they really are. The denomination which is most successful in making men what they ought to be must be quick to utilize and to give right direction to the providential issues furnished in their day. But the catholicity of mind needful for this looks dangerous to the sect, and there is great alarm lest our identity be lost; and to preserve this is still the supreme thought with most. And though, outside of denominational lines, the spirit of bigotry and intolerance hides its head for very shame, yet inside these lines it scruples not to enact most uncatholic and intolerant legislation against every liberal spirit. Thus, many Friends of to-day engage in a positive resistance to the God-given opportunities of the hour, and persist in the path of self-destruction.

II. There came a time when the high responsibilities and claims involved in the idea of the "church" were made to yield before the lower ones involved in the idea of the "society." This was a virtual abandonment of the original ground, for while Christ builds the church, man founds and organizes the society. No mere society can rise higher than devotion to itself, and to the honor of its human founders. It must, therefore, contain in itself the sentence of decay and death. There can possibly be but one organization or union of persons on earth not subject to this law, and that is the true Church of Jesus Christ, wherever it may exist. It is builded together for a habitation of God through the Spirit, and it has his promise, "Lo, I am with you alway," and no other organization ever had such a promise. It is difficult to say just when the claim of the fathers was relinquished and even contradicted by their sons, but symptoms of transition from the church to the society appear before 1700. About that time the traditional spirit became dominant, though the fact was lamented and rebuked by Fox and others. Then the experimental witnesses to the presence and power of Christ were succeeded by many who could only witness to the usages and spirituality of their forefathers. Ag-

gressiveness ceased, and so did persecution. Increase of membership ceased, and the decrease was alarming. Birthright membership and lay eldership were soon introduced. The ministry declined, and such as remained seems to have been devoted to the interests of the society. Its energies were employed in efforts for self-preservation, and to settle internal controversies. Dr. Pressensé speaks to the point when he says that a church "whose only care is for itself and its privileges is not a church, for it resembles its Head in nothing but in name, and it bears his name only to dishonor it."

III. In point of experience, the contrast between that found in the society and in the earlier church seems as great as in other respects. The church insisted upon a scriptural membership, or that "to be a member of a particular Church of Christ, as this inward work is indispensably necessary, so is also the outward profession of and belief in Jesus Christ, and those holy truths delivered by his Spirit in the Scriptures."\* George Fox declared that the church "is made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household of which Christ is the head." But when we come to the hereditary society we find men becoming Christians (?) "by birth and education, and not by conversion and renovation of spirit." Barclay's language, delineating the apostasy of the apostolic churches, most fittingly applies to his own. "For the particular churches of Christ, gathered in the apostles' days, soon after beginning to decay as to the inward life, came to be overgrown with several errors, and the hearts of the professors of Christianity to be leavened with the old spirit and conversation of the world." How could it be otherwise, with a birthright membership, from whom no confession of Christ or of their own regeneration had ever been required, nor even the responsibility involved in making an outward profession of religion? To be sure, "disorderly walkers" were expelled, and innocence of life and conversation was insisted upon, but, after all, the difference between them and other respectable sinners might consist only in matters of education and usage. Of course, hereditary members must have hereditary convictions, prejudices, and customs, to which they

\* R. Barclay, "Apol.," Prop. X.

adhere with a fleshly and unreasoning tenacity. They are ours, neither because of reason nor of revelation, but of inheritance; hence are a part of our natural make-up. And yet there was incumbent upon the society a sort of hereditary duty to keep up a continuity of witness to the "immediate guidance of the Spirit." But if this is merely a doctrinal, and not an experimental, witness, it is but the activity of a galvanized corpse.

IV. The Bible was superseded as the only creed, and under the modern *régimé* of the society there came to be a virtual substitution of the "Writings of Early Friends" for the Scriptures. It seems incredible, to the average mind, that the "comments" of these good men should not be binding upon us. But they are not, and it has been a great mistake to regard them so. In fact, the opposition of the early Friends to "man-made creeds" was universal and unalterable. Their writings are not at all of the nature or design of a creed; and William Penn expressly protests against the tendency to set up their "comments" upon Scripture as authoritative, and says that if these be "made the creed, instead of the text, from that time we believe not in God but in man." Nevertheless, our bondage to ecclesiasticism has been precisely similar to that from which our fathers claimed a commission from God to deliver men. So, too, an overweening love of spirituality pushed the doctrine of the Spirit's guidance beyond Scriptural limits, and some "went out into imaginations," as said George Fox, and asserted the necessity of "a judge of outward controversy above Scripture." Bold and fanatical pretenders to inspiration have always found adherents, and the attempts of Penn and Barclay to modify their extravagant claims failed to nullify their deadly effects. The early Friends relied upon the spiritual enlightenment of individual believers to such an extent as would secure sufficient unification in faith and practice for the Church of Christ. And their trust was not baffled, in so far as the membership was up to the mark of experimental salvation which they professed, taught, and required. But the society's remedy for a fatal defect in this respect was not after the divine or gospel plan, nor yet after the human plan, of a condensed, deliberate, and authoritative creed. Its substitute for the lost bond of spiritual union was legislation. Rules of discipline

have been freely used for undergirding the ship. And it is not always the question whether the things prohibited are wrong and sinful in themselves, but are they "Quakerly"? Discipline has been enforced against tens of thousands of members who had never offended their own consciences, nor the word of God, nor apostolic practice, simply to vindicate consistency with "our views." Indeed, our "handwriting of ordinances" has once been as minute and exacting as that of the Jews themselves. It has dealt with hats, coats, cravats, suspenders, trowsers, shoes, beards, bonnets, shawls, dresses, speech, and marriage. Truly, a law of sin and death, the penalties of which multitudes have suffered. Such outward signs have been enforced with the same rigor that some other "outward signs" have been banished. And it must be confessed that such strictness of legislation and society requirements has always been in an inverse ratio to the spiritual life and power, and the demand for a scriptural righteousness. Now, that a church may have its discipline there is no question, and this may be just as "broad as God's commandments" are, but it must keep within the Word of God or it ceases to be a law of his church.

V. Our last point of contrast relates to work and its results. To gather a church out of the world was the hard work of ministers "filled with the Spirit," who went everywhere preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and who were rewarded with success. To rear up birthright members of a society, and give them religious training and a guarded education, is largely the work of parents. John Fry, an eminent minister, wrote a letter to the "Morning Meeting of Ministers and Elders" (of which he was the first clerk), in 1765. He says:

"This church was at first gathered by a living and powerful ministry, and now the society and its rulers begin to think that the situation is altered, and that it can now thrive and grow and become fresh and green without it! Are we ashamed of the foolishness of preaching which was so effectual in primitive times?" \*

In the meantime the system of lay eldership, or an order of men that controlled and governed the ministry to an alarming extent, was introduced. "Ministers were exposed to hasty and

\* "Inner Life," etc. By R. Barclay. London: 1877.

uncalled-for criticism by those fond of such a task, and therefore not right themselves." Then there came a testimony to "silent meetings," and ministerial activity was more than discouraged. The radical change thus effected is strikingly shown by another statement in the letter already cited. Its author says that he went at the usual time to the London Ministers' Meeting on the First-day morning, and found that not a single minister attended! "I went away," he writes, "disappointed and sorrowful, reflecting on the flourishing state of that meeting when I first attended it nearly forty years since, when it consisted of ministers only!" While these men in the early church gave up their business for the work of the ministry, we find in our day men who give up the ministry for their business. And there are strong tendencies to yield to the secularizing influences of the day. This materialistic, free-thinking, and lawless age is pleased with anything unchurchly and anti-ordinance. It hates Bibles and creeds and Sabbaths and "technical piety," and it flatters those of a loose theology on such matters. It loves money and ease and honors and carnal security and self-indulgence. But, says Edward Burrough:

"This way of religion is according to the Scriptures, and in the fulfilling of them in doctrine, practice, and conversation; and the ministry, ordinances, church government, and discipline are in the same power and Spirit, and by the example of the apostles; for the Spirit of God, which did convince our consciences of the truth of this way, leads us in the same way, as the servants of God walked in doctrines and practices."\*

Once again let it be proclaimed, that in order to build up the church, and increase its membership by legitimate ingatherings from the world, there must be a full return to the original basis of the Church of Christ, and entire consecration to its living Head, in theology, polity, experience, and work. And the only true model for this is found in the New Testament Scriptures.

\* Barclay's "Inner Life."

## THE REALITY OF THE SEA-SERPENT.

AT the outset of any inquiry relating to the so-called sea-serpent it seems essential to indicate, first, the nature of the question at issue; and, secondly, the way in which the evidence is to be dealt with.

If the question were simply whether there is a sea-creature of the size indicated by many of the sea-serpent narratives, and justly to be described as a serpent, it would be tolerably easy to decide that in all probability there is no such creature, and that certainly there is no satisfactory evidence for the existence of sea-serpents. But this is not the question which Owen, Agassiz, Gosse, Newman, Lee, and other naturalists have dealt with, some on one side, some on the other. The question actually at issue is this: among the various accounts of strange sea-monsters, serpentine in appearance, which have been published at different times, may we regard any as relating to real sea-creatures, as yet not classified (possibly belonging to several classes); or must we reject all, some as mere fabrications, others as resulting from various forms of optical illusion, and the rest as real observations of sea-creatures already known to science, but unfamiliar to the observers, and therefore inexactly described, and perhaps partly metamorphosed through the effects of imagination into the semblance of the famed sea-serpent?

As to the manner in which the evidence is to be dealt with, there is a choice between three methods: the journalistic method (of the type we call in England penny-a-lining), the legal method, and the scientific method. The first, which consists in receiving all accounts of strange sea-creatures with a loud guffaw, and a suggestion that the "big gooseberry season" has arrived, may be rejected as beneath contempt. It has not been without effect; nay, it has had two marked effects, both of them naturally mischievous. It has excited idiots of the class called hoaxers to in-

vent a number of foolish sea-serpent stories, which have not even taken in the unwise, and it has prevented seamen and travelers, who have much curious evidence to relate about things seen at sea, from describing any strange sea-creatures they have seen, unless these were manifestly not such as could be mistaken for the sea-serpent. Many a worthy sea-captain has told me that if a dozen sea-serpents, or creatures looking like sea-serpents, came within half a cable's length of his ship he would not speak of the experience ashore. Captain Austin Cooper, one of the most esteemed commanders of the famous "Green Line" of clippers, expressed the feeling of many of his class when, having been jeered at by some "young buccaneers of the press" in the widely circulating columns of the London "Daily Telegraph," he said: "I see no more sea-serpents; it is too much to be told that one of Green's commanders cannot tell the difference between a piece of seaweed and a live body in the water. If twenty serpents come on the starboard all hands shall be ordered to look to port. No London penny-a-liner shall say again that Austin Cooper is a liar and a fool." It shows weakness, no doubt, to pay any attention at all to frothy nonsense, not even funny, though meant for wit; but unfortunately the mischief remains.

The legal method of dealing with evidence commends itself to some students of science, though utterly valueless in scientific research. Most of the evidence in legal cases is specially intended to mislead. Even where the witnesses themselves are honest, which is not always the case, their evidence is worked by counsel on both sides, either unduly to strengthen a good cause or to make the worse cause appear the better. It would surely be unwise for the student of science to regard the evidence he has to deal with in the way in which legal evidence is viewed by a keen jurist, who for half a life has had to note the deceptive ways of witnesses, or to track the crafty devices of counsel, bent on bringing out all that favors their case and hiding all that runs against it. There must be no special pleading in scientific research.

The method by which scientific truths have been discovered and established has been very different from legal cross-examination. The student of science must not, indeed, accept all the

evidence brought before him, unquestioningly. But he should always begin by regarding the statements of his witnesses as made in good faith. No scientific truth has ever been established by the legal method (accepted by Professor Gill with a receptive "Amen") of first seeking out those points in the evidence which must certainly be rejected. Much of the evidence dealt with by science is, indeed, for various reasons, unsatisfactory. But science has, fortunately, never had occasion to regard evidence as advanced with the intention of deceiving. The careful investigation of evidence has been always the first step toward the suggestion of possible theories; the further gathering of evidence supplies tests for eliminating those theories which are erroneous; until at last (in those cases, at least, where science has been successful at her work) the true theory is left outstanding. So has it been with every theory, great or small, which science has yet established. So have I found it myself, in the case of those among my own theories which have thus far been accepted by the scientific world, and so, I feel sure, Professor Gill must have found it with such discoveries of his own as have in the first place satisfied himself, and, in the second, have commended themselves to his fellow-workers.

It is thus that the evidence in regard to the sea-monsters which have been called sea-serpents—possibly a quite unsuitable term—must be dealt with by science. We take cases, then, where the evidence is clear as far as it goes; where the explanations based on possible illusions need not trouble us. Of course, it is interesting to notice how one observer has been deceived by a range of hills seen through mist; another by a number of porpoises; others by heaps of seaweed, and yet others by flights of birds. Such illusions, as Professor Gill notices, might well deceive the susceptible, or even delude trained and skeptical observers, as in the cited case of Professor Newcomb—who is, however, usually regarded as eminent rather for skill in recondite mathematical calculation than for observational keenness. But it can be of little use to turn from observations which clearly do not relate to seaweed or porpoises, in order to consider others which, since they may be explained by mere illusion, are manifestly very little to the purpose. It is not objects seen at such a distance,

and under such conditions, that though they were really inanimate they looked like live creatures, or, being really groups of small animals, could be mistaken for single monsters, that can help us in any degree with this sea-serpent problem. The cases we must consider are those relating to creatures which were seen close at hand and could be described, even though, for want of scientific knowledge, the descriptions may have been imperfect. To such cases alone, indeed, can scientific knowledge be applied to determine whether what was seen was or was not a sea-creature belonging to a class already known to science; as a basking shark, a sea-elephant, a ribbon fish, or the like. We must carefully eliminate all mistakes arising from want of knowledge; and, further, we must be carefully on the watch for indications of misapprehension, for traces of false description due either to forgetfulness or to the gradual appearance of new details, such as even the most careful witnesses are apt unconsciously to introduce. But our inquiries must begin with actual evidence, not with cases which may be readily explained as mere illusions.

I know of no better case of real evidence—let the interpretation be what it may—to begin with than that of the creature seen by the captain and several of the officers of the British government ship (vulgarly called “Her Majesty’s ship”) “Dædalus,” in 1848.

The official account given by Captain McQuhae on his arrival at Plymouth, and addressed to Admiral Sir W. H. Gage, included the following particulars :

“At 5 P.M., August 6, in lat.  $24^{\circ} 44'$  S., long.  $9^{\circ} 22'$  E., the weather dark and cloudy, wind fresh from the N.W., with a long ocean swell from the S.W., the ship heading N.E. by N., something very unusual was seen by Mr. Sartoris, midshipman, rapidly approaching the ship from before the beam. The circumstance was immediately reported by him to the officer of the watch, Lieutenant Drummond, with whom and Mr. William Barrett, the master, I was at the time walking the quarterdeck. On our attention being called to the object, it was discovered to be an enormous serpent [a student of science would not have “discovered” this quite so readily], with head and shoulders kept about four feet constantly above the surface of the sea; and, as nearly as we could approximate by comparing it with the length of what our maintopsail-yard would show in the water, there was at least sixty feet of the animal *à fleur d'eau*, no portion of which was, in our perception, used in propelling it through the water, either by vertical or horizontal undulation. It passed rapidly, but

so closely under our lee quarter that had it been a man of my acquaintance I should easily have recognized his features with the naked eye; and it did not, either in approaching the ship, or after it had passed our wake, deviate in the slightest degree from its course to the S. W., which it held on at the pace of from twelve to fifteen miles an hour, apparently on some determined purpose. The diameter of the serpent was about fifteen or sixteen inches behind the head, which was, without any doubt, that of a snake; and it was never, during the twenty minutes that it continued in sight of our glasses, once below the surface of the water. Its color, a dark brown, with yellowish white about the throat. It had no fins, but something like the mane of a horse, or, rather, a bunch of seaweed, washed about its back. It was seen by the quartermaster, the boatswain's mate, and the man at the wheel, in addition to myself and officers above mentioned."

I have quoted Captain McQuhae's account somewhat fully, selecting it as typical of the class of narratives which no such explanation as willful deception, or illusion, or ignorance, can explain away. No naval officer in government service, in England or anywhere else, would venture to send a mere invention about sea-serpents to the chiefs of the government navy. One even wonders at Captain McQuhae's boldness in telling his true story, so unacceptable were and are all sea-serpent stories to naval authorities, whether in the government or the mercantile marine. It was quite on the cards that Captain McQuhae's communication to the Admiralty authorities at Plymouth would simply call forth a reprimand for himself, and remain unknown to the public.

The case fortunately served to illustrate in another and pleasanter way the manner in which sea-serpent stories are commonly kept back for fear of ridicule. So soon as the countenance of the Admiralty had been given to a narrative of the sort, other naval men who had had similar experiences, but had hitherto refrained from telling them, came to the fore with their stories.

First, however, appeared an account which possibly related to the same animal which had been seen by Captain McQuhae. It is not so well known as Captain McQuhae's narrative, possibly because Mr. Gosse, in collecting evidence, omitted latterly all American accounts, an idea having got abroad that American sailors are somewhat greater adepts at yarning than others. Absurd as this idea is, and unjust toward American seamen, it

is worth noticing as showing how the inquiry about strange sea-creatures has been hampered by ignorance and prejudice.

Captain Henderson, of the "Mary Ann," of Glasgow, communicated to the "Globe," on October 19, 1848, a statement to the effect that off Lisbon he had spoken the American brig "Daphne," and heaving to, in response to her signal, had taken on board a packet of letters. The mate, who brought them, told Captain Henderson that on September 20, in lat.  $4^{\circ} 11' S.$ , long.  $10^{\circ} 15' E.$ , a most extraordinary animal had been seen, having "the appearance of a huge serpent with a dragon's head." (One rather wonders how seamen come to know so much about dragons, which are repeatedly referred to in sea-serpent stories, as if they were not less familiar to all of us than the harmless necessary cat.)

"One of the deck guns was immediately brought to bear on it, which, having been charged with spike nails and whatever other pieces of iron could be got at the moment, was discharged at the animal, then only about forty yards distant from the ship. It immediately reared its head in the air, and plunged violently with its body, showing that the charge had taken effect. The 'Daphne' then stood toward the brute, which was seen foaming and lashing the water at a fearful rate. Upon the brig nearing, however, it disappeared, and though evidently wounded, made rapidly off at the rate of fifteen or sixteen knots an hour, as was judged from its appearing several times upon the surface. From the description of the mate, the brute must have been nearly a hundred feet long, and his account of it agrees in every respect with that lately forwarded to the Admiralty by the master of the 'Dædalus.' "

Among the stories which had been kept back until the respectful attention given to Captain McQuhae's narrative encouraged others to give their experiences, may be mentioned the following: Dr. R. Davidson related, in the "Bombay Times" for January, 1849, how, in 1829, he and Captain Petrie, of the "Royal Saxon," then in the seas southwest of the Cape, saw

"A creature of which no more generally correct description could be given than that of Captain McQuhae. It passed within thirty-five yards of the ship without altering its course in the least; but as it came right abreast of us it slowly turned its head toward us. Apparently about one-third of the upper part of its body was above water in nearly its whole length, and we could see the water curling up on its breast as it moved along, but by what means it moved we could not perceive."

They saw, apparently, the whole length except a small portion of the tail, and, comparing with the length of the "Royal Saxon," judged the creature to be larger than the similar one seen by Captain McQuhae.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Steele, of the Coldstream Guards, wrote to the "Zoologist," that his brother, Captain Steele, and all his fellow-passengers on board the "Barham," saw, in lat.  $37^{\circ} 16'$  S. and long.  $40^{\circ}$  E., about five hundred yards from the ship, the head and neck of an enormous snake. The creature was going slowly through the water, but leaving a wake fifty or sixty feet long, indicating a long body. The captain put the ship off her course to run down to him, but as the ship approached he went down. His color was green, with light spots. On his back he had a crest resembling a cock's comb, and "he spouted a long way from his head." One of the officers of the "Barham" states that when the creature slowly sank his distance was not more than a hundred yards. "His enormous neck," he says, "was surmounted with a huge crest in the shape of a saw," obviously meaning only that it was serrated.

I must not occupy more space with evidence of this sort, which, indeed, could be extended, even if all stories possibly explicable by illusion or ignorance were excluded, to at least two hundred of these pages. Those who are interested in the subject will find ample material of the kind in Gosse's "Romance of Nature" (article "The Great Unknown"); in my article, "Strange Sea Creatures," in "Pleasant Ways in Science;" in Gould's "Mythical Monsters;" Andrew Wilson's "Leisure Time Studies," and elsewhere, though I may remark that the stories which have been published exceed tenfold in number those collected in books, while, were seamen and travelers not deterred by fear of ridicule from publishing their experiences, a much larger amount of trustworthy evidence would undoubtedly be available.

Dr. Andrew Wilson, lecturer on zoology and comparative anatomy in the Edinburgh Medical School, seems to me to sum up justly the position of the problem, when he says that, laying aside all doubtful cases, there remains "a body of evi-

dence only to be explained on the hypothesis that certain gigantic marine animals, at present unfamiliar or unknown to science, do certainly exist."

In endeavoring to determine, with the evidence available, the actual nature of the strange creatures which have been seen, we are met by difficulties which possibly fuller evidence might enable us to deal with successfully.

None of the stories of the class we are considering can be explained by the supposition that the creatures seen were very large specimens of the *Selache maxima*, or basking shark (oddly misprinted, in Gould's "Mythical Monsters," "barking shark," as if some new kind of dog-fish were in question), or large seals, as the *Phoca proboscidea* (the sea-lions, *Otaria jubata* and *Platyryynchus leoninus* are too small), or even ribbon fish, though Dr. Wilson leans to this last idea. Some of the supposed sea-serpents might belong to an unknown species of the eel tribe, exceeding the largest congers as the giant cuttles exceed the common squids; but against this it may be urged that in not a single case have any pectorals been seen. Mr. Gosse has suggested that the sea-serpent seen by Captain Steele may have been an unknown cetacean, pointing out justly that there can be no reason why a slender, lengthened form may not exist in that order. But we certainly cannot regard the cetacean theory as an available explanation for all sea-serpent stories.

The enaliosaurian (or sea-lizard) hypothesis, which Professor Gill seems to consider as wholly untenable in the light of recent researches, has certainly not appeared so to Mr. Gosse, who was among the first to advocate it after Mr. Newman, F. L. S. (then editor of the "Zoologist"), had advanced it. Professor Gill throws Mr. Gosse's advocacy back a quarter of a century, and rightly enough, so far as its beginning was concerned. But Mr. Gosse has supported the theory in the latest editions of his published works—the twelfth edition of his "Romance of Nature," First Series, bearing date 1881. Agassiz, far within the period named by Professor Gosse, said on this subject:

"If a naturalist had to sketch the outlines of an ichthyosaurus or plesiosaurus from the remains we have of them, he would make a drawing very similar to the sea-serpent, as it has been described. There is reason to think that the

parts are soft and perishable, but I still consider it probable that it will be the good-fortune of some person on the coast of Norway or North America to find a living representative of this type of reptile, which is thought to have died out."

The paleontological evidence in this matter seems scarcely so decisive as Professor Gill thinks. The absence of all traces of plesiosauri after the cretaceous period may readily be explained without assuming that all the various orders had died out. The geologist justly regards the enaliosaurians, short-necked and long-necked (ichthyosauri and plesiosauri), as typically mesozoic, because they are only found in the secondary rocks; but the biologist knows that species must have existed in paleozoic times, from which the plesiosaurs and ichthyosaurs had descended, and it cannot but be regarded as highly improbable that reptiles of this type had all died out before the tertiary period. Changes of habits and of habitat, with consequent alteration of the conditions under which the remains of such creatures were preserved, or, indeed, alterations of these conditions independently of any great change in the habits of the various orders of plesiosauri, may quite reasonably be regarded as affording the true explanation of their paleontological disappearance. We have a precisely analogous problem to deal with in the apparent disappearance of the genus *Chimæra* during the whole of the tertiary period, though it had been abundant till near the close of the cretaceous system, and is still occasionally found in our modern seas. We may derive an analogous argument from the displacement (as some geologists call it) of the great marine saurians by the cetaceans. Where are the fossil remains of the ancestral cetacean forms connecting the present cetaceans with the porcine land creatures from which they descended? Myriads of creatures belonging to those ancestral forms must have existed, yet no traces of them remain, though probably the conditions under which they existed, amphibious as they must long have been, were such as to give them a fair chance of occasional preservation in mud-banks or sand strata. The zeuglodonts, toothed cetaceans of the early and middle tertiary times, were clearly not an ancestral form, but, like the *Sirenia*, were side branches from the original cetacean stem. Possibly the

same changes which made marine conditions favorable for the land ancestors of the cetaceans may have driven the plesiosaurs and ichthyosaurs into deeper seas, there to undergo such changes as the changed environment required. In such cases it has frequently happened that species have diminished greatly in numbers, while the individual representatives of the race have developed largely in size.\*

It is not necessary, however, for our faith in the reality of the so-called sea-serpent that we should prove the creature to be beyond doubt a large enaliosaur. To find out what the creature is, or to what as yet unknown classes the various creatures which have been called sea-serpents must be assigned, we want much more evidence than as yet we possess. It is not the best way to get such evidence to jeer at every item of information which seamen and sea travelers may have to offer. Science may not be able by a new “‘Challenger’ Expedition” to seek for independent evidence about strange sea-creatures ; but she would be wise to examine carefully, not scornfully, the evidence available.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

\* The creature like a long-necked turtle, with the head and general figure of an alligator, seen by Captain the Hon. George Hope (of the British government ship “Fly”), crawling on its four large paddles over the bottom of the sea in the Gulf of California—the sea being perfectly clear and transparent—was probably a modern plesiosaur. See my “Pleasant Ways in Science,” article “Strange Sea Monsters,” p. 229.

# The Forum.

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MAY, 1887.

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## MARRIAGE LAWS.

THE steady increase in the number of divorces throughout the entire country is admitted and deplored by every right-minded person who has given attention to the subject. Within the last twenty-five years it has become alarming. If published statistics are reliable, the State of Connecticut, which prior to 1860 never averaged over 100 cases a year, has for many later years had more than 400 a year. In Massachusetts, which in 1860 reported only 243 cases, the number rose to 655 in 1883. Vermont advanced from 94 in the year 1860 to 197 in 1878. New Hampshire is reported as having only 107 cases in 1860, while in 1880 the number was 339. Maine had 587 cases in the same year, and Rhode Island's quota was in about the same ratio. True, the population in some of these States had considerably increased during the period under consideration, but in others, notably Vermont and New Hampshire, it had remained nearly stationary. If we look beyond New England, we shall be still more surprised at the result; the increase in some parts of the country having reached the amazing ratio of one divorce to every five marriages: twenty per cent. of those whom God hath joined together "till death them do part" put asunder in a few years by human permission! And when we remember that a large part of the married people never resort to a divorce court

under any circumstances, viz., the Roman Catholics, the proportion of divorces to marriages in other classes is still greater.

Our first impulse is to attribute this sad state of things solely to the lax and easy divorce laws now existing in so many sections of our country. True, such laws make this exhibit possible. Were legal divorce less easy to obtain, such frequent separations would not take place; but the laws themselves, however lax, are not properly the *cause* of so many divorces; we must look deeper to find the real sources of so much domestic alienation. Doubtless many avail themselves of the existing laws from improper motives and for unworthy ends; not as a means of relief from real and serious grievances, but as a permission to contract other alliances under the sanction of law, or to avoid altogether marital duties and responsibilities which have been voluntarily assumed. But the divorce acts were not designed for such as these. The legislators who framed them are not of that class, nor do they intend to favor unhallowed lust. The divorce statutes are only the embodiment and outgrowth of the increasing popular demand for a more easy separation; the laws only reflect the public sentiment on the subject.

This increased desire for a liberal system of divorce springs out of the unhappiness and wretchedness of modern married life. The primary and efficient cause of the multitude of divorces is the many hasty, indiscreet, and improvident unions entered into under the sanction of the present existing marriage laws. Too many are married but not mated; too many enter into this relation unadvisedly and lightly, and not "reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God," as the exhortation in the Episcopal form of solemnization directs. When children of twelve and fourteen years are allowed by law to assume marriage obligations; when consent of neither parent nor guardian is required; when no publicity is prescribed, no previous announcement necessary, no opportunity for the prevention of fraud allowed; when, as in most States is the case, no ceremony before any person, minister or magistrate, is demanded, nor even any declaration or marriage promise before a single witness, what else can be expected but the most unwise, rash, and absurd unions? What more certain source of domes-

tic wretchedness than such miscalled marriages, endured for a while, but eventually sure to come into the divorce tribunals?

How can two persons live a happy wedded life who are by nature, by education, by habits and associations, totally unadapted to each other? Each may possess qualities capable of making some other person happy, but when there is no mutual fitness, what can be expected but a constant desire and longing for separation? How can two walk together except they be agreed? A delicate and sensitive wife may suffer far more from the habitual brutality of a drunken, worthless husband, or from the daily harshness or studied neglect of a cold, selfish, unsympathizing one, than from a single act of infidelity committed under sudden and great temptation. The latter, if really repented of, may be fully condoned, while the former may imperatively demand immediate and permanent relief. The one is certainly a sad enough occurrence in married life; the other is an ever-present destroyer of domestic happiness. A modern David may be a much more endurable husband than one who continually violates every commandment except the seventh. But the other side, too, has cause of complaint. Many a wife, by her treatment of her husband, drives him to the club-house, the bar-room, and even worse places, until in sheer desperation he is ready to do anything in order to escape from his domestic misery; and so the divorce courts are filled with willing suitors. The wife can do her full part to make home a heaven or a hell. Many a husband knows full well by bitter experience how much better it is to dwell in a wilderness than with a brawling woman, even in a wide house.

How many suicides are directly or indirectly traceable to domestic troubles will be known only in that great day when all things shall be revealed. Doubtless many more wives than husbands are applicants in the divorce courts, but there is reason to believe that the latter often promote such applications simply because human nature cannot possibly endure the torments of longer union. The chains of no galley-slave can be so galling as those which often bind, without uniting, discordant man and woman together. True it is that a fretful, peevish, contentious woman, and the continual dropping in a rainy day, are alike—very

like; if anything, the rainy day has the advantage. If we only knew how many married people, husbands as well as wives, of all classes in society, daily sigh from the bottoms of their hearts that they ever married, we should want no better proof that this relation is too often entered into hastily and unadvisedly, and that other considerations than those of mutual regard prevent a final separation. It does not tend to improve the situation if such feelings of discontent find outward expression, as they naturally will. Is it strange that "incompatibility of temper" or other equivalent phrases sooner or later find their way into the recognized grounds of divorce? Is not separation the natural resort of those who are so unequally yoked together?

Reform in the marriage laws, to be sure, is not a panacea for all domestic differences. Reform in the heart will be more effectual, but proper precautions and safeguards will do much to lessen the probabilities of domestic discord. If this be so, is it not best to lay the axe at the root of the evil, and prevent the occasions for so many divorce applications. The skillful physician seeks to remove the cause of disease, rather than administer remedies, and hygiene is rapidly overshadowing mere therapeutics. In divorce, as elsewhere, prevention is better than cure.

1. The first reform we recommend is to raise the lawful age of marriage. Every reader of the **FORUM** may not be aware that even in many of the older and more conservative States young children just entering their teens, as they saunter home from school, hand in hand, may vow to take each other as husband and wife, and if in earnest, they are inseparably united as such. A few States require such legal babes to go before some magistrate or minister, but most do not prescribe even that ceremony. A few years ago a young fellow in Lynn, Massachusetts, named Parton, enticed a girl named Sarah Hervey, only thirteen years of age, from her widowed mother's house, and clandestinely married her without her parent's knowledge or consent. Upon ascertaining the facts the mother forbade her daughter to have anything to do with her alleged husband or even to admit him to the house. He thereupon brought a petition for a writ of *habeas corpus* against the mother, to compel her to allow the girl to live with him as his wife; the Supreme Judicial Court of

Massachusetts, after elaborate examination of the subject, decided that there was no help for the distressed mother, and the youthful husband bore off his infant bride in triumph; and this notwithstanding that the law expressly forbade any minister or magistrate to solemnize a marriage of a female under the age of eighteen without the consent of her parent or guardian. Subsequently, the mother brought an action at law against one of the husband's confederates, who had fraudulently represented to the officiating magistrate that the girl was eighteen years of age, but here, too, the mother failed, and the validity of the marriage was again upheld.\* And this is the law of Massachusetts to this day. Other States are in like condemnation. Some have raised the age for females to fourteen. It ought to be eighteen, at least; better still, twenty-one; certainly, unless the parent or guardian consent.

Three or four years ago, a young printer of Fort Edward, New York, named William Allen, only eighteen years of age, eloped with a girl only fourteen, and married her against the well-known wishes of her mother. Before the girl was herself eighteen years old, she was seeking a separation in the divorce court for the infidelity of her husband. Only a few weeks since, two young girls, aged fourteen and sixteen, of Buffalo, New York, met at a dancing party two youths but little older than themselves, and under the inspiration of the ball-room, the latter proposed that they should get married, "just for the fun of the thing." They immediately did so, but in a few days the youngest of the four came before a magistrate asking for an order for commitment to jail of her juvenile husband, because of his refusal or inability to support her, and the order was granted!

"Can such things be,  
And overcome us like a summer's cloud,  
Without our special wonder?"

2. Another preventive of clandestine and foolish marriages would be to require some previous announcement, publication, or at least public registry of intentions to marry, so long before the event that real publicity would be secured, and the friends and relatives of either party enabled to intervene if all was not right.

\* *Parton v. Hervey*, 1 Gray, 119, and *Hervey v. Mosely*, 7 Gray, 479

The law on this subject has much changed for the worse in modern times. A few States still recognize the publishing of the bans of marriage, notably Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, and Ohio. At the late session of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held at Chicago, in October last, the Joint Committee on Marriage and Divorce, consisting of three bishops, three presbyters, and three laymen, reported in favor of the general publication of bans whenever the parties were members of the congregation. But, as this would not affect a large number of cases, the law should provide, as it does in some States, that the parties must also file an application for a marriage license in the office of the clerk of the city or town, or of some court. To secure the full benefit expected from such a provision, it is important that the application should be filed long enough before the ceremony to give an opportunity to take some action in the premises, which the present laws seldom do.

3. Still a third precaution would be that all marriages should be solemnized in presence of witnesses, before some minister or civil magistrate, who should keep a record of the same, signed by the parties, the witnesses, and himself. He should have the power to put the parties under oath as to their age, situation, antecedents, etc., and false swearing should be perjury, and punishable as such. The present law of New York is simply shocking. By that law two young people riding out alone together may say to each other, under the impulse of the moment, "Let us be man and wife," and from that moment, no matter how incongruous the union, no matter how much each may regret and seek to recall the hasty word, they are inseparably united. No power on earth can dissolve that marriage, unless one or the other violates the laws of the land. No previous engagement, no ceremony, no magistrate, no witness, no scrap of writing, is required. Such a marriage actually took place a few years since between a young couple, while on a pleasure drive in Central Park in New York, and thereupon they went to a hotel together as man and wife. As might be expected, the "husband" deserted his "wife" in a few weeks, but the marriage was declared binding on both.\*

\* See *Bissell v. Bissell*, 55 Barb. 325

In another instance, in New York, a widower, the father of several children, soon after his wife's death forcibly entered his seamstress's bedroom at night and proposed marriage, saying "it would not be the thing for him to marry publicly on account of the recent death of his wife and the opposition of his family," but that it would be a lawful marriage if she consented then and there so to consider it. After some objection, she finally yielded to his assurances. Unwilling to have her remain in his own house, he sent her to another place, where she resided under an assumed name, and subsequently had several children by him. Upon his death she and her children set up a claim to a portion of his property, and, on her testimony alone, they were held entitled to share with the children of his first wife, although he had always denied to his family that he had ever married again.\* Such is the law of the "Empire State," with its five millions of people, married or to be married! She should give more earnest heed to the motto on her escutcheon, "Excelsior!" But many, probably a majority, of the States follow in her wake.

The statutes of some States now have various directions and precautions as to the marriage ceremony, but the infirmity in nearly all is that they are merely directory. Non-compliance with them does not affect the validity of the marriage, nor authorize its dissolution, nor subject the parties to any penalties; the person officiating may be liable to a slight fine, but no one ever knew of such a law being enforced. What cares the man who has run away with his bride that the person marrying them may be called upon to pay a fine of ten dollars? Some few States are courageous enough to consider such statutes as positively forbidding any other than the prescribed mode or manner of marriage. A few years ago a clergyman in Worcester, Mass., at a public religious meeting of his society, performed a peculiar ceremony of marriage with a lady. After joining hands, he made this solemn declaration: "In the presence of God and of these witnesses, I now take this woman whom I hold by the right hand to be my lawful wedded wife, to love and to cherish, till the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, or till death do us part." She responded in similar phraseology, adding from

\* *Van Tuyl v. Van Tuyl*, 57 Barb. 235.

the ancient formula the words "to obey." This was done in good faith as a marriage rite, and in the belief that it constituted a valid marriage, and it was followed by cohabitation. But the transaction was declared by the Supreme Judicial Court, to its honor be it said, to be no marriage at all under the laws of Massachusetts. The grounds and reasons for this decision were elaborately stated by Mr. Chief-Justice Gray in an opinion remarkable for its learning and high moral tone.\*

In 1871, the Court of Appeals in Maryland, after an exhaustive examination of this subject, declared that in that State no lawful marriage could be entered into unless some religious ceremony was added to the civil contract between the parties; and that this result naturally and necessarily followed from the simple fact that such ceremony was prescribed by law, although no clause absolutely pronounced other marriages invalid. "These loose and irregular contracts," said the learned judge, "as a general thing derive no support from morals or religion, but are most generally founded on a wanton and licentious cohabitation."† How could less be expected from the descendants of Lord Baltimore! But we fear we cannot add many instances to this honorable list, most States positively declaring that marriages by simple mutual consent are valid and binding on the parties, though every form and ceremony prescribed by the statute law of the State be entirely and intentionally ignored.

4. The fourth suggestion we have to make, therefore, is that the laws regulating the marriage ceremony be made peremptory; that all marriages otherwise entered into be declared null and void, and that the parties be held liable to criminal prosecution for illicit cohabitation. Such a law, if faithfully enforced, will soon prevent these irregular marriages, and arouse the people to the necessity of proper precautions before assuming the marriage relation. Mere prohibitory laws are insufficient; they should be highly penal. Many a young girl will brave the indignation of her parents, the estrangement of her friends, and the criticism of the community, in order clandestinely to marry the object of her infatuation; when the prospect of prison bars would be an

\* Commonwealth *v.* Munson, 127 Mass. 459.

† Denison *v.* Denison, 35 Md. 361.

effectual check in her wild career. If this penal consequence should follow the guilty parties into every State to which they might flee, it would soon put an end to the shameful transactions so constantly occurring.

Another prolific cause of the frequency of divorce is the fact that many a young couple nowadays marry without any reliable and sufficient means of supporting a family. The manners and customs of modern life have made great changes in this respect. The young wife soon finds that all her wishes and whims are not gratified. To her, probably, they are not unreasonable or extravagant. The young husband, on the other hand, finds himself embarrassed and overwhelmed with anxiety how to meet the many demands upon him. Disappointment springs up on the one side; irritation and discouragement on the other. If this continues until it becomes chronic, the highway to the divorce court is already entered upon. In some countries young people are not allowed by law to marry until they can establish to the satisfaction of some competent tribunal their ability to support themselves in such condition as befits their degree and station in life, and that there is no just cause to apprehend that their families will become a public charge. A proper regulation of that kind would be a wholesome check to many premature and unwise marriages. But all precautions will be ineffectual unless there be a right in the relatives and friends of either party to file a *caveat* or protest in the proper quarter, which shall operate to postpone the marriage until the alleged objections can be heard and determined by some proper tribunal. This is now the law of Rhode Island, Maine, and perhaps other States. The law of Maine on this point is this:

"Any person believing that parties are about to contract marriage, when either of them cannot lawfully do so, may file a caution and the reasons therefor, in the office of the clerk where notice of their intentions should be filed. If either party applies to enter such notice, the clerk shall withhold the certificate until a decision is made by two justices of the peace, approving the marriage after due notice to, and hearing of, all concerned. Such decision is to be obtained in seven days, unless the justices desire longer time. If the marriage is approved, the objector is liable for the costs of the hearing." \*

\* Revised Statutes, ch. 59, sec. 8.

The same principle is found in the law of Rhode Island, in these words :

"If any person shall have any lawful objection to the marriage of any two persons he may state the same in writing, under his hand, to the minister, elder, or magistrate about to solemnize the same, whereupon such minister, elder, or magistrate shall proceed no further in such marriage until such lawful objection be removed."\*

Such a provision, faithfully applied, is by far the most effectual check to imprudent marriages yet devised. It deserves the careful consideration of all legislators on this subject. Surely, also, there ought to be power in some civil tribunal to prevent such a shameful mockery of the solemn rite of marriage as that which recently occurred in Chicago in the marriage of the anarchist, Spies, to Miss Van Zandt, by proxy. A more absolute disregard of the real meaning of the marriage rite was never exhibited. Marriage by proxy! Why not live with a wife by proxy?

"But," some one will say, "the State ought not to interfere with the freedom of marriage unions; that is an unwarranted assumption of power." The State now assumes to regulate the subject to some extent. The difficulty is that it does not go far enough in this direction. The times demand a more thorough and searching supervision. The spread of the disease is alarming, and some heroic treatment is absolutely necessary. The foul cancer must be cut out ere it be too late. The knife is the most efficient remedy to prevent the disorder from corrupting the whole body politic.

In conclusion, may it not be safely assumed that one of the surest means of reducing the number of divorces and the many social evils attendant upon them is to strike at the root of the evil, and throw additional safeguards around the entrance to the marital relation. If the age of lawful marriage could be raised to years of actual, rather than assumed, discretion; if lawful marriages could not be entered into by persons under full age, without the written consent of parent or guardian, when any are living; if no marriage could be lawfully solemnized without such previous public notice as would afford reasonable opportunity to the friends of either party to interpose; if no valid marriage

\* Public Statutes, ch. 163, sec. 11.

could be contracted except in the presence of known and trustworthy witnesses, who would certify in writing to the identity of the parties, and the existence of the other conditions required by the law; if the person solemnizing the marriage had power to put the parties under oath as to their age, antecedents, etc., and false swearing were made perjury; if a reasonable term of previous acquaintance between the parties could be insisted upon; if a heavy fine were imposed upon any magistrate or minister who should solemnize a marriage under other circumstances than those required by law, and if this fine should go, in whole or in part, to any friend or relative of either party who might make complaint against the offending minister or magistrate; if, in addition, and above all, the parties were liable to public prosecution and punishment for unlawful cohabitation, having knowingly entered into an illegal marriage, many of the evils which now spring up in married life might be prevented, the number of divorces decidedly lessened, and the deplorable consequences thereof in some measure avoided.

A foreigner, in order to be admitted to the rights of citizenship, must be of full age and have filed at least one, and in most cases two, written statements under oath, as to his having satisfied the requirements of the statute; he must produce at least two credible witnesses to testify under oath in open court that they are personally acquainted with him, and know the facts stated by him to be true, and that he is a suitable person to be admitted to the privilege he seeks. False swearing by the party or his witnesses is made perjury, and subject to heavy penalties. But persons are now allowed by law to enter this most solemn and important relation of marriage, the very foundation and life of the State, without any formalities, without any safeguards, without any assurance of their qualifications for its duties, or their fitness for each other. What can be expected but disaster? Should not our laws of marriage be reformed?

Some of the foregoing suggestions, occasionally even the same language, may be found in the convention report above referred to; but this fact does not necessarily establish plagiarism in the subscriber to this article.

EDMUND H. BENNETT.

## THE SOCIALISTS.

OUR subject is the Socialists, not Socialism. To most of us it is only the former that give interest to the latter. Little, indeed, should we care for Socialism, but for the belief that there are millions of Socialists, and that this body is increasing in numbers, in thoroughness of organization, and in aggressiveness of disposition. In the present paper we shall not discuss the tenets and the purposes of the Socialists, but shall consider them as a party threatening the peace and the existing order in society and industry.

Who, then, are the Socialists? Whoever else may be Socialists, in the sense in which that word is now commonly used and is soon to be exclusively used, a certain class of persons, called by that title, and even avowing themselves such, are not. I refer to the so-called Socialists of the Chair, of Germany, and of countries in close intellectual communication with Germany. Whether it be mere defiance of public opinion, or a generous championship of a persecuted class, or a business-like computation of the advantages to be gained in the discussion of certain vitally important social and economic questions, by sharply striking the public mind, that has induced many of the most eminent publicists and economists of continental Europe to assume the title, they are not Socialists, for all that.

Among themselves, the members of this party differ widely. Some go rather farther in their invocation of State authority than good conservative Americans; while others offer a budget of reforms to be effected by legislation, in respect of mill and factory labor, savings banks, friendly societies, trades unions, etc., which is no larger than the existing body of British legislation on these subjects. The Socialism of such men as Roscher, Hildebrand, Knies, Schmoller, Brentano, and Schönberg, or even Wagner, Samter, and Van Scheel, is simply a protest against ex-

treme individualism ; it contemplates a state of things in which the harsh action of selfish interests shall be qualified by the play of benevolent social forces, and, here and there, for sound practical reasons, by the official action of organized political bodies.

Of the eminent professors I have named, one advocates the nationalization of the land ; another advocates the acquisition by government, not of all real estate, but of all real estate in cities and towns. Otherwise, none of these leaders of the Socialists of the Chair occupies a position much, if any, more advanced than, for example, that of the late Professor Stanley Jevons, of England, in their repudiation of individualism gone mad, in their protest against *laissez faire* as a principle of universal application, in their demand for the intervention of the State to accomplish certain much needed reforms and to protect the laboring classes against the stress of a competition to which they are hopelessly unequal.

That which characterizes the proper Socialist is a distrust or dislike of competition as an agency for distributing the products of industry, or, a distrust or dislike of the organization of industrial society into producing classes : a distrust, a dislike, so deep as to induce the purpose to break down what is termed the capitalistic system, by giving to the State the initiative in production, wholly or generally, and the sole or chief control of all industrial enterprise.

No man, however wild or dangerous the individual schemes of social, political, or industrial innovation which he cherishes, is properly to be called a Socialist, or, at any rate, one of "the Socialists," whose purposes and plans would leave in the main intact the present organization of industrial society into producing classes ; and would leave the distribution of the product of industry to be effected by the action of competition. I say "whose purposes and plans," for no man, again, is to be called a Socialist merely because he entertains glowing views of human progress, in a distant future ; or by reason of any theoretical notions which do not prompt him, or which would not, in any fairly probable contingency, lead him to action to realize those notions. Such a man may perhaps be called a sympathizer with Social-

ism ; he is not a Socialist, or, at any rate, he is not one of "the Socialists."

For the purposes of our present discussion it is not needful to deal separately with the two great divisions of European Socialists ; the one aiming at concentrating, in the government of the wider state, all authority and initiative in regard to production ; the other presenting, as the true industrial unit, a highly localized body, the Commune. This difference would be a most important one, were we considering the means by which the socialistic purpose might be carried into effect ; but with reference to the object of this paper it is a mere matter of detail.

Nor do I think it necessary to deal separately with the so-called Collectivists, who, according to their programme, propose to unite the advantages of private enterprise with the anticipated benefits of State control, through retaining in the community the ownership of all the instruments of production, factories, shops, and tools, while conceding to co-operative societies of workmen the management and conduct of the actual operations. It appears to me plain that Collectivism signifies nothing but the shrinking back of the more thoughtful and judicious Socialists at the closer contemplation of the difficulties and evil possibilities attendant on the abolition of individual activity and responsibility in production ; and that such a compromise system, if it were to be carried farther than would be implied in a moderate aid, encouragement, and subsidy extended by the State to ordinary co-operative enterprises, would inevitably pass, by a rapid process, though after enormous loss of resources, into full and unqualified Socialism, involving both State ownership and State operation of the industrial plant.

That there should be dissatisfaction, deep and wide, with the results of the existing organization of industry in Europe is not surprising. Prior to the capitalistic era, which may, with almost scientific accuracy, be called the age of steam, the vast majority of the people were engaged in agriculture, or rendered personal and professional services to those who were thus engaged. At the time to which we refer, the mediaeval structure of industrial society was virtually intact. The land had not yet come to be regarded solely as an agent of production. Although private

property in the soil had long been instituted, the population that lived upon the land had yet as real and almost as permanent relation to it as had the primitive Aryan communities. Over large parts of Europe, indeed, the cultivating class were serfs, bound to render to the lord a weekly service, which always was hard, and doubtless was often made unnecessarily severe by the exactions of greedy power. Yet at least they had a place in which to live and work ; they knew where their doubtless scanty food was to come from ; they no more truly belonged to the land than the land, for the purposes of their meagre subsistence, belonged to them. In happier realms the peasantry held the land, under whatever form of tenure, with a virtual security of possession. Between them and the lord were mutual obligations, recognized by law or custom, of service and of protection, which were of the essence of their relationship.

Even the mechanic arts of the Middle Ages were prosecuted under the rule not of individualism, but of feudalism. The guilds comprised both employers and employed ; and alike the rules of the craft and the natural conditions of industry, in its then stage of development, bound together master, journeyman, and apprentice, often in one family, under one roof, where the rights and duties of each were well understood and defined. During the two centuries which followed the first influx of silver from the mines of the New World, the feudal organization of manufacturing industries was in some degree strained and broken ; but the substance of the mediæval system of production remained until, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and an industrial deluge followed the application of steam power to manufactures. At once the barriers of the old system were leveled to the ground by the tremendous force which had been invoked. Petty crafts became giant industries ; new industries, before unnamed, sprang into life, full grown ; the members of the old guilds were left to eat their annual dinners, and keep up their solemn forms, in lonesome state, while that which had been their work was done in vast factories, by throngs of operatives, under strange masters. In this condition the workman no longer held a place which belonged to him of right and in permanency. His relations to his

class were completely broken up. Any one of his former comrades might, at any time, underbid him in the market for labor. Each for himself became the universal principle of industrial life. It does not need to be added into whose hands the hindmost should fall.

On the other hand, the pre-existing relations between master and man were as rudely and thoroughly destroyed. The employer was no longer one who had, as apprentice, lived in the family of a kindly old master; becoming, in due course, a journeyman, and at last, in the ripeness of years, himself master. The employer, under the new *régime*, was an altogether different being. He was a man of commercial instincts, of high executive ability, daring, cool, resolute, strict in discipline, fertile in expedients; who could command the use of the vast bodies of capital demanded by the new conditions of industry; and who looked upon the mass of workmen who flocked to his gates much as he did upon the materials and supplies brought into his mill. These men came, he knew not whence; they might go to-morrow, he would not know whither. One thing they had to do for him: to work, upon what he pleased, in precisely the way they were bidden. One thing he had to do for them: to pay their wages. That done, all was done.\*

Such was the revolution which was effected, all at once, in the industrial system of Europe. The political revolution, which coincided with it in time, failed, because it was found that men long accustomed to dependence and vassalage could not, by a mere decree, be made fit for self-government. But no suspected analogy between politics and economics seems to have troubled the minds of the philosophers of that day. The very men who were most confident that the masses were unfit to govern themselves politically were often those who had least hesitation in accepting the complete competency of the laborer to take the entire responsibility of his own career. For this the laborer required no novitiate; this was not something to which he must come by slow degrees; the State need take no care that he should not suffer injuries against which his uninstructed sense would not warn

\* An admirable study of this character is found in Robert Moore, in Charlotte Brontë's novel, "Shirley."

him, which his unaided strength would be insufficient to ward off.

The first effects of the substitution, in industry, of unqualified individualism for feudalism, in England, then, as now, the greatest industrial nation of the world, were simply hideous. The laboring men of that generation had not been admitted to political franchises; they were not merely illiterate and ignorant, they were, as a rule, not even inquisitive; social ambition they had none; nor tastes beyond the mere filling of the belly. Withal they had that destructive appetite for strong drink which it has pleased conservative philosophers to attribute to human nature, but which, we now know, is largely due to unsanitary conditions of living.

Small wonder is it that that followed which is to be read in some of the most distressing chapters of the long, long history of "man's inhumanity to man." Children were found working in the factories of England at three years of age; the hours of labor were whatever the master chose, generally fourteen, sometimes seventeen; the air was foul with pollution or loaded with particles whose chemical or mechanical action induces early death; unfenced and unguarded machinery murdered and mangled thousands every year.

Time will not serve to tell the other story, as glorious as that was shameful, how a few brave Englishmen fought that series of parliamentary battles which resulted in the enactment of the factory laws of England, which will remain, to all time, an example of what, in a true Socialism, a State may do to restrain human greed and to support human infirmities, while leaving individual initiative and enterprise, for all good and beneficent purposes, to operate unchecked.

But it is not solely by legislation specially directed to the conditions of factory labor that the statesmen of England have sought to remove the evils of an unequal competition. They have undertaken to prepare the labor class for that competition, by repealing the acts against combinations of workmen; by conferring upon them political franchises and inviting them to participate in the deliberation and decision of public affairs; by removing the tax on newspapers and providing cheap postage;

by the registration of "friendly societies" and the creation of savings banks, and, finally, by the establishment of a universal system of public education.

Moreover, the repudiation of the doctrine of *laissez faire*, as applied to the condition of the most wretched and helpless portion of the community, was not confined to the action of the legislature. The "duties of capital" were eloquently expounded by writers of the highest reputation; and were illustrated, in action, by the conduct of large employers, in generous provision made for the physical, moral, and intellectual welfare of their people. A public sentiment was created which demanded the same considerate treatment of workmen in mills and factories which had always been accorded by landlords in England to the tillers of the soil. Meanwhile, the laboring classes, left free by the repeal of the combination acts, in 1825, and acquiring self-confidence and mutual reliance through association and discussion, were able to offer an increasingly effective competition, upon their side. From all these causes, it came to pass that the English mechanics and operatives of the later day were, in the respect of their ability to maintain themselves in competition with the master class, as different from the corresponding classes during the first fifty years of the age of steam, as if they had been a different species of animal.

On the continent of Europe, the original endowment and qualification of the working class for the unceasing struggle into which they were swept by the breaking down of the old feudalistic barriers was, in some cases greater, and in other cases less; generally, however, less, and often far less, than in England; but nowhere were the remedial and protective measures so quickly and thoroughly applied. It was not until 1864, for example, that the legislature of France repealed the laws which made illegal all combinations of workmen, even though free from violence, while it was but slowly, and, at the best, partially, that the provisions of the English factory acts were copied by the nations of the Continent. Hence it is that, relatively to the extent and intensity of the industrial movement, the injuries inflicted by the competition of the individualistic system have been deeper and more grievous than in England. It is to this

fact, taken in conjunction with the greater aptness and readiness of the continental European, than of the Englishman, to submit to authority, and to seek relief for his woes from government, that the party we call Socialists owes its recent and remarkable growth, in numbers, zeal, and activity, on the continent of Europe. A great deal of suffering from the effects of unequal competition might not drive an Englishman to appeal to his government for protection and aid. A very slight sense of the evils of competition will suffice to send a Frenchman, a German, or an Italian clamoring to the door of the magistrate, and lead him to enter his name upon the roll of a socialistic club. I regard Socialism in England as simply impossible. The unceasing control over personal choices and personal actions, by which alone Socialism could even begin to operate in practice, would be intolerable to Englishmen, high or low, rich or poor, refined or brutal.

When we pass to the continent of Europe we find a most acute cause of inflammation, which has of recent years set in, to aggravate the disorders of the industrial system. Long after the individualistic era had opened for all the mechanical avocations, the agricultural population experienced in only a faint degree the invasion of the commercial spirit. Within the last twenty years, however, the almost incredible cheapening of transportation, by land and by sea, which has brought the food products of America into the depths of the Austrian Tyrol, has broken down the barriers which had previously afforded local protection to the peasantry of large sections of Europe, and has brought them under the full weight of that tremendous competition long ago experienced by the mechanical classes. This condition of things has re-enforced the proper Socialists by vast masses of dissatisfied and unhappy agriculturists, all over Europe. It is evident, however, that this is a phase of agrarianism rather than of proper Socialism.

Socialism, from the nature of the case, must be a matter that affects city and town populations alone. No detailed scheme that would not be on its face preposterous can be devised, which will include within the would-be beneficent scope of the State's activity both town and country, both artisan and agricul-

turist; and it is in this irreconcilable antagonism of the two great interests, so strikingly manifested in the Revolution of 1848, that security against an aggressive Socialism mainly lies. That antagonism can be compromised by no statesmanship; can be concealed by no artifice. It may be that the agrarian agitators of Europe, seeing their object to be unattainable save through revolution, may, for the time, join forces with the Socialists of the town, the men of manufactures and trade, to put down authority; but should success attend such an alliance, the moment of triumph will see the divergence begin—nay, will see hostilities commence between the two parties, which stand divided by irreconcilable interests. It is more probable that the antagonism of these two great interests will be the means of preserving the status and protecting existing governments from destruction. Nevertheless, a long and painful agitation would seem to be inevitable, accompanied by disturbance, and causing increasing anxiety, until statesmanship shall discover and apply the means of educating and elevating the people, of removing their real grievances and promoting their happiness and comfort. The last indicated result it is, I believe, the true mission of Socialism to accomplish.

That the real Socialists of the continent are numerous enough to initiate revolution in any country, is very doubtful; but that Socialism may be made the rallying-ground for political revolutionists and agrarian agitators; that some very wild and bloody work may, in this way, come to be charged upon Socialism; and that any successful revolution, from whatever source, would, in the first instance, lead to a great many economic follies, socialistic or communistic in character, is not unlikely.

At the present moment, Germany is the ground which the Socialist spirit has chosen for its most conspicuous demonstrations; while emissaries or emigrants from that land are actively engaged in promoting the agitation of the social question in other countries, notably in England and the United States. How far the members of the Socialist party in Germany are such merely or mainly through opposition to the militarism of the empire; how far republicanism is the reason for this adhesion; how far agrarianism may be the real impelling force; how far the

recent accessions express merely the disaffection and suffering which have resulted from the depression of trade and industry; how far, again, those who call themselves Socialists, in Germany, are such only in the sense that they are opposed to extreme individualism, while they would be satisfied or conciliated by something far short of a complete overturning of the existing order: these are questions which it is not easy to answer with assurance. This, doubtless, may be said, that Germany contains a larger number of convinced Socialists than any other country of Europe; that is, of men who, aside from political purposes, do, in their most serious thinking, believe in the scheme of substituting a Labor State for the present organization of industry.

When we cross the border into France, we reach the classic land both of Socialism and of Communism. Here we find a country which has no agrarian question. Here, too, we have a country, which, notwithstanding its highly unsatisfactory organization, as a matter of political mechanics (noted, especially, in the absence of proper local government), and notwithstanding its lamentable lack of adequate leadership, exposing the administration to indignities from sources which should be beneath notice, has yet no proper political question. Do we here, in France, find any recent manifestations of Socialism which should cause alarm, as indicating a wide popular acceptance of that principle? On the contrary, in spite of vicious political traditions and habits, inclining the people readily to appeal to the State for relief, aid, and guidance, we find Socialism, dangerous, subversive Socialism, less prominent and threatening now than in the past. This is due to several causes, which it will be instructive to note.

The first is free discussion, in which the economists and the laboring classes have approached each other with a mutual comprehension and sympathy impossible at the time when, thirty-five or forty years ago, the economists declared that there was no social question; that there could be no social question; and that all which was required to secure the happiness of the people was a completer and severer application of the principle of individualism. The economists now fully admit that there is a social question, of a most vital character; while the leaders of popular

opinion are showing an increasing willingness to subject their schemes to the test of well-approved economic principles, and are applying their energies to the consideration of immediately practicable measures which fairly fall within the field of legitimate debate. Thus I find in the cable dispatches of the 26th of February, 1886, just after the Trafalgar Square riots in London, the statement that the Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies had, on the previous day, addressed a telegram to their "fellow workmen in the British House of Commons," proposing an international effort in the interest of labor. The dispatch says :

"The main objects of the proposed movement are to be the securing of a reduction in the hours of labor; improvement in the sanitary condition of workshops; proper limits as to the work required of women and minors; and an absolute prohibition against allowing children, of either sex, under fourteen years of age, to work at all in shops or factories."

Now, here is a body of proposals every one of which falls within the range of the State's rightful interference with freedom of contract. For one, I believe that much of the force of the Socialist party is to be expended in efforts like those indicated; and that, as the condition of the working classes is gradually improved, through aids and safeguards provided by law, and through their own increasing self-confidence and mutual reliance, the power of the Socialists, as a party threatening the existing structure of society, will even more rapidly decline. And it is never to be forgotten in this connection that, in the evolution of the factory legislation of England and America, the economists and the members of the master class were, generally, in error, almost uniformly taking the side of opposition to provisions which a long and wide experience has shown to be beneficial.

A second cause of the subsidence of Socialism in France has been the interest taken by so many of the laboring class in efforts at industrial co-operation. It is self-evident that, so far as voluntary co-operation in industry can be made to succeed, the very ground is removed from under Socialism.

A third and more important cause is found in a direction almost diametrically opposite, namely, in the influence of trades unions. In the scheme of industrial co-operation, the employer is

dispensed with; profits go to re-enforce wages; and the laboring class become at once self-employed and self-directed. The trades union, on the contrary, accepts the relation of employer and employed; but seeks, by concert and combined effort on the part of the employed, as against both the employer and the outside mass of labor, to secure certain economic benefits, by restricting admission to the trade, prescribing modes and times of labor, and, so far as the demand for the products of the craft admits, raising the rate of wages.

This is not the place to discuss the economic bearings of trades unions. What is important, for our present purpose, to observe, is that the trades unions have a selfish or particular interest, as against that order of things which Socialism contemplates; and that their members have, all over Europe, manifested a decided hostility to Socialist agitation. A striking illustration of that attitude was given in the cable dispatches from London at the time of the Trafalgar Square riots, in which it was stated that the trades unions of that city had declined to accept relief from the Mansion House subscription, stating that they were abundantly able to take care of their own unemployed members, and that these constituted but three per cent. of their entire number. I think we may count with certainty upon this attitude of the trades unions toward Socialism being maintained; and, so long as this is the fact, given the conservative influence of the agricultural class; given, again, the irreconcilable opposition between protectionism and internationalism;\* given, also, the natural influence of property and culture, it seems to me that there is no occasion for that alarm regarding Socialism, sometimes so ludicrously manifested as toward something which is to burst forth in fire and blood, to destroy the last vestiges of civilization.

We have, it appears to me, in any country not otherwise ripe for revolution, force enough to preserve the status, until, by dis-

\* It may be said that I have here invoked class selfishness (Trades Unionism) and national selfishness (Protectionism), as if these were motives to be invited and encouraged. I reply (1) that I am dealing with facts, not my own wishes; and (2) that, as a practical matter, I should never hesitate to invoke a prudent selfishness which would conserve, against a philanthropic folly which would destroy.

cussion and investigation, real and good reasons for change shall be forthcoming, to the conviction of the impartial members of the community. Meanwhile, not in servile apprehension of Socialist revolt, but because it is our duty to our kind, let us invoke every economic and social force that can be called into action, to better the condition of that disregarded mass of labor which lies lowest down in the industrial scale and from whose sufferings come most of the evils which afflict the State, most of the dangers which threaten our civilization.

For one, I have little fear of the red spectre which sears the eyeballs and crazes the brain of the statesmen of Russia and Germany. It is by no accidental coincidence that the freest nations of earth, the United States, Switzerland, England, Holland, and, though after a considerable interval, France, are those which are least afflicted by the Socialist agitation of the present age. It is not unlikely that industrial Socialism will mingle with the revolutionary democracy, which is destined, in the immediate future, to try, as by fire, all privileges, institutions, and estates, in countries where prerogative has denied to the governed their just participation in government, and where the war system, which is the simple expression of the despair and abdication of statesmanship, rests with crushing weight upon the prostrate and bleeding masses. But the fury of that fiery blast will have little power over those governments which are founded upon trust in the people, and whose laws and institutions have been framed, with however much of imperfection, in an honest purpose to subserve the general good.

FRANCIS A. WALKER.

## COLLEGE FRATERNITIES.

FOR half a century the "Greek-Letter Fraternities" of the American colleges have been fiercely attacked and as hotly defended. The purpose of the present article is to discuss the question whether they are mainly good or evil; and if, like most human organizations, they produce both good and evil, to show how the good may be increased and the evil diminished.

The fact upon which they all rest is expressed by the truism that "man is a social being." Bring together a thousand students, or even a score, and they will begin to arrange themselves in parties, cliques, and clubs. Social clubs, literary clubs, athletic clubs, will at once group themselves around various centers, like crystals about a nucleus. College officers may lament that students will not simply oscillate between their lodgings and lecture-rooms; but human nature is too strong: groups of some sort are inevitable.

Now, do not the fraternities reduce the evils arising out of these to a minimum, and produce some results undeniably good? The first point to be noted is, that when one of these inevitable associations takes the form of a college fraternity it must cease to be a mere temporary club. It has at once a reputation to make and maintain. It must hold its own against rival fraternities. The badge which each member wears fixes his responsibility; to be less than a gentleman is to disgrace it and to injure the fraternity. The same principle which led the hero of one of Balzac's most touching stories to lay off his badge of the Legion of Honor while suffering reproach, and to replace it upon his breast, when at the cost of his life he had retrieved his character, is, on a lower plane, active among students.

But the members of the fraternities are not only under this

healthful pressure from without; they are generally under good influences from within. Very soon after a fraternity is founded it has a body of graduates sobered by the duties and experiences of life. This body very soon outnumbers the undergraduate members. These graduates naturally scan closely their brethren in the colleges, and are the first to condemn any conduct among them likely to injure the fraternity. No chapter can afford to lose the approval of its graduates: every chapter must maintain such a character that the graduate brotherhood will be willing to recommend it to younger men entering college, to send their pupils or sons into it, and to contribute to building or other expenses which would bear too heavily upon the undergraduate members.

Here is a vast difference between respectable, permanent fraternities and all temporary clubs. A typical result of the desire of undergraduate members to keep the approval of their graduate brothers is seen in the fact that intoxicating drinks have been rigorously excluded from the chapter-rooms of all fraternities I have known; frequently by the vote of undergraduates not themselves abstainers. On the other hand, it is within my knowledge that temporary clubs formed among students who have not entered fraternities—clubs having no reputation to maintain, no responsibility to any fraternity, and under no healthful influences from graduate members—have often become excessively convivial.

While college fraternities thus reduce the evils of student social groups, they can be made a very useful adjunct in college discipline. The usual chapter organization establishes a kind of solidarity between its twenty or thirty undergraduate members: all are to a certain extent responsible for each, and each for all. I know that other college officers, as well as myself, have availed themselves of this relation for the good of all concerned. More than once, when some member of a fraternity has been careless in conduct or study, I have summoned senior members of his chapter, discussed the matter confidentially with them, dwelt upon the injury the man was doing to his fraternity, and insisted that it must reform him or remove him. This expedient has often succeeded when all others

had failed. The older members of various fraternities have frequently thus devoted themselves to the younger in a way which would do honor to a brother laboring for a brother. It is within my knowledge that a considerable number of young men have thus been rescued from courses which might have brought great sorrow to them and to their families.

While the fraternities have thus been made useful to individuals, they have another use to the great body of American colleges and universities as a whole. One of the less fortunate things in American advanced education is that the various institutions of learning in the country are so separated from each other by space and sectarian bias. As a rule, each is more or less in a state of isolation. To meet this difficulty, we have, indeed, in the State of New York, a very valuable institution, the Board of Regents, which, in addition to other services, brings together, once or twice a year, representatives of all the colleges, to discuss questions of living interest and to establish personal acquaintance; but in the Union at large there is nothing akin to this. In England, the two great universities are so near each other, and so near London as a center, that there is no such isolation. In Germany the universities are all within a geographical space not so large as one of our great States, and the students pass freely from one to another. Here there is almost complete isolation, and the larger college fraternities serve a good purpose in frequently bringing together members of the various institutions: graduates and undergraduates, professors and students, thus meet, and so do something to create a common interest, and to arouse a friendly feeling. It may not be the best sort of meeting, but it is better than none.

Again, the fraternities, while reducing the evils of social gatherings to a minimum, bring out of them some positive good. The question is, Shall these gatherings be fit for gentlemen, or shall they degenerate into carousals? The advantage of the better fraternities is, that on them are various healthful restraints which hinder such degeneration. Graduate members are frequently present; they may be members of the faculty, citizens of the adjacent town, teachers visiting former pupils, clergymen visiting parishioners, fathers visiting sons; in any case, they lift

the gathering into a far better region than it would probably attain without such influence.

As such old members come into a chapter session, note the places of old friends long gone, and hear the old songs sung, a flood of recollections comes in upon them. They are sure, when called upon, as they always are, to speak to their younger brethren from the heart, and few speakers are more likely to find their way to the hearts of the listeners.

And here it is proper to touch upon one of the more recent developments in the better American fraternities—the establishment of chapter-houses, in which the members of a chapter have not only their hall for literary exercises, but lodgings, study rooms, library, parlors, and the like. This is, I think, a distinct advance. While giving comfortable quarters and civilizing surroundings at reasonable prices, it brings into the undergraduate mind a healthful sense of responsibility. One of the greatest difficulties with American students has risen from the fact that they have been considered neither as men, to be subjected to the laws governing the public at large, nor as boys, to be subjected to the discipline of the preparatory schools. Some of the consequences of this abnormal condition have been wretched. Place twenty or thirty students in the ordinary college dormitory, and there will be carelessness, uproar, and destruction; but place the same number of men belonging to any good fraternity in a chapter-house of their own, and the point of honor is changed; the house will be well cared for and quiet. I recently visited one of these chapter-houses after an absence of a year; the rooms and furniture were as well kept as when I left it. The reason is simple: the young occupants had been brought into a sense of proprietorship, into a feeling of responsibility for the maintenance of the property and its reputation.

Socially, too, there is an advantage. Nothing has pleased me more of late years than to see various fraternities of the better sort giving, in their chapter-houses, simple receptions and entertainments, to which not only members of faculty and town families were invited, but also the older members of other fraternities. This marks a breaking away from what to my mind has always been the main objection to these organizations,

namely, the growth in many cases of a petty, narrow, contemptible clique spirit; and it indicates a recognition of the paramount relation of student to student, of man to man.

I have taken part in several such gatherings at various chapter-houses, and can think of no wiser thing that wealthy graduates can do, in testifying kindly feeling toward their respective fraternities, than to aid in the erection and endowment of such houses, as good centers for college social and literary life.

Several times, during visits to Oxford and Cambridge, I have been asked regarding the provision in American colleges for healthful social relations between teachers and taught, and between older and younger students. In answering, I have spoken of the chapter-houses as to some extent supplying in American universities what is given in the English universities by the collegiate bodies, with their separate houses and fraternal feelings. Each system enables students to live in comfortable quarters at moderate cost, and with men interested in their purposes and anxious for their success. What Walter de Merton had in mind when he established the first of the colleges at Oxford seems to be the very thing sought for in these more humble American establishments. And when I told my questioners that the members of the fraternities living in various chapter-houses, though frequently visited in a social way by members of the faculty, were under no control in ordinary matters save their own, that no proctor or tutor lived with them, that no gate-book was kept, there was an expression of great surprise. It seemed impossible to the college officers about me, that a body of twenty or thirty undergraduates, living together in a house of their own, could thus be trusted. I answered that they could be trusted, that the trust thus reposed in them was an educating force of high value, and that I should not be sorry to see the whole body of students in the university with which I was connected divided into fraternities, each living upon the university grounds in its own house, with full responsibility for its keeping and character, and never to be interfered with until it proved its incapacity for proper self-government.

Again, a distinct purpose of these associations is culture in some worthy field of intellectual activity. If properly kept up,

the exercises for such a purpose can be made useful. It has always seemed to me far wiser for college authorities to stimulate the undergraduates to profit by such opportunities than to waste time in declaiming against the fraternities altogether. It is an advantage that thus, in the midst of a small and friendly body, young men of quiet, scholarly tastes are enabled to make a beginning of literary or oratorical effort, and so to prepare themselves for efforts on a larger field, where there is more competition and less forbearance.

Finally, the recognition of these organizations by university authorities seems wise, because in this way alone can a college easily rid itself of any fraternity exercising an influence for evil.

To get rid of such, a few American institutions of learning have endeavored to drive out all the fraternities. These efforts have generally proved futile. In one of the larger institutions where such an attempt was made, fraternity badges were for years worn beneath the students' coats, meetings were held by stealth, and a system of casuistry was adopted by the members, when questioned by the faculty, exceedingly injurious to the students from a moral point of view. Another result was that these chapters thus driven into secrecy were restrained from intercourse with their graduate members and rapidly degenerated.

Still another effect was that, there being no means of distinguishing the members of any fraternity, the faculty could exercise no healthful influence upon them through their brethren. Moreover, a general repressive policy defeats its own purpose, and deprives the college authorities of the power to rid themselves of any particular fraternity that is really evil. For, when an attempt is made to drive out all the fraternities, all will stand by each other to the last. They will simply conceal their badges, and band themselves together as a wretched, occult, demoralizing power. On the other hand, if each fraternity is allowed to exist upon its merits, any one thought by a college faculty to be injurious can be easily driven out. It is one of the simplest things imaginable. I have myself thus driven out an old and wide-spread fraternity, which was doing injury to its members. This was done by giving a simple public statement of the reasons why young men should keep out of it.

All the other organizations, and, indeed, the whole body of students, recognized the justice of the action and fully acquiesced. On another occasion, the mere threat of such a public denunciation had the effect to reform a large and influential fraternity.

And now, as to the arguments used against the fraternities. There are several entitled to careful attention. The first generally is, that they are secret. Regarding this, I think it may be justly said that their secrecy is rather nominal than real. There are few executive officers in our larger institutions of learning who have not a fair knowledge of the interior organization and working of those with which they have to do. Their secrecy is generally nothing more than keeping from the public the motto for which their letters stand, and the direction of their literary activity. I confess myself unable to see how any question can be raised as to their right to reticence on these points. An eminent American divine, the head of one of the largest New England universities, whose wisdom and wit have delighted many of us, speaking upon this question, said: "If I unite with a dozen friends once a week for social or literary improvement, I know of no law, human or divine, that compels me to give an account of my doings to Tutor Tidball." And on this very question of secrecy, as a simple matter of fact, membership of college fraternities seems frequently to exhaust the desire of young men for entrance into secret organizations, and to keep them from entering the greater secret societies of the world at large. A bitter enemy of the great secret benevolent societies of the country once compared them to the small-pox; if this be just, entrance into the college fraternities might be considered, perhaps, as a vaccination.

Again, it is objected that the literary exercises in these chapters of twenty or thirty men stand in the way of the more important exercises of the larger open literary societies. This is, probably, to a considerable extent, true. Yet, in justice, it must be said that some other causes have done much to weaken the large open societies. They have declined in a very striking manner at one of our greater universities, where the college fraternities have hardly had any existence; still this charge has more truth in it than any man devoted to our higher education

could wish. But it is an evil which can be removed: half the lung power expended by college officers in declaiming against the fraternities would, if exercised in favor of the open literary societies, obviate it. The literary exercises of the various chapters could be made to strengthen the exercises of the open societies, becoming an introduction and preparation for them.

Again, it is said that the fraternities take part in college politics. This is true. They seem to hold a relation to college politics like that held by the guilds to the mediæval municipalities. But, after all, is this not simply one form of an evil which, in some form, is, as things go at present, inevitable? Would not cliques, clubs, parties, and intrigues exercise an influence in student elections if no fraternities existed? Bring together a mere score of students in the smallest of American colleges, and party politics will be at once developed. It seems a result of our American atmosphere.

Again, it is said that the fraternities produce narrowness and cliquishness. There is enough truth in this to make it the duty of every chapter to guard against these evils. But do we not err in attributing to the fraternities what is frequently the outcome of individual character? Coming out of church, once, after hearing a clergyman preach a sermon which showed the most astounding narrowness of vision and thought, one of my neighbors said to me: "That sermon of the Rev. Mr. — does not surprise me. We were members of the same fraternity in college, and he regarded all students outside of it with abhorrence or contempt, just as he now regards all people outside his sect." In this case, as in many others, narrowness was an individual characteristic which would have betrayed itself under any circumstances.

Every large college has now so many organizations of various sorts, and every student stands in so many different relations to his fellows, that cliquishness is, it seems to me, diminishing. I have found, too, in my own administration, that a little common-sense ridicule poured, from time to time, upon fraternity narrowness, has a very useful effect.

But an objection is urged which surprises me much. This

is that membership in organizations not open to the public takes the place of family life. This would seem an argument in favor of the fraternities. The vast majority of students at college have no family life. They are far from their homes, and a fraternity properly organized has, in more than one case, supplied perhaps the best substitute possible for the family relation. Any properly constituted chapter contains steady, thoughtful, earnest men who exercise almost a parental care over younger members. I speak from experience. An ounce of fact is worth a pound of theory. Not to mention others, how can I forget T. F. D., whom we used to speak of as "the bishop," and who would, since that, have been really a bishop had he possessed a spark of worldly ambition? Who, in a certain Yale chapter of 1852-53, does not remember his laugh as the heartiest, his fun as the best, his scholarship as the most inspiring, his counsel as the most disinterested, and his kind, serious words of warning as the most precious?

Objection is also made on the score of expense. This objection takes two forms. First, it is said that the money given to fraternity purposes would be more useful if applied to something else. This argument goes a great way. It is equally good against eating a sweet potato or an oyster. Strictly adhered to, it would reduce each of us to a certain number of ounces of the plainest food that would maintain life. It is equally cogent against the wearing of anything save the roughest and most serviceable fabrics. Pictures, engravings, beautiful books, works of art, would be equally under the ban. It can be used with killing effect against a ministerial tea-party or an alumni dinner; against the great majority of church bells and steeples; indeed, against every sort of edifice for religious purposes save an oblong box with square windows. Methinks I hear a voice, "Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?" but I hear also that other utterance, "Man shall not live by bread alone."

But the objection on the score of expense is stated in another way, which seems to me entitled to more careful consideration. It is said that students have sometimes been led into an outlay for social gatherings, chapter-houses, and the like, which they

could ill afford. Here is certainly a point where every fraternity ought to be on its guard. All Americans are interested in keeping down any tendency to extravagance in our institutions of learning. Such tendencies do exist both within and without the fraternities, and they ought to be fought at every point. So far as they exist within the fraternities they are simply bubbles upon the stream of American life. College life has been made somewhat more luxurious, just as home and hotel life have, but not, on the whole, to so great a degree, save in one or two of the greater institutions, which are powerfully influenced from neighboring luxurious cities. The colleges and universities more remote from the cities are by no means luxurious. Still, constant effort should be made in the fraternities to keep expenses down. The social gatherings should be made simple, the chapter-houses, while roomy and comfortable, should not be extravagant; building committees should bear in mind that two-thirds of the "Queen Anne" and other decorations lavished upon houses will within twenty years be thrown into the rubbish heap. Wealthy graduates should do what they can to provide for their respective chapters suitable houses, and, when this is done, scholarship endowments, which would diminish the expenses of members of small means. This done, the fraternities could justly boast that they diminish undergraduate expenses rather than increase them. It is a fact within my knowledge that, owing to contributions of this sort, life in some of the fraternity houses is cheaper than life of a similar sort outside.

But there is a duty here for college officers. It has been my practice, during my entire executive connection with Cornell University, to have at the beginning of every year a simple "public talk" with the entering class—a sort of free-and-easy discussion of college life, with indications of some things best to do, and some things not best. I have always cautioned these youths regarding the college fraternities, advising them not to be in haste to enroll themselves, to look closely at the men with whom they would be thus associated, and to count the cost. I have thought this wiser than to indulge in general denunciations, which leave the student just where he was before, since he regards them as purely conventional, professional, goody-

goody, Sunday-school talk, and very rarely takes them into the account in shaping his course.

And finally, it is said that a number of the most venerated officers of American colleges have declared against the fraternities. This is true; but it is quite as true that just as many venerated officers have declared against other things in the development of the American university system which have been established in spite of them, and which have turned out to be blessings. Perhaps one trouble with some of these excellent men is that they are so venerable. There is no step in the progress of colleges and universities that has not been earnestly opposed on apparently cogent grounds by most worthy college officers. While the objections to college fraternities have come from some of the best men in our country, I think that it will be found that, as a rule, they have never known the better fraternities save from the outside. Their arguments seem based entirely on theory; and nothing is more misleading than *a priori* argument regarding institutions. In such a way republican government and every form of association into which men have grouped themselves, religious or political, have been argued down. The true question is, Are the fraternities as a fact, under all the circumstances of the case, more powerful for evil than for good? My contention is that they reduce certain inevitable evils in college life to a minimum, that they produce good in many ways, and that, when college authorities deal with them in a large-minded spirit, they can be made to do still more good.

ANDREW D. WHITE.

## THE INDIANS IN 1887.

AN Indian who visited Washington in 1880 made this speech in the sign language: "Four years ago the American people promised to be friends with us. They lied. That is all."\* This oration combined the severity of an indictment with the highest eloquence and pathos. Were its allegations true?

The Superintendent of Indian Instruction says: "In fact, there has never been a time since the settlement of the country until a comparatively recent period when they [the Indians] have not been treated as enemies, both by the government and the white settlers occupying the adjoining territory to that occupied by them."† As far as relates to the government, or to the mass of the American people, this assertion cannot be maintained upon the evidence of history. From the days of John Eliot till to-day the enlightened sentiment of the whites has been full of pity for the Indians, and of desire to do anything possible to civilize and Christianize them. The actions of the government have been guided by the same disposition in almost all cases. The American people have never intended to lie to the Indians.

Nevertheless we have not far to go to find grounds for the assertion which the Indian made. The white men landed on the coast half dependent on the hospitality of the Indians for the means of living through the first winter. They "bought" of the Indians a little land on which to found a settlement. The Indians never had any conception of what was meant by the whites when they talked about "buying" or owning land. The two parties to the contract did not understand each other, and it may be doubted whether they ever have understood each other since. The white men increased in number, encroached upon the hunt-

\* "Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," 1879-80, p. 526.

† "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," 1886, p. lxxxiv. This document is hereafter cited as "Report."

ing-grounds, and threatened the means of subsistence of the Indians. Collisions occurred, with outrages, revenge, and chastisement. A new line of demarkation was drawn, far within the wild territory. The white men grew up to it, and the old story began over again. Hence it seemed to the Indians that the white man was always promising and always breaking his promise.

Neither the white man nor the Indian could desist from the conflict. If the white man had desisted, he must have left some large part of the continent in the hands of savages. Schoolcraft says that "from some data which have been employed, it is doubtful whether an area of less than 50,000 acres, left in the forest state, is more than enough to sustain by the chase a single hunter."\* Even at the present time, the population of the Indian Territory is about that of New Haven, and the area is greater than that of New England.† The total reservation area in the United States is 212,466 square miles.‡ The Indians on reservation number, as reported, 247,761.§ The average distribution, therefore, would be 550 acres per Indian soul, or, approximately, 2,000 acres for a family. There are in the Indian Territory, west of long.  $98^{\circ}$ , 7,000 Indians on an area which, at 100 acres to a family of five, would support a population equal to that of Connecticut.|| Even at this rate, the Indians cannot get their living out of the land they occupy, but must be supported by the white tax-payers.¶ Can the white man, with his power of using the soil, be expected to allow the claim of the red man to the land when the latter uses it in this way?

If the Indian had desisted, he must have adjusted himself to the changed state of things on this continent, and must have become a civilized man. Those who think of such a thing as possible must think that a boy of five could range himself on the plane of men of fifty, assuming equal rights and duties with them. The anthropologists teach us that our own ancestors

\* "The Indian Tribes of the United States," I., 433. See another estimate, V., 485.

† "Report," p. xii. ‡ *Ibid.*, 391. § *Ibid.*, 410. || *Ibid.*, xiii.

¶ Of the support of the reservation Indians 68 per cent. is obtained by civilized pursuits; 9 per cent. by hunting and fishing; 23 per cent. from government rations.—"Report," 424.

spent hundreds of generations on the pastoral stage, between the hunting life of the Indian and the simplest form of agricultural life. The Indian is asked to make this step in a generation or two.

Between 1830 and 1837 the Indians of the Gulf States, being encroached upon by the whites in the manner already described, were compelled to migrate west of the Mississippi. This was regarded at the time by humane people, and it stands in history, as an instance of the white man's cruelty and oppression. In order to get rid for the time of a troublesome question, Congress marked off a territory in what was then the heart of the wilderness. It was easy to put into the laws and treaties wide and strong guarantees that the Indians should forever have undisturbed possession of this tract. To-day the Indians are in possession of a great empire. The transplantation of 1836, now an item of the general charge against the whites and of the "century of dishonor," turns out to have been a reckless gift to the Indians, and a short-sighted sacrifice of the just rights and interests of the whites of a generation later. No duke and no peerage in the world would be allowed to bar public interests by vested rights as the civilized Indians bar the development of the United States, standing on their treaties. No example of landlordism or of evils from private property in land can be brought forward to compare with the mischiefs of communal property in land in this case. If, now, the whites keep these treaties, the charge against them of having been cruel in 1836 must be withdrawn. If they do not keep the treaties, it will only prove that, in the course of time and change, they cannot maintain vested rights unchanged in form against new rights and interests, for Indians, any more than they do so for each other.

The reservation system is anomalous and irrational to an extraordinary degree. To make a reservation now is worse than to convert so much territory into a lake. If there were a lake, boats could be put upon it for transportation without legal delays and difficulties, which is not the case with a reservation.\* The Constitution and the laws would have course over a lake, which they have not, except as regards some vague application

\* "Report," pp. xxxi.-xxxv.

of the Constitution,\* on a reservation. "Cowmen, farming intruders, coal and timber thieves, tramps, vagrants, refugees from justice, professional thieves, and whisky peddlers" could not infest a lake as they do a reservation.†

It appears clear that the Indians have never wanted to be civilized; that they do not know what it means; that they do not understand what the white man is doing with them, or what he wants them to do. They do not understand the sense or purpose of the distributions of rations and money.‡ They have contempt for the white man's ways. They want to be left to sink down into squalor and neglect, and to die out, as they undoubtedly would, if the supporting hand of the whites were withdrawn. Even of the five civilized tribes, only one-fifth are reported, by estimate, as able to read English, and less than a quarter of them, and about one-seventh of all the reservation Indians, are estimated to be able to use English in ordinary intercourse.§ The agents, who are their guides, fathers, friends, rulers, or servants,|| as the case may be, and through whom all communications of the "American people" come to them, are changed constantly, and the result is capricious and arbitrary management. A comparison of the agents' reports for three years back, in reference to the same tribes, shows beginnings left inchoate, or swept away by some new notion; also the most astonishing divergence in the descriptions of the same tribes.¶

One is at a loss how to describe the Indians on a reservation. In reading the reports one is sometimes tempted to class them as caged wild animals; again, as prisoners of war or outlaws or paupers; but then again as parasites, pensioners, or lords of the manor. Off a reservation, a white man and a negro are equal, and both are superior to an Indian, who is nothing. On a reservation, a white man is allowed to become as good as an Indian

\* "Senate Document, 49th Cong., 1st Sess. Report, 1278," II., 406; cited below as "Senate Document."

† "Report," 157. There is a great deal of lawlessness in the Indian Territory.—"Senate Document," II., 211, and f. 365.

‡ "Report," 84. § *Ibid.*, 398, 399, 410. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. li.

¶ *Ibid.*, 136. In the "Report" for 1886, it is noticeable how many agents are giving their first report.

by marrying an Indian woman. In some tribes this privilege is also allowed to negroes, but in others not, the Indians holding negroes in contempt. One aged Cherokee boldly denied that all men are equal.\*

Such being the state of things, one is not surprised to learn that there are some good whites on the reservations of the Indian Territory, but that, in general, the whites there are worthless and troublesome. When a United States judge was consulted as to the advisability of transferring his court to some point in the Territory, he answered that his life would be in danger, and other witnesses corroborated his opinion.† A Massachusetts man, who had taught school in the Indian Territory, affirmed that the life there is demoralizing for a white man. ‡

The civilized Indian tribes own the land in common, and any one who regards communal property in land with interest need not go to the Russian Mir or the Swiss Allemend to study it. He can see it here in full operation. The commissioner says that common property in land "is the fundamental error from which proceed the troubles which afflict the five nations. The practical operation of this system of holding creates an aristocracy out of a few wealthy and powerful leaders, while the poor, although equal owners, are so impoverished as not to be able to assert their equal rights of property and manhood." § Any Indian is allowed to go to work on any unoccupied piece of ground which suits him. He has property in all his improvements, so long as he keeps them up, and there is no limit to the amount of land which he may take by this tenure. In the weary story of shiftlessness and pauperization which the reports contain, the brightest spot is the account given by the commissioner, || out of his own observation, of a fine estate in the Creek country, with "a costly residence," and "large, commodious barns, stables," etc. This farm consisted of a thousand acres. The commissioner finds here, however, only occasion for fault-finding. He stigmatizes this owner as "enterprising and self-seeking," "a monopolist," etc. The owner is represented as grinding down the

\* "Senate Document," II., 74. Red and black have separate schools.

† *Ibid.*, II., 410, 423.

§ "Report," p. x.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 364.

|| *Ibid.*, p. vi.

laborers, whom he employs at sixteen dollars a month, and depriving them of *their* share in the land which he uses, although there is an indefinite amount of land open to them, if they choose to work it.\* Sixteen dollars a month cannot be low wages in the Territory, since the Indian police are paid from five to eight dollars, and their officers only ten,† and they have to furnish their own horses. The idea, however, that a man who improves common land is depriving his co-proprietors of a share in *his* improvements is worth attention. The people who talk about land as a "boon of nature" never propose to take the boon where it is, *i. e.*, where the land is in a state of nature, for there they would find that the "boon" was only a chance to win a living by very hard work. They want a share in the land where somebody has already done the hard work necessary to turn the boon into something which is comparatively easy to use, and from which an immediate return can be obtained. If the most "enterprising and self-seeking" amongst the Indians would go forward and organize the industry, employing the less competent on wages, that would be the most hopeful thing that could happen. In default of that system, the tendency now is for the Indians to rent their improvements to white men or half-breeds. Within a few years the proposition has been made to the civilized tribes to rent for cattle ranges the vast idle territory above described as belonging to them. They have generally accepted the plan with avidity. A tribe of Indians thus becomes a landlord on an imperial scale.‡ The reservation system gives the land to Indians who cannot use it. The white men who could use it are not allowed to do so. The renting system steps over these obstacles, but it must produce upon the Indians about the same effects as the rations and supplies now given to them by the government. The evidence is overwhelming that the gratuitous distributions

\* There are 14,000 Creeks on a territory equal to Connecticut. They own coal mines, which they lease, but will not work in them.—"Senate Document," II., 228.

† "Report," pp. xxix., 160; "Senate Document," II., 211.

‡ The Cherokees leased 6,000,000 acres for \$100,000, being over \$5 for every man, woman, and child in the nation, per annum. They can let it for two or three times that sum when the lease falls in. The area is equal to Massachusetts and Rhode Island.—"Senate Document," I., 553.

keep the Indians in laziness and misery.\* The Indian is so much like a white man that he will let some one else do the work, if he can get his own living in that way as well as by working himself.† A small living which comes in that way is also better to him than any living which he could get by working. The reservation system tends, therefore, to make the Indian a landlord of the worst kind,‡ both in his individual capacity and as a member of his tribe.

In accordance with the prevailing fashion of thought amongst us, we have endeavored to educate the Indians—that is, to give them some instruction in reading and writing. The reports are not encouraging as to the results. The children do not attend regularly,§ and they learn by rote, since they do not understand English, and the teachers do not understand the Indian dialect.|| Education, however, means much more than schooling, and the part of it which is most essential consists in making a human being understand what kind of a place this world is, what one's relations to it are, and, consequently, what one's rights, duties, and responsibilities are. This education is just what the reservation Indians are prevented from getting.

The policy for some time past has been to induce Indians to become farmers. All the efforts of the department have been in this direction. It is a fair question to raise whether this is not a mistake. As was above noticed, there is a whole stage of civilization between hunting and agriculture. It seems reasonable that the Indians should be led through this stage, and not lifted over it. The evidence in the documents is ample that the Indians learn herding more easily than tilling the ground, and that the work is in several respects more fitted to them.¶ The objection made is that they would be improvident, and would eat up the cattle at once; that they cannot engage in an industry

\* "Report," 216, 228, 257. Of the Shawnees, who are well spoken of, it is said that they never had rations or annuities.—"Report," 143. The Delawares are retrograding.—*Ibid.*, 128. They get \$50 a year each, man, woman, and child—"Senate Document," II., 144. The agent at Yakama reports well of his charge; no annuities.

† "Senate Document," II., 136, 371.

‡ *Ibid.*, II., 368.

§ *Ibid.*, II., 137, 362; I., 159.

|| *Ibid.*, II., 181.

¶ "Report," 130; "Senate Document," II., 138, 278.

where a long time must elapse before returns come in. It appears, however, that they are improvident now with the tools and machines provided for them,\* and it would not seem more difficult to teach them prudence in one industry than in another. Indeed, so far as there is now any distinct hope for the Indian, it lies in the fact that he is beginning to take up herding on his own behalf, led by the profit, the opportunity, and the capacity which he possesses.

It is also frequently reported that Indians are engaged in freighting, and that they do it well;† also, that they show capacity for light mechanical employments.‡ This last is not strange. In their wild state they had already developed much skill in those arts which belong to the hunting stage. It seems worthy of consideration whether there might not be more wisdom in following these leadings than in insisting that the Indians must follow lines of civilization laid down for them. It would be interesting to know whether there is a full-blood Indian in the United States who has tilled, with his own hands, ten acres of land for three years in succession.§

The new law of Congress, passed at the recent session, provides that the president may cause a reservation to be divided, giving each adult head of a family a quarter section, and each child under eighteen a sixteenth of a section. The United States Government holds the same in trust for the Indians for twenty-five years. The rest of the reservation is to be bought by the United States, by agreement with the Indians, and the stipulated sum is to be held at three per cent. interest for the benefit of the tribe. This act does not apply to the lands of the civilized tribes in the Indian Territory. By this arrangement the Indians become endowed in perpetuity, and hold land by a limited entail.

The Indian cannot long avoid the test which every other man has to meet—whether he is worth having in this world, and whether he can take the responsibility for himself. The most sensible opinions that I have found in the documents are those

\* "Report," p. xxiii.      † *Ibid.*, 35, 174, 212.      ‡ *Ibid.*, 190.

§ The number of full-blood Indians reported as engaged in agriculture is 24,605.—*Ibid.*, 424.

of Captain Pratt, of the Carlisle school. He appears to feel that it is a doubtful kindness to an Indian boy to educate him, and then send him back to a reservation, *déclassé*. Such a boy either must be isolated, or must retrograde to the Indian level.\* Captain Pratt says: †

“The lines of Indian civilization and progress are to be found in opening the ways into civilization and in encouraging the Indians to enter, and are not to be found in continuing the systems which segregate them from civilizing principles and opportunities. . . . Indian life, with its ignorance, degradation, and savagery, together with its engrafted pauperizing reservation life and systems, is only possible by continuing the Indian in that life, or remanding him inexorably to it. . . . So far as I can see, there is no good reason why the Indians should remain Indians and tribes, pensioners, and disturbers of the public peace, blocking the way of civilization and commerce, any longer. . . . I have little hope of much success in elevating the Indians, until the Indian is made an individual, and worked upon as such, with a view of incorporating him on our side.”

W. G. SUMNER.

\* Cf. “Report,” 117.

† *Ibid.*, 19, 20.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

If one were asked what five books he held to be of supreme worth, the question would have peculiar difficulties. This worth must be measured by its relation to the prosperity of the race; and this prosperity may be of an artistic, a social, or a spiritual order. In each case it needs to be defined, and the connection of these works of genius with it to be pointed out.

If one be asked the more manageable, and, on the whole, the more interesting questions, What part have books played in his own experience? What works have helped him in his intellectual life? an answer which shall be intelligible to comparative strangers must be accompanied by at least a hasty indication of what that life has been. Unless one is to fall into a simple laudation of a limited number of works, surrounded by many others of like and even greater merit, he must approach at once the vital point, What books have touched my life most directly, and in what ways have they touched it? An answer to these questions must leave out many supreme productions in literature, because the special life of a given person has not called for them.

My life, from the time I left college, has been pre-eminently meditative and thoughtful. I have given myself, with ever-returning assiduity, to religious, philosophical, and social inquiries, with a willingness to work over the same ground many times if thereby any new results could be secured. No question in these departments has ever arisen in my mind without occasioning constant uneasiness till I could dispose of it, and so escape it, by a proximately satisfactory answer. I started with a rigid puritanic nurture, and with a New England training in Scottish philosophy, the most dogmatic form of philosophy. I was always very sensitive to spiritual sentiment, and to the precise spiritual sentiment by which I was surrounded, and yet was studiously, though not rebelliously, critical of it. The result has been that,

without passing through any phase of disbelief, I have broken with all rigorous religious dogma, and allowed the religious impulses to overflow freely, so it seems to me, into the truly ethical, spiritual world about me. One must express in a matter of this kind his own impression, and my impression has come to be that most religious doctrines are frozen fountains, whose diminished and unserviceable waters are hidden under the ice of a dreary winter. They all wait to be loosened and replenished by the warm rains of spring. In winning my intellectual liberty, there has ever been a spirit in me which has taken sides with my adversary. I have, therefore, not gained an inch till I have sorely needed it, and have not lost an inch that I have once gained.

This forward movement has been forced upon me by a general—a purely general—familiarity with science, which I have cultivated for this very purpose—a breaking up of limits, the maintenance of the mind in a free, constructive activity. Of course, this one fact indicates a large service which books have rendered to me, and much labor on my part in their use. All works that have shown any wide mastery of sound relations in science have been of supreme interest, from those of Darwin outward and downward. I have been led to accept the doctrine of evolution, not in its strict, but in its theistic, form, and this means thorough and general reconstruction in the spiritual world. Evolution—in the form in which I would hold it, that of rational development—has been the one supremely productive thought in our time, and all processes have been fruitful according as they have stood in connection with it.

When the question is pressed back as to particular books, it cannot be answered by mentioning any one of the large number of books as giving the facts which are the grounds of this change of conception, but only by referring to books that have sustained the tone and temper of the mind in its pursuit of truth, made it bold, yet trustful, eager, yet restrained, hopeful, yet coherent and cautious. Recently, Amiel's "Journal," much earlier the works of Bushnell, the "Sermons" of Robertson, rendered me this superior service. I bring them forward as one book, for, in very different degrees and ways, they have all the one spirit by which we are taught to see the world as the visible record of

thought, invisible and truly imperishable. These books are full of life and so nourish life. The growth—if it be growth—that I have made, traveling with things and with men and with God, is precisely this: finding a living, rational presence, pure and inspiring, in events that seem to hide it, but deeply contain it; learning to read this world as one may learn to read a drama, or to keep movement with the rhythm of a lyric.

In philosophy I have worked over a great deal of rubbish, the fruit of the empirical tendency of our time; content, like a geological enthusiast, to find one thing among a hundred worth saving. The moment a philosophy has seemed to me to leave facts and to sail out on the waste sea of verbal construction, finding its only clew in a phosphorescent trail left behind it, the instant I was sure of this tendency, I have forsaken it.

The one certain principle in all true art is, that the intangible must be made tangible, the divine must be incarnate, philosophy must illuminate the world and shine through the world—the very familiar, but the very divine, world—in which we all are. I have often found it worth my while, like an art student, to leave familiar galleries, with their familiar objects, and to seek those places where actual exploration and excavation were in progress, however meager the results at any one moment might seem to be. All this labor in the dirt philosophy—I have always wished to delve to the very depths of the dirt philosophy for this very reason—has only made me more sure that the divine thing in the world is the human mind, that its powers are its own, in eternal expansion, indeed, but also in eternal possession. Mind alone sees. He that has eyes to see, let him see.

But the empirical tendency struggles to meet the supreme principle of art. The invisible must be made visible; the visible must receive, hold, and transmit the divine impulse; and, therefore, with much gleaning and frequent thanks, I have traveled through many works of empirical philosophy, but never for an instant have ranked any one of them among the very elect. I should, in philosophy, give this position to Mill's treatise "On Liberty," or John Morley's work on "Compromise," or on "Voltaire," or on "Rousseau." All these again are one, as filling

the mind with a spirit of fairness and largeness, and lodging it in the hands of that inner revelation of truth which is always and everywhere God's word.

No man who loves philosophical and spiritual truth as a concrete expression of the mind of God, can keep aloof from social, historical questions. Here are these truths in their dynamic, evolutionary form, and here one loves to watch them, with that eternal sense of motion which is, indeed, the very substance of things, and expounds them all. When one goes to history wisely, he goes to it as the highest expression and most certain measure of truth. Even if he goes to it from what he regards as revelation, the light he carries must, none the less, be able to disclose the coherent relation of these facts, and to find clear reflection in them. Whatever else is or is not divine, history, as a spiritual record and a moral government, is divine, and the darkness we seek to scatter is the darkness that hovers over it; the day we wish to dawn is the day that is to shine upon it as the fulfillment of the divine grace. What evolution has been to all the detached facts of science, weaving them together as a record of well-ordered forces, that is history to all personal spiritual truths, disclosing the field in which they arise and the significant part they play in it. The dogmas deduced from revelation have always suffered, and often greatly suffered, from not accepting the full correction of the works of God—that moral creation that is going on about us. These truths must run parallel, fully, freely parallel, with that extended record of spiritual events to which they apply. No sooner is this felt than something very like a new theology springs up, which is nothing more than the concrete side of revelation. All study in humanities leads us to history, and history binds together all the facts that touch human life, disclosing to us their real trend. Hence, one whose mind is at all deeply moved with an inquiry into the world as a spiritual world, must go often to history, and find here, even in remote places and in events long passed, much of his best interpretation; pregnant truths that begin, like stars, to turn the spaces that encompass him into one empyrean.

The authors who now render this service in a greater or less degree are fortunately many; and one who wishes to strengthen

his grasp of invisible things by seeing the gleam of light which follows the onward flow of spiritual events, has not far to go. Mommsen and Ranke may well enough stand for this truly prophetic vision, that lays down base-lines of unmistakable measurement amid the scenic fluctuations of historic events; for that insight which enables one to say, These principles are not principles present to my mind simply; they have wrought as ruling forces in the grandest events known to us, and so have settled and are settling human destinies.

Steel is made steel by cooling as well as by heating. Forms of reading that look to relaxation are only one degree less influential than those which intensify the thoughts and kindle the feelings. Being always tempted to a more coherent and vigorous movement of mind than my nervous system could well maintain, I have found novel-reading profitable. This reading has not extended over a very wide range, but I have returned to it often for brief intervals as giving tranquillity to faculties that would not sink at once into repose. Absolute idleness is often another kind of fatigue, and a kind especially irritating to the moral nature. The judgment is not able to overpower a tendency to activity which one may well enough call irrational. A secret hunger of the mind remains unappeased, and blights rest itself. When, therefore, no definite physical exertion, or physical repose after physical fatigue, is in order, the good novel spreads out a chapter of life which may be looked on lazily and restfully, like a fine view from the summit of a mountain.

I find myself, as years multiply, inclined to return with most relish to Walter Scott, because of the supreme reality, out-door freshness, and simplicity of his stories. They are not disguised philosophy or disguised anything else, but they are the vivacious, adequate impressions of a mind thoroughly sincere and wholesome in its sympathy with men and things. "The Fair Maid of Perth" or "Old Mortality" brings, to one who is no longer tempted to quicken his pace by the fascination of a story, pleasant thoughts of pleasant people, and sharp resentment for wicked ones—a mixed assembly, such as has made the world, everywhere and at all times, hopeful and fearful, a land whose clouds veil but do not extinguish its sunlight.

Certainly, another want remains, beyond those either of work or relaxation, and that is of æsthetic pleasure. In one very important sense, this is the want of wants. The pietism and asceticism of religion often, it seems to me, arise in a narrow, privative way from the lack, in some one direction, of a truly spiritual, æsthetic elevation, a robust embodiment of divine affections in substantial, sensuous forms. The highest impulse of art is the realization of the least tangible tendencies of mind in suitable products, and this impulse is every way akin to true religion. Pietism may easily become severe, asceticism sour; but the outward movement of the mind toward things and persons that contain and express the subtlety of the divine thought, the delicate relish of the divine grace, can be neither the one nor the other. The pleasure of visible perfection in lower and higher forms is, after all, the one force which lifts us most certainly toward God.

Strange as it may seem, Shelley has given me very uniformly the delight of the invisible, the spiritual, resolving itself, in rapid, creative touch, into distinct, changeable, evanescent, beautiful form. No English poet quite equals him in making way for his thought where no way is; in leaving a vivid trail of light behind him where no light was. He completes the illusion of his own sight with marvelous facility, and leaves the distinct mirage of his vision where the elements must almost instantly swallow it up again. The gossamer web of the spider floats in the air, invisible save from some one position, from which it gleams through its whole length, a fluctuating silver thread. No poet ever cast in the air lighter conceptions, or made them, from his own outlook, more fascinatingly visible. To turn Nature, in all her manifold forms, into the inexhaustible vocabulary of the spirit, so that the image and the feeling it utters float off together as a living thing, this is the unwearied inspiration of Shelley.

Yet no mind is more alien to me than that of Shelley in some of its aspects. Of logical incoherence, inconsequential narrative, and thoroughly mistaken opinion, Shelley is a supreme example. Deep and pure in his own affections, he missed the first principles of purity and strength in the living world of men. He wandered like a lost, not a fallen, angel among the

evil passions of his kind, and understood nothing of their nature or their remedy. In his sympathetic rehearsal of the encounter of the serpent and the eagle, he takes part with the serpent, because the facts symbolized are wholly misplaced in his mind. An error so deep as this would fatally have weakened another man—it weakened Byron; but Shelley escapes from it constantly into a region pure, creative, remote. In the freedom of his own free spirit, he mistook unlicensed activity for liberty, and resentfully struggled with, and cast off, those social restraints which are, after all, the flowing garments of virtue. He regarded the law of life—not yet fully fitted to the life it expresses—as the bondage of life, and wandered backward toward that deceitful elysium with which imagination surrounds the primitive race.

This error makes itself so far felt as to preclude that entire fellowship which is the inmost force of art. Wordsworth, though he rarely attains that bold, easy execution which is so habitual with Shelley, always evinces a health and integrity of feeling which make our sympathy complete. Actuality, fact—a sufficient rendering united to inner validity of thought—are of far more moment with him. When, therefore, we are satisfied, we are abundantly satisfied, and rest on intellectual soundness as well as on emotional tenderness. While, then, I should put Shelley and Wordsworth together as giving habitually the higher pleasures of spiritual art, taking but one of them, I should take Wordsworth without hesitation.

If, now, I enumerate Mill, Mommsen, Amiel, Scott, and Wordsworth, as simply typical of those authors especially influential with me, I still feel keenly the motley and insufficient assemblage they compose. Mill and Mommsen may stand for the insight and force of reason, Scott and Wordsworth for the interpenetration of the sensuous and the spiritual, the clear real and the clear ideal; while the "Journal" of Amiel is a perpetual translation—somewhat morbid, somewhat narrow, but always penetrative—of events into the expression of a soul that easily overshadows them with its own experiences. One may not wish to listen long at any one time to such a translation, any more than one desires to tarry before a sunset, though he is fully sen-

sible of its beauty, and rejoices that it is habitually included in the course of nature.

If one is to understand the relation of his life to books, he must see the grounds on which great, even the greatest, works are often omitted from influential forces, as well as why inferior ones are included among them. I have been a fairly faithful student—using the word in a subdued meaning—of Shakespeare, yet I cannot say that I am conscious that either thought or the form of thought with me has been sensibly affected by this frequent return of attention to the great dramatist. The stream that swells a river must run the same way with it, must empty into it. It is not the mountain on the horizon, no matter how bold its elevation, that lets its gentle and commanding influences rest, like an eternal presence, upon us, but the one under whose shadow we live, whose slopes we are constantly climbing, and with whose moods we are lovingly familiar.

There must be a nearness in thought, a tenderness in insight, a concurrence in sentiment, a following of the mind's own bent, before even excellence becomes influential. Flowers may have no advantage over birds, or birds over insects, or insects over rocks, as points of studious contact with nature, but contact established at one point puts limits on every other. Art, in its entire range, is open to our admiration, but admiration becomes enthusiasm, a deep and forceful current, only as it nourishes productive power. Such a work as Goethe's "Faust" may stand wholly apart from the beautiful things—is lands inclosed in our own flow of life—which find reflection in our thoughts.

Two authors, Carlyle and Emerson, spread a commanding influence over the very years in which the earlier and stronger intellectual sensibilities were awakened within me. Yet neither of them was of much moment in my experience. Carlyle always seemed to me to frame a new humbug for every humbug he plucked down, and a humbug quite as dangerous to the times present as the one demolished. It was the commonplace rather than the false which he attacked, and he substituted for it the extravagant and the grotesque. His perpetual and oftentimes petty explosives of words, phrases, thoughts, were wearisome to me: a package of crackers fired off in a barrel.

For Emerson I have always entertained a very different feeling. I have listened to him with much pleasure, and have felt the genuineness of his mind. And yet, his sudden insight and prophetic anticipation have always lacked for me that clear, extended, inner coherence which no intensity of light can replace. This sufficient possession of the entire territory occupied, this extension of thought within itself, by which we lay down the bounds of our spiritual inheritance, are something far more than mere logic—a chain of fortresses stretching over a territory within easy range of each other. They may better be likened to the diffused, unequal, but marvelously united light which falls, in a moment of creation, on a landscape. Everything is coherent, interdependent, but with the most subtle interplay of a thousand variable relations. Such a landscape is far more than detached gleams of revelation; it is a complete presentation, palpitating with its own unity. The tendency of Emerson, not so much to dwell in a land of ideas as to move continually through it, made him too migratory for my intellectual household. I could hardly keep even a chamber for him, as did the Shunammite woman for Elisha.

I ought to acknowledge the success, so far as I was concerned, of one piece of kindly legislation which the years have now nearly covered up. In my youth, the Legislature of New York provided town libraries, and the first installment, of some one hundred well-selected books, came, in their snug case and uniform binding, as a very attractive gift to our quiet little village, that had in it hardly the germs of intellectual life. I read every one, or nearly every one, of those books, and so also of those which followed. The plan, however, slipped from its earlier wise control; the selection passed into the hands of town authorities, and the uniform binding and the uniform excellence disappeared together in democratic slush. The gift was the more welcome to me as my father's library—that of a Presbyterian minister—was a bristling phalanx of puritanic writers. The eight volumes of Edwards's works stood in the first rank, and were backed by other productions less able, but not lighter of digestion. My mother—my father died early—with a patient, humble, and devout mind, was able to derive daily and hourly

nourishment from Scott's "Commentaries," Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul," and Baxter's "Saints' Rest;" but to me, even in moments of religious fervor, these books were always chips. They were the ever-returning, undeniable proof of the depravity of the natural heart, that so obstinately rejected them. Nor was it because I was unwilling to put hard work upon them, if only it brought any return. To me, the best thing in this library was Edwards's "Treatise on the Will," though I have cast that out, shred by shred, till not a trace of it remains in my spiritual constitution.

This town library, therefore, from the outside world, was like fresh fruit to one long confined to sea fare. If one is at all of a positive nature, he cannot, to much profit, be sent on errands in the intellectual world. He must find his own food, and he is sure to know it when he finds it. If there is much to emphasize inheritance on the physical side of our constitution, there is always very much on its spiritual side to declare both its primitive and acquired liberty.

Books can only be profoundly influential as they unite themselves with decisive tendencies. The fitting thoughts and feelings they contain are then like the dissolving snows of spring, that speedily fall into extemporized channels and living streams. The water-shed which ministers to one's personal experience may have shorter and closer, or longer and more remote, lines, but wherever these divisions lie, most of the great storms that traverse the heavens, and the abundant showers that pour out of them, must still occur beyond their limits. It is then pre-eminently fortunate when the contributions to one's life come from opposite and somewhat remote points, and the stream is kept fresh and full by distinct, yet converging, tendencies. I esteem it the one great piece of good fortune—divine grace—in my life, that a strong spiritual tendency has been matched in it with a real interest in the whole realm of facts, and that nothing known of God's ways in the physical world has seemed to me to stand in any degree in conflict with what is truly known of his ways in the spiritual world. Nay, rather, the truest rendering of the one is always the deepest rendering of the other.

JOHN BASCOM.

## OUR RELIGIOUS INSTINCTS.

IN the history of religion there is nothing more astonishing, both to its friends and its foes, than the ineffectiveness of the heaviest argumentative bombardments in driving out faith in spiritual things from the stronghold of popular belief. When the agnostic peruses some new critique of the theistic argument or the latest examination of the belief in a future life, he throws his hat in the air in exultation, confident that the superstition cannot survive such another fatal exposure, and timid Christians themselves turn pale with apprehension of the coming downfall of the church. But when, the nine days' wonder over, the new dialectical or scientific cannonade has passed by, the flag of Christian trust and hope is seen floating as jubilantly as ever over the ancient walls. The wise come to a recognition of the truth that it was not chiefly by logical or scientific scaling-ladders that man has mounted to the heights of religious conviction, and therefore that it avails little to pull them away.

That from which religion ever wells up afresh from age to age is the spiritual capacity of humanity, sensitive to the subtle touches of the unseen world and the indwelling divine life. The laws of thought, within whose narrow circle logic is confined, make it difficult, if not impossible, to prove satisfactorily not a few of the propositions of theism. Nevertheless the forces of feeling and the tides of life, which are ever pressing us over the logical boundary-lines toward the Infinite, keep the sacred beliefs of religion perennially alive. Against all the subtleties of the dialecticians, in the face of all the discoveries of the scientists, the heart makes its undying protests. However little we may be able, in strictness of logic, to prove, the faiths of our higher nature remain with us, and we say, with England's poet laureate,

I think we are not wholly brain,  
Magnetic mockeries ; . . .  
Not only cunning casts in clay:  
Let Science prove we are, and then  
What matters Science unto men,  
At least to me ? ”

Such is the flat defiance of the heart to the worst that logical analysis or physical investigation can do.

Now, to the scientific man this seems sheer sentimentalism. In his opinion we have no business (the religious man no more than any one else) to introduce the agitations of the emotions to disturb the conclusions of the intellect. “ Every one,” says Büchner, “ may, of course, have convictions of the heart, but to mix them up with philosophical questions is unscientific.” The only question that the scientific world will admit as pertinent, in reference to the acceptance of a theory, is the question of its truth or falsehood. If a theory accords with reason or experience, then it is true and is to be accepted. If it does not so accord, then it is not true, and is to be rejected. The question of its pleasantness or unpleasantness to one’s tastes, prepossessions, or instincts is not to be considered for a moment.

Now, to this demand for the pure truth, the simple fact, I entirely assent, and I say that religion also must assent. Truth is her sovereign, quite as much as that of science. It is “ they that are of the truth,” said Christ, that “ hear my voice.” The true Christian disciple is known by his allegiance to the genuine and the real, by the earnestness with which he seeks to conform his thought and faith to the actualities of the world. For a people that calls itself Christian to make pleasant falsities the objects of its worship, and “ make-believe ” the staple of its religion, would be the saddest spectacle the sun anywhere could shine upon. Truth, however distasteful, is better than the sweet poison of delusion.

I accept truth, then, the evidence of the facts, as the one thing which should determine our faiths. But does this require that we should straightway dismiss all the instincts of the heart as incompetent to testify at all in religious things, and admit to the judicial balances only stone fossils and iced syllogisms ?

Grant that truth is the one decisive thing, and the question arises at once, What is truth, and how can you determine it? The moment that you advance to the determination of this question, What is truth? you must recognize that there are many questions in which the accord or the discord of the theory with our native constitution is a most weighty consideration in determining what truth is.

Facts are, indeed, what we must follow, but lumps of matter and vibratory motions, pressed plants and ticketed beetles, are not the only facts in existence. The inextinguishable longings of the human soul, from which religions spring, are also facts, and as good testimonies and signs in determining truth as bug or polyp is. Even in relation to a spider or a bee, statements in regard to their form, weight, color, and other material characteristics are not the only scientific facts of importance. The naturalist must record, as matter of equal or greater gravity, their mental qualities, the tastes of the one for insect prey, of the other for honey; the instinct of the one to spin its webs, of the other to build and stock its cells; the varied impulses that move each in their different ways of providing for the perpetuation of their respective species.

So, in regard to man, a knowledge of his immaterial characteristics is still more essential to a full scientific knowledge of him than a knowledge of his material qualities. His desires and longings; those higher impulses that move him to acts which are incomprehensible, if his being is interpreted as a purely material one; those universal intuitions which are the very condition of observation and the justification of all reasoning, yet which pass quite beyond the strict boundaries of either logic or empiricism, these are the most important of all facts about him. And not only are they facts, but they are facts that speak of more than the character of their possessor. They are facts that disclose also the nature of the world in which he lives, and the nature of the beings with whom he is connected.

Recall for a moment a few analogies. The building propensity which urges the tamed beaver, kept in a house, to strive continually to construct dams, would assure us, did we never directly observe the fact, of the flowing stream, which is the

creature's native haunt. The groping of the new-born lamb for the mother's dugs speaks plainly of the food there, meet for the satisfaction of its craving. The sexual appetite implies the answering sex; and the bird's nest-building and brooding instinct is prophetic of the coming generation, and correspondent to its needs. Every part in nature, having been molded by the whole, speaks of that whole, and bids us believe that whatever is needed as its complement exists somewhere and somehow. If no telescope had yet revealed Neptune, nevertheless, the need of that additional planet to explain the perturbations of Uranus would assure astronomers of its existence. When an Agassiz discovers, on the summit of some mountain thousands of miles from the sea, the remains of creatures with gills and fins and swimming-bladder, he is sure of the existence in that place, at some past period, of the lake or sea to whose aquatic environment these organs are correlated. Why so? Simply because these creatures needed this watery element for the use of the organs with which we see them endowed.

This is the customary method of scientific reasoning, a guiding principle of discovery in nature, viz., that nowhere in the world do we find a permanent general need in a living species unless there exists some supply adjusted to it. There is not a naturalist who thinks of disputing this, or who, if he did, could make a step of progress in his knowledge of ancient times. Now, this same law holds in the realm of human existence. Whatever needs man's soul feels, whatever impulses are native to his spirit, whatever insights his spiritual vision can attain to, give evidence as to the real nature of the world in which he was developed and the real agency of the operations going on about him, equally significant and valid as the laws which the senses indicate or to which the reason testifies.

But just here the scientific objector would doubtless interpose, and ask us if we are acquainted with the epoch-making work of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Spencer, and if we think that, in view of their discoveries, this argument still has force. Mr. Darwin and Mr. Spencer, our scientific friends assure us, have shown conclusively that instinct and intuition are mere products of multitudinous ancestral experiences, accumulated and fused

into these seemingly different things by the combined action of habit, association of ideas, and heredity. Though in the individual they may seem innate, in the race they are not so, but are results of its experience, developments of low, gross impulses, and therefore are not worthy to be taken as witnesses to the fundamental truths of religion. Suppose we grant this origin of our cravings, instincts, and intuitions. Let our highest intuitions and aspirations, all the most delicate forms of the conscious life of to-day, be regarded as but the accumulated principal and interest of all that has been felt or known by every organism in the ascending line, from the primordial life-cell up to man. Grant all this, and what is the consequence? Does it overthrow the validity of our instinctive feelings and intuitive ideas; or, rather, does it not solidly establish them?

For what are the principles ruling in this development of the soul? First and foremost, the principle of adjustment of the inner to the outer, of the mental to the material. The very definition of life given by Herbert Spencer is, "the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." We distinguish between a live object and a dead one, Spencer points out, by noticing whether a change in its conditions will be followed by a change in the object itself. Stir it with a stick, or shout at it, and its immobility or its action tells us whether it is inanimate or animate. In the living organism, not only is there always some response to the outside world and its events, but there is a fitting response. The ruminating organs correspond to a flora of herbs and grass. The stinging contractile power of a polyp's tentacles corresponds, says Spencer, to the sensitiveness and strength of the creatures serving it for prey. According to the need for more varied and more rapid adjustment of the internal relations to the outer relations, the inward organs are more and more complicated and efficient. The degree of life varies as the degree of correspondence, from the seaweed in its simple environment up to infinitely complex man, in his infinitely varied circumstances. Wherever there is a gap between the inner and the outer relations, there the organism modifies itself to fit the circumstances, and to close up the gap. The touch of nature upon the living creature, and the response

of life to that physical impress, molds the two into harmony. The fur-clad northern animal sheds its fur in the south. The creature from a warm climate, thinly clad or naked, develops, in a colder zone, a warmer clothing. The greyhound, brought to the rarefied air of the Mexican table-land, unable in the first generation to exert itself as usual without panting and exhaustion, in the second generation unfolds a new breathing capacity, and regains the speed characteristic of the species. Spencer's and Darwin's works form a treasury of illustrations of this continual adjustment of the organism to its environment. It is the very condition of the creature's existence, says Mr. Darwin, that he shall exactly fit himself to the world about him. Death to his species, in the struggle for existence, is the sure penalty for not thus fitting himself to the facts of the world. He cannot carry any load of useless organ or faculty, or the extra weight will cause him to lose the race.

Such, then, is the first great principle that governs in the evolution of life, viz., that life is constantly and necessarily correspondent to the universe without. Now, apply this to the question of religion, and what is its bearing? Only a new and stronger confirmation of our position, that the innate idea be-speaks an objective reality corresponding to it. The persistent inward state, the constant moral and spiritual needs of man, his ever-renewed beliefs (whatever they are), inform us of the persistent outward fact to which they are correlated. For did the external reality not exist the inward adjustment never would have arisen. Or, if by some chance it had come into existence, then, having no correspondent object to sustain, renew, and keep it true, it must, under the influence of the equilibrating tendencies, either pass away or shift its form, until it reached a state of natural equilibrium with its environment.

Or, take the other great principle of the development theory, that of descent and heredity. Suppose, as this theory asks us to believe, that our religious intuitions and our moral sense are only refinements of our social instincts; and that these are but modifications of lower brute impulses; and these, again, have been derived and transformed, somehow, out of the attractions, repulsions, and other activities common to all matter and force.

Nay, we will suppose the truth even of Professor Huxley's theory, that we are really only automata, that our feelings, thoughts, and aspirations are necessary results of the sum of motions of matter and impulses of force in the midst of which they arise. We will look upon that which we call the soul as formed gradually from the necessary interaction of nature's energies; not as an existence of a different kind and substance, but only a subtler product of the cosmic forces, risen thus to consciousness. What follows, then? Is the logical result not this, that if we inherit from the material world itself, its laws must be registered not only in our bodies but in our minds? Our consciousness, on this theory, is but the liberation of the dumb life and reason of the cosmos. The laws of the mind are its laws, precisely because they were beforehand the laws of that greater whole, nature, of which mind is but a more specialized part. A constant association in the heart's instincts and wants implies a constant association in the outer world.

The logical connection is a necessary one. For on this automaton theory of the mind no free-will can disturb the necessary and proper conclusion. The general laws of the mind, the universal beliefs of man, whatever they are, must result from the primitive facts of the universe, with as little chance of error as in the calculations of a calculating machine from the data with which it starts.

If, then, this human sensibility of ours, the first conscious expression of the hidden life forces of the universe, should shrink from such an idea as that of a personal God, and turn instinctively to views such as are offered us by the materialists, then, I admit, we ought to reject religion as false and accept atheism as true. But if, on the contrary, this inner force of nature, when liberated and expressed in the consciousness of humanity, with one general voice should be found confessing its natural belief in a Creative Mind; if, in its heart of hearts, it feels daily the need for such an object of worship and trust, and recoils with an unconquerable aversion from every godless theory, then we have, in such testimony of the heart, sound logical proof of the facts to which these instincts of the heart correspond. They testify to the existence, as facts in the en-

circling universe, of those grand realities which, by iterated and reiterated impressions on the plastic organization of man, have stamped upon it these ineffaceable ideas. If the thought of Infinity is indispensable in the ideal world, then it is an essential element in the real world. If we feel universally a power within ourselves, urging us to righteousness, then we know there is a power, not ourselves, working for that same righteousness.

Do we find faith in a perfect Wisdom impressed on the sensitive tablets of our souls? Then there is implied, in that grand cosmic die that formed the impress, an equally infallible Intelligence. Do we find, again, within the evolved microcosm, man, an insatiable hunger for a fuller love and an imperative need of a more helpful sympathy than man can give? Then we may be sure that without, in the macrocosm that evolved the human miniature, there is the divine affection corresponding thereto.

To ask, then, in regard to any theory proposed for our acceptance, whether or not it is in harmony with our natural instincts, is not an illogical sentimentalism, but a consideration of real weight in deciding whether or not it is to be accepted as true. The instincts of the heart, the intuitions of the mind, the aversions and longings of the soul, afford indications not to be overlooked by any careful reasoner as to the great realities in the cosmos which have shaped and molded them. The latest scientific theories, instead of invalidating such testimony, approve its competency. Let us, then, turn to human nature, and see what its testimony really is.

Is human nature adapted to atheism or to theism? Do materialistic theories or religious convictions best satisfy the human heart? These questions need but a brief consideration, so preponderantly do the facts all lie on one side. The whole history of humanity testifies to its religious tendencies and adaptations, and the violence to its highest instincts which every anti-religious system offers. In every human soul there is a thirst for something above all that the senses can give. There is an attraction to the Infinite and Perfect, and a groping after the sight and knowledge of it. The dimmest shadows of this fill man with awe and reverence. Impelled by sacred impulses, often scarcely understood, but still urging him on, man bows in worship to the

holy mystery. As the schoolhouse exhibits man's desire for knowledge and the courthouse his sense of justice, so the edifice of prayer and praise, holiest structure in every land, witnesses to the religious instinct in man. It matters not what different forms these may have, the stone circle of the Druid or the pagoda of China, the mosque of Islam or the cathedral of Christianity, they all give testimony to the same worshiping instinct.

It will be objected, perhaps, that this religious wave is but a mere product of superstition, arising from ignorance of the laws of nature, and fear engendered by them.

If it be a superstition, it is one shared by the most enlightened philosophers and men of science. A Bacon, a Leibnitz, a Pascal, a Locke, each has been its champion. A Herschel, a Newton, a Liebig, an Agassiz, a Faraday, each has owned its sway. It is the testimony of Professor Maudsley, a man by no means prejudiced in favor of religion, that "there is hardly one, if, indeed, there be even one, eminent inquirer who has denied the existence of God, while there is notably more than one who has evinced a childlike simplicity of faith."

There are, of course, some individuals—and possibly in the lowest ranks of humanity there may be one or two whole tribes (although the latest investigations tend to disprove this)—without any or with very little of the religious sentiment. So there are men who are color blind. So there are tribes who cannot count above ten, or discern the simplest musical discords or concords. But this does not prove the non-existence of color, harmonies of sound, or distinctions of number. It shows only in these men the undeveloped state of their natures and faculties. Neither do the few exceptions to the grand hymn of praise and prayer, lifted by man to God, disprove at all the native adaptation of man to religion, and his need of it. The worst unbelievers have yet had their beliefs. Accepted forms of theologic statements have been rudely uprooted by them, but the irrepressible religious sense has blossomed in each with some new faith of the man's own. Voltaire's chapel at Ferney, with its famous inscription, "*Deo erexit Voltaire*," illustrated this in the last century, and in our own time the Positive Religion, organized by Auguste Comte, with its three daily services in adoration of collective

humanity, affords an even more striking illustration of the irrepressible force of man's religious instincts.

Suppose a statesman, founding a new state, should take as its foundation principles like these: "No belief in God or a future state is to be tolerated under this government; no worship of any superhuman being is to be allowed; all efforts at spiritual perfection, or the gratification of the religious sentiments, are to be as far as possible suppressed; men must remember that they are but more-developed brutes, and each must look out for his own gratification and the furtherance of his self-interest;" who would be wild enough to expect to make a nation live and prosper on such a basis? As Robespierre told the French Jacobins with reference to this very point: "If there were no God in existence, it would be necessary to the national well-being to invent one."

Or take but a few of the common test experiences of life. When the sobbing wife looks upon the grave of the beloved partner of her life; when the young man is sore beset by the seductions of unlawful passion; when the martyr to truth sees the blazing pyre staring him in the face, unless he will forswear his honest convictions—which is it that in such crises best meets the needs of the heart? Which is it that responds to any man's sense of fitness or justice—to know that this world is the kingdom of an Almighty God, whose attributes are those of wisdom, love, and holiness, a God who will conquer finally all evil, help the struggling, and reward the upright, if not here, then in a more blessed hereafter; or, on the other hand, to believe that "the universe is simply an endless coil of antecedents and consequents, unwinding from the drum of time by unchangeable law; a monstrous engine of matter and force, grinding on remorselessly, caring not whom it kills, utterly unguided, unheeding, unknowing"? Can any one doubt which of these answers alone corresponds to the native instincts of man, alone is adjusted to those characters of humanity impressed by the grand seal of nature?

Such is the indispensable need of God felt by the human heart. Such are the religious instincts of man, not to be denied without working deepest misery and mischief. Now, whichever of the two opposite theories of the formation of these natural needs and instincts we adopt; whether we say, as the

theist has formerly done, that they are formed by God himself, or whether we take the position of the evolutionists, that they are formed by the persistent molding power of nature over the individual, by the reiterated impressions upon successive generations of the surrounding universe (continuous correspondence with which is the very condition and essence both of life and mind)—on either theory it is impossible to believe that these God-desiring impulses are contradictions of the reality of nature. Can it be thought, for a moment, that these inborn affirmations of the soul within man, and of the Over-Soul without him, are organized delusions on the part of nature, are falsehoods persistently renewed by the universe in the formation of every fresh organism? To believe that were suicidal to all reasoning, to every system of thought. But if that be incredible, if that cannot be accepted, there is no alternative except to recognize in this universal outcry of heart and flesh for the living God, in this instinctive faith in spiritual things, ever springing up afresh, however much it may be trampled upon, a sure attestation of the infinite and eternal realities correspondent to them.

JAMES T. BIXBY.

## THE ATTITUDE OF RUSSIA.

IT happened once that, during two weeks passed on board an Austrian steamer, one of them spent in quarantine in the harbor of Trieste, a Russian diplomat and myself occupied the same stateroom. The quarantine buildings being new and damp, we obtained leave to make our quarantine on board, and were thus shut up to each other's society. His cigars gave out, and nothing that he would smoke was attainable. I had received a large package of the choicest Turkish cigarettes, as a *bon voyage*, from the Nazir of the schools of St. Sophia and Achmet. I presumed the giver had an axe to grind, though I did not discover it. I had determined to bring them to a smoking friend in Boston, but now I pressed them upon my Russian fellow-passenger.

Now, whether it was smoke or quarantine that brought us together I cannot say, but we became unreservedly sociable; the reticence of the past week on political matters disappeared. Russia, the Crimean War, Turkey, England, Germany, were the subjects of our six days' symposium. I assumed, generally, the part of a learner; asked questions and made suggestions, without ever positively opposing his views, even when I deemed them most extravagant. He spoke freely of England as our natural enemy; and wondered that we did not form a coalition against her, at the close of our war, in order to punish her. He declared she was hated by every country in Europe; and he believed America might find an opportunity to inflict upon her a very great punishment. To the Russian mind, force is the only instrument of justice. And it is curious to see how every Russian official takes it for granted, in conversing with an American, that we are both the natural enemies of England and attached friends of Russia; for are we not both young and vigorous, and

with a great future; too far apart to have any rivalries; both having the same economical system of protection, which England is resolved to break up?

The chief topics of discussion were, the Crimean War and its results to Russia; the liberation of the serfs; the future policy toward Constantinople and Europe, and the ultimate humiliation of England. The conversations took place in 1871; and, from all my reading and observation since, I am convinced that the gentleman gave frankly and honestly his views of the subjects in hand. With regard to the Crimean War in general, he said: "It was the one grand mistake of our Czar Nicholas. We shall never move again direct upon Constantinople: that would rouse all Europe against us; and, just now, Europe is 'too many for us.' Nevertheless, the Crimean War was of infinite advantage to Russia. It has changed her policy and character, both in war and peace."

To my question as to how Russia's policy in war was changed, his reply was: "In very many respects. We saw, for example, that the Allies had soldiers who knew how to fight as ours did not. We had not enjoyed the privilege of fighting with English and French troops for many years. Our soldiers are as brave as the bravest. But a Russian regiment will stand up in its shoes, and be shot down, to a man, unless some competent officer gives the word of command to change position. The Russian soldier never retreats, except by a Russian order. The English and French soldiers would take advantage of the ground, or fall flat on their bellies, and keep up a very destructive fire, in comparative safety. But especially the Battle of Inkerman taught us the supreme value of soldiers who know, of themselves, how to fight most effectively. That battle was a great surprise and disappointment to us. Our General Lüders had caught the English napping on the heights of Inkerman. Their general had occupied the place with a force sufficient to protect the flank of the besiegers; but he had thrown up no intrenchments, and a height in his rear was not occupied. General Lüders sent a battery of forty pieces of light artillery to occupy that eminence. The night was dark and foggy. The wheels of the gun-carriages and caissons were covered with braided straw, and outside of

that wound with cord, so as to make no noise on the stone pavement to alarm the enemy. This was all accomplished with perfect success. The English pickets must have been asleep. General Lüders marched out in the night, with thirty thousand choice troops, in three columns, to scale the heights, while the battery in the rear would demoralize the English force.

"His columns were at first covered by a dense fog. But so soon as the English could see them approaching, they spread out into a long open line of battle, and poured a most destructive fire into the Russian flanks, as they slowly toiled up the hill. As they approached the summit—having almost reached it, in fact, with terrible loss—the long line of battle was suddenly transformed into three assaulting columns, and their advantage of ground was such that ours were compelled to retreat to the bottom of the hill. The second charge fared the same. The third charge, with re-enforcements, would have been successful, and then Lüders would have taken the French in flank, and would have raised the siege; but this resistance of the English gave time for the French to come on with overwhelming force, and Lüders was driven back to the cover of the forts. Great admiration was expressed at the manner in which the English soldiers fought. They were so quick, rapid, and yet cool. They apparently knew their work as well without officers as with. On all the prisoners, and on all the bodies that our men stripped, was found a small book of military directions for the common soldier, telling him what to do, on the march, in bivouac, in camp, and on the battle-field; how to judge of the distance of the enemy, to adjust the sight of his rifle, etc. Now, were I to say to you that the Battle of Inkerman led to the emancipation of the serfs, you would think it, perhaps, an extravagance?"

"I certainly should," I replied, "seeing that the serfs were not freed until five or six years afterward; and, in the meantime, Russia had taken her revenge in the Sepoy Rebellion."

Laughing at that, and neither admitting nor denying it, he continued: "Nevertheless, it did! Or, I might say, the whole war led to the abolition of serfdom, in the interests of the army." But when I objected that the emancipation of the serfs was all over the world esteemed an act of pure philanthropy, he replied

with a smile: "We are quite willing Europe should understand it so. But the true reason, in the mind of our Czar, and in the minds of his generals, was, that Russia might have an educated soldiery; a soldiery that can read and understand military instructions, and can fight with the same intelligence and skill as the English and French." His judgment of the Turkish army was that "the Turkish soldiers fight well, but their officers are generally poltroons!" "Omar Pasha and Mousa Pasha?" I interposed. "Omar Pasha," he replied, "was a Slav, not a Turk; and Mousa Pasha had two English officers with him at Silistria. I repeat, the Turkish officers are generally poltroons. It is the rank and file that do the mischief."

As he was not disposed to discuss Silistria, the sorest spot to the Russian in the Crimean War, I did not press it. He spoke at great length of the emancipation of the serfs, and of the Czar's efforts to educate the boys of, say, forty millions of an unlettered peasantry, for the purpose of having an intelligent, efficient fighting army. Every commune was required to build a schoolhouse; and leave was given to cut the timber on government lands. Some eighty thousand schoolhouses were built, as by magic. For the communes, being allowed to cut a certain number of trees, would double the number, and protect themselves by universal and concerted testimony to the correctness of the count. He declared that the lower grades of "tchinoviks" (officials) surpass all men in deception, always faithful to each other as against the supreme government.

"But where were eighty thousand, or even eight thousand, teachers to be obtained? The Czar forgot that an imperial ukase could not produce them; and the whole thing proved a miserable failure. If any young man had sufficient education to teach even a common school, he could get twice the wages in some mercantile or industrial establishment that he could get as a teacher. The priests were required to become teachers; but they were so often lazy, drunken, and stupid, that scholars would not attend. The *moujiks* petitioned the emperor to be relieved of the burden of the increased taxation caused by the schools. They were very sternly rebuked. Then the schoolhouses began to burn up in a very mysterious manner. Communes were punished for this; and then

the buildings of the nobles began to burn ; and the government, fearing a ‘fire-raising,’ receded from severe measures.”

“Is, then, the object abandoned ?” I asked. “By no means. Russia never abandons what she really undertakes ; and the education of her soldiers is a matter of fixed policy. The government has now begun the work it should have done first of all. It has established normal schools, to which every commune must send two or three boys ; and, on completion of their course, they will become the teachers of their own communes. The only obstacles to a great and rapid success are the low rate of wages paid to teachers, and the indifference of the people, most of whom prefer ignorance to learning. But Russia will ultimately have—not in this generation, perhaps not in this century, but in the end—a soldiery as intelligent and as well educated for war as the soldiers of England, France, or Germany. And then, Russia will have her rights ! We needed all the losses, disappointments, and upheavings of the Crimean War—and nobody out of Russia knows how great they were—to put us on the right path of sure and stable progress. England sought to cripple us, but we are now stronger than ever.”

With regard to Constantinople, it was, he declared, the policy of Russia to make no direct attack upon it. “Constantinople,” said he, “is destined to be ours ; but we shall have it by envelopment. European Turkey is so largely Slavic that we shall expand into all that region ; and the peoples, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Servians, will all be one with us, to the banks of the Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora. Nothing can keep Russia back in that direction. The people are already Russian. They will welcome us as deliverers from the Turks. Europe can never object to the gradual and healthy expansion of an empire. If any nation seizes upon any great strategic point, then it becomes a European question. Russia attempted that, and will never repeat her mistake. But, when Russia shall have gradually expanded into European Turkey on one side, and into Asiatic Turkey on the other, so as to envelop Constantinople, into whose hands will it fall ? The wisest and most moderate statesmen of Russia know well that she is not yet ready for that great possession. To have it now might cause great and dangerous divisions.

The later it comes the better. It is the military element of the government that is rash and impatient. But our Czar will never be forced by it into conflicts with Europe."

To the question whether the Russians, after they have become masters of Constantinople, will stop there, he replied : " Constantinople will give to Russia certain rights, for which she must contend until she attains them. She must have a free, untrammeled passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles for her commerce and her fleet, with no frowning forts on their shores. When Russia has all that, there is one thing further. We shall then dispute with England the passage through Egypt, if we do not get her Indian Empire through Afghanistan. That, Russia is bound to have, because she alone knows how to govern the people of the empire. England is exhausting and impoverishing them. She has forfeited her right to India by establishing a government which is simply robbery. Her own authorities confess that an average of half a million people a year die of starvation. England's free trade, which curses every country upon which it is forced, has destroyed the native industries; and the land, and everything else but imports, are taxed to the last degree. The farmer cannot live, because the land is taxed up to the entire value of the crop. The cultivation of opium and cotton has been greatly stimulated, to the exclusive benefit of the English. One of their own governors has declared that one-third of the people never have a full meal, from the cradle to the grave, and another third is struggling for existence, with no hope of rising. Well, this will all work in our favor, when the time comes. It will not be difficult to start a revolution among a starving people."

When I remarked, of the building of railroads and great works of irrigation, that these must be of vast benefit to the people, he declared them to be, "*au contraire*, the heaviest curses of the people. They are sources of vast wealth to England, or to Englishmen; but you have only to know how these works are built to understand the matter. English capitalists furnish the funds, and the government of India guarantees six per cent. yearly on the bonds. The more the works cost the better for the capitalists. Magnificent works are built, with lavish expen-

dition. The returns by traffic are from one to two per cent.; the land is taxed for the rest. When the English have expended a hundred millions upon these great works, it makes a fine sound. But when the wretched natives have to pay four or five millions of interest annually, it is not strange that half a million souls die annually of starvation. Besides, the English government in India is enormously expensive. Its officials amass fortunes, to be expended in England. By this great official class, more than twenty millions are drained annually from India and transferred to England. And this official class, too, is excessively proud and contemptuous toward the natives, who in turn fear but hate them. When the day comes, three-fourths of the population of India will welcome revolution. We shall not have to conquer India. We shall only have to help the natives expel the English. When that time comes, England will have to retire from dictating her policy to the weaker nations. Her selfishness and 'cheek' are insufferable. She knows that she impoverishes every nation upon which she imposes her system—as Turkey, Egypt, India; and yet she has the 'cheek' to press it upon other nations, 'for their good.' Pray, where is the nation that has been benefited by England's free trade? All Europe has rejected it. Only ignorant and subject peoples have accepted it. She is nothing but a great manufacturing and commercial company, with a great navy as commercial agent. The smaller nations fear her; all nations hate her."

I was much struck with the candor with which he replied to my question as to whether his views did not imply that Russia is to have a mere military life for generations to come: "That is our destiny. We are forced to take the course we do. We have no choice. We are an empire of vast strength, with no chance to use it. We shall reach our legitimate position only when we have Constantinople and the Straits. Until then we are compelled to be a military nation. We shall develop our army into a million well-armed and well-trained soldiers, and we shall have eighty thousand officers, with three or four millions of reserves. The cost will be enormous, but we have no choice. Our territory is vast; and we may have to act with force at far-distant points, at one and the same time."

I asked him whether the people of Russia were contented to bear such heavy burdens. "There we have the advantage over all our neighbors," he replied. "We have no proletariat; we have no paupers; every commune takes care of all its members; the land is owned in common, and every one has enough for his support. The *moujiks* (peasants) are the most loyal and contented people in the world. What you hear about Nihilists is extravagant. There are a few writers and a few people of some intelligence—doctors, students, discharged officers—who have formed a secret society, of malignant intentions, but with little force. [1871.] Russia is strong in a loyal people as no other nation is. The Nihilists are all enthusiasts or fools. They try to make capital out of the great increase of the army; but all men of sense know that this is inevitable. Until Russia shall escape from her present restricted situation, the army and navy must be the chief objects of her regard. As to the navy, Russia now considers herself free from the disgraceful article of the Peace of Paris. Gortschakoff agreed with Bismarck to keep the rest of Europe quiet while France and Germany should settle their affairs between themselves; and Bismarck agreed to sanction the abolition of the said article. Russian diplomats rejoiced in this bargain, as a great triumph of Russian diplomacy. They were sure that the two powers would fight to the last with supreme desperation. Russia would have an opportunity to come in when both should be exhausted, and arrange matters in her own interest. But, instead of all this, France was crumpled up as one would crumple up an empty egg-shell, and Germany became consolidated, and stronger than both the empires were before the war."

Another thing my diplomat friend did not like, namely, the handling of the German armies. "The forces, great or small, always reached their destination precisely as Moltke placed them on his chart. No army was ever handled like this German army. Its movements were like those of accurately constructed, well-oiled machinery. Our generals move large forces and heavy material; but if they are only one or two days behind the appointed time, they consider it an achievement. The whole German army can be hurled upon the point that Moltke

chooses, and at the very moment that he designates. The Russian army has not reached that grade yet, but will reach it in time. The Russians now feel that Gortschakoff made a very poor bargain after all."

Germany he regarded as the only great power that Russia need care for. "But before long the Slavic race will outnumber the German, two to one. Our population is now more than eighty millions. By the close of this century it will be one hundred and twenty millions, leaving out of consideration additions by conquest. The future of Europe lies between the German and Slavic races. But Russia does not aspire to universal dominion. She aspires to Asiatic dominion; or rather, I should say, predominance. She would govern India by established native governments, in strict alliance with her, and in sympathy with her measures. Those governments would soon find their interest and safety to accord with Russian direction. Industries would revive, and be protected. And that great empire, after emerging from the bankruptcy in which England will leave it, will add something of value to the commerce of the world, and to the power of Russia. England is so greedy of gain that she is willing to paralyze and bankrupt any nation, if she can get possession of its industries, and rob it of its wealth. Russia will restore to India a prosperity she can never enjoy under English oppression."

I have endeavored to compress into the least possible space the views of an intelligent and trusted Russian official of 1871. What light do the events of fifteen subsequent years throw upon these views? They are shown to be, in general, sagacious, and inspired by a true insight into Russian politics. The position of Russia toward England is not exaggerated; nor can it change. The interests, or the supposed interests, of these two countries do of necessity clash, so long as each aims to rule by force. England will never yield her predominance on the ocean, nor will she cease to hold the weaker nations in subserviency. Russia aims at India and Constantinople; and her success would bring England very low. Whatever may be her treaties, Russia marches on toward Afghanistan and Constantinople. England is feverish and worried, and hardly knows what to do, except to hold on to Egypt and the Suez Canal, while reiterating her promises to give them

up. The relations of the two countries were never more strained than at present.

My Russian friend's views of England's government of India seemed exaggerated and unjust, at the time; but they have been confirmed by many English writers since that date. Mr. Hyndman's able articles in the "Nineteenth Century," in 1878, and subsequent years, prove the utter impoverishment of large masses of the people. He styles it "bleeding to death." He gives nearly the same view with the Russian gentleman of the oppressive taxation caused by great public works, the profits of which go exclusively to England. The London "Spectator" confesses that taxation is so heavy that another turn of the screw cannot be borne; and predicts an approaching catastrophe. The Russian understood India better than the English of that day. The proud disdain of the English official class, in its treatment of the natives, is testified to by many recent English writers; and dire results are predicted from it. The Russians have carefully noted every feature of the English rule. Nothing has escaped their notice.

The liberation of the serfs as a military measure will be questioned by many. It spoils a pretty fiction about a grand act of philanthropy. But Russian writers of late years have had the same view. It was undoubtedly the ulterior design of the government, though not the one put forth. At first, it was believed that Alexander II. would have a peaceful and happy reign. His subjects all rejoiced in the hope and expectation of lighter taxes, less conscriptions of youth from the commune into the army, and an era of universal prosperity. But these extravagant expectations received successive and heavy shocks. First, the government repudiated half its war debt, by making a foreign loan, and buying up its own paper at fifty per cent. discount. Second, it re-armed its whole army with the most improved weapons known to Europe. It spent vast sums upon its arsenals. It established the most expensive and most perfect schools of mechanical engineering. The student was made to work through as well as study through every branch. The classroom and the workshop were side by side. From the mining and smelting of the ore, up through all the processes, to the finished implement of war or industry, the students studied and worked, and thus were eye,

hand, and brain educated together. It is the most perfect, as well as the most expensive, system ever known. In this way, Russia, after many failures, has supplied herself with accomplished engineers. Nicholas tried to make engineers by a ukase; Alexander II. by a long and painful process of education. The one failed, but the other succeeded. The Russian Department in our Centennial building in Philadelphia had splendid specimens of Russian students' work. Third, to the disappointment of all who hoped for peace and progress, the army was increased beyond all precedent, and conscriptions swept the communes as never before. It was gradually raised to seven hundred and fifty thousand on a peace footing, with three millions of reserves, and eighty thousand officers. Nor did it stop there. It is now one million, as my friend the diplomat said it was destined to be.

So soon as the crushing weight of this renewed "militarism" was felt, and its steady increase foreseen, Nihilism lifted its head with vengeful aspect. Alexander II. was fiercely accused of repudiating all the early professions which had made him the idol of his people. The secret police arrested, tortured, and executed many, both men and women; and thousands of the suspected were exiled to Siberia. They suffered with a strange intrepidity. At length their black deed was accomplished! To Alexander II., it was the result of the use he made of the lessons of the Crimean War. Russian writers, outside of Russia, have made us familiar with this episode of Russian history.

It will be thought by some that the Russian diplomat showed himself not versed in the policy of his government when he asserted that the Czar would never attack Constantinople directly. For, after the fall of Plevna, the Russian army rushed across the Balkans upon Constantinople, and were only prevented from taking it by the timely arrival of the English fleet. This foolish and infamous move was never contemplated by the civil government, which intended to expand into Bulgaria, and there stop and wait for some future move. The rush was an inspiration of the military power; it brought humiliation, and forced retreat even from Bulgaria, and occasioned immense loss. It aroused Europe again, and was one of the most stupid moves Russia ever made. She is now playing her part cautiously, in order to

get back into Bulgaria without arousing Europe, and thus to recover what she lost by her greatest of blunders.

The diplomat's confidence in the loyalty of the peasantry was, unquestionably, deserved. His boast of "no proletariat," "no pauper millions," is less satisfactory. The huge army, the constant conscriptions, the re-arming, the vast accumulations of the "heavy material" of war at many points, the reconstruction of Sevastopol, the building of a navy, the constantly increasing supply of Gatling and Krupp guns, the dark and moody isolation of the Czar, and the scandalous corruption and bribery prevalent in official circles, high and low, have contributed to make the condition of the peasantry almost hopeless. Their predicted education has made little progress. The new recruits for the army from the provinces, chiefly Slavic, give a low percentage—only three or four—that know how to read. The more hopeful and effective education of the Russian soldiers is in the barracks, where a system is carried out under military law.

The Russian Empire presents to us the amazing spectacle of the greatest empire in the world, having vast and inexhaustible resources above and beneath the soil, and enjoying, moreover, a perfect immunity from attack by any possible enemy, yet devoting all her energies to war. She squanders her marvelous resources, even to the impoverishment of her people, in the accumulation of means for the destruction of life and all its material values. Europe feels compelled, in a measure, to follow her example.

And this is modern civilization!

CYRUS HAMLIN.

## A NEW EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

AT the formation of the Federal Government under the Constitution it was natural that the administrative bureaus should be few in number and simple in character. With the increase in the wealth and population of the country new varieties of duties have arisen, calling for the formation of new bureaus. The extraordinary development of the nation under a century of constitutional rule has necessitated, for the performance of administrative duties, the gradual erection of a vast and cumbrous machine; and as it has arisen by additions to the original simple apparatus which served the early administrations, it would be a matter of wonder if, after a century of experience, great improvements could not be introduced. Simplicity in machinery means economy and an increase in effective work. To apply this principle to the governmental machine would seem eminently proper, now that the annual expenses of running it are so large as to vie in amount with the cost of maintenance of the greatest monarchical governments. Among the duties of our Federal Government there is a class necessitating large annual expenses of administration, which may be called the Civil Public Works. These are:

1st. The Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, which, by precedent only, is in the hands of the Secretary of War, and carried on by the Engineer Corps of the Army.

2d. The Coast and Geodetic Survey, under a bureau attached to the Treasury Department.

3d. The Geological Survey.

4th. The Survey of the Public Lands, both of these last being under the Interior Department.

5th. The vast system of Public Buildings, embracing the erection and repairs of national edifices in the capital, and the building and repair of custom-houses, post-offices, and court-

rooms throughout the entire country. Most of this work is under the control of the Treasury Department.

6th. The Meteorological or Weather Bureau, in the hands of the War Department, because the idea of collecting and uttering the data originated in the brain of a clever army officer, who organized the Signal Service of the Army, and became head of a bureau for its administration.

7th. The Agricultural Bureau, belonging to the Department of the Interior.

8th. The Bureau for the Administration of the Light-house System, which is an appendage to the Treasury Department.

9th. The National Observatory, which, with its varied duties, is assigned to the Navy Department; a disposition which could hardly be explained without going into a history of the passage of the law creating the bureau.

10th. The Bureau of Patents, one of the largest and most important of the administrative bureaus of the government. This is under the Interior Department.

11th. The Inspection of Hulls and Boilers of Steamers, under laws and regulations for the protection and preservation of life and property afloat; a branch controlled by the Treasury Department.

#### 12th. The Bureau of Pisciculture.

Taken together, these bureaus perform a large and most important part of the administrative work of the government, and the duties are eminently scientific in character, though the range of scientific knowledge required for all is not great, and is embraced by the course of studies of both of the national academies and many other institutions of learning in this country. But, taking the bureaus separately, it will be found that with several the limits of duties are loosely laid down, causing an overlapping of jurisdiction, which brings about, in many cases, duplication of work, and engenders between rival bureaus strife and unseemly snatching for the congressional appropriations. A careful study of this subject brings to light a want of order and system utterly opposed to economy and efficiency. It would at once occur to any person of administrative experience that the first step toward reform would be made by consolidat-

ing all these scientific bureaus under one head, forming a new executive department, presided over by a secretary, who should be a member of the cabinet of the President. Under such a system, with a complete set of regulations, and well-defined limits of bureau duties, all conflicting interests would at once die out and a harmonious whole be created.

The rise of the present methods for doing administrative work has been natural. There was, at first, a want of administrative experience in both the legislative and executive departments, and there was in addition a natural repugnance to copying the methods of administration employed by other governments so different in character. Besides, wherever, as in our government, the power resides in the people, and wherever a large class of citizens come to live by politics as a trade, the requirements of party and party workers interfere to prevent a practice of economy, and a simplification of the methods of administration. This, as the nation has advanced in civilization and population, has given to us many new bureaus with ill-defined duties, and loose and crude of structure—defects not of great moment in the early days of the republic, but now seriously interfering with the economical and effective working of the administrative machinery. Members of both branches of the National Legislature, influenced by partisan motives or the desire to serve friends, are constantly intervening to make new divisions or new bureaus, thus increasing the chaotic condition. Such ignoble motives often lead to unjust and groundless attacks upon bureaus which have not, perhaps, been controlled by persons of importance in the political field. As a general rule, when a vacancy occurs at the head of one of these scientific bureaus, the first question asked, with reference to a candidate, is one of politics, and if the requisite scientific qualifications happen to be found in the successful applicant the administration gets a certain amount of undeserved credit. The exceptions are nearly all found among those bureaus which in the law of organization contained some check to indiscriminate appointments.

Taking the foregoing statements as a postulate, it follows that some change is desirable in the method of carrying on our civil public works. As an example of continuous maladministra-

tion, take the class of public works coming under the head of "The Improvement of Rivers and Harbors." In opposition to the views of many able constitutional lawyers, and the early tenets of the Democratic party in its days of "strict construction," Congress finally assumed that money could be properly appropriated for such improvements under the clause of the Constitution giving to it the power to regulate commerce; and this one subject has now become of sufficient importance to justify the creation of a committee in the House of Representatives, having charge of this question and no other. Enlightened and conscientious legislation would at once have created an administrative bureau to carry on such works. To such bureau would necessarily attach so much prestige and authority that it would naturally become a guide to legislation in deciding what rivers and harbors were fit subjects for improvement, both in the interests of commerce and the national defenses. Its plans and estimates would be regularly submitted, and, works once begun, the appropriations should be continued to completion, and then the bureau should have supervision over them to prevent deterioration arising from wanton action or neglect. That was required from a business point of view. What is the history of this class of works?

Congress has retained, as it had the constitutional right to do, the selection of the localities to be improved. Appropriations have been made without the slightest regard to the merits of the question, but to conciliate the political influence of the localities. Appropriations have been made and works begun, and suspended because the appropriations were discontinued when the localities had lost their political influence, and thus money has been squandered. As a rule, the sums thus set apart have been given to the Corps of Engineers to expend, but the estimates from that bureau are never followed, and in many cases the Chief of Engineers has not authorized the expenditure of appropriations, made on a *pro rata* plan, because, being insufficient in amount for any beneficial purpose, the expenditure would be a waste of public money. Completed works are abandoned, and deterioration, from neglect and other causes, naturally goes on until such time as the local interests can, through their representa-

tives, get new appropriations, far exceeding the cost of proper maintenance, had it been ordered. While, as has been said, custom has given these expenditures to the Corps of Engineers, Congress may at any time divert any or all of the items of the appropriations to any other bureau, or to any individual, for expenditure. It can, as it has done, direct contracts to be made with any specified individual, and can, as it has also done, on the application of such individual, modify a contract, to the detriment both of the people's treasury and the interests of commerce and navigation.

From the standpoint of a false political creed it is easy to see why Congress should have retained the selection of the rivers and harbors that were to be the objects of improvement, and why the evils described should have followed such action. If the sums of money absolutely squandered in those various ways should be collected in a table, the reason would be apparent why no subject annually brought before Congress produces so much stench in the nostrils as that same wasteful, log-rolling political job, the so-called River and Harbor Bill. Efforts have at times been made, perhaps not seriously, to get a sum appropriated in bulk, to be expended by the Corps of Engineers in such manner and on such works as might seem to be most necessary to commerce. No one can doubt that money so appropriated would be intelligently and honestly expended, but this would not effect the main purpose; and these efforts to change the policy of Congress have been invariably unsuccessful. The usual action of Congress on this subject has been so criticised by the independent press of the country that of late years some timidity has been shown, not so much in the character of the selections for appropriations as in the aggregate amount. It has been reserved for the Senate to adopt the brilliant method of adding largely to the items of the House Bill, and then reducing the aggregate, not by judicious elimination of improper items, but by reducing all the sums by twenty-five per centum, thus acknowledging the justice of the criticisms, but crippling works of incontestable benefit, while leaving intact the vicious principle. The Executive may sometimes have the opportunity to apply what is known as the "pocket veto" to the bill, but he then

takes upon himself the grave responsibility of suspending works of confessed public utility—a responsibility not assumed by him in the use of the constitutional prerogative. This portion of the civil public works administration certainly requires remodeling.

The work of planning, erecting, and repairing the public buildings of the nation is of great importance, and is conducted at great expense. No argument is needed to show that such work should be under one head, and that that head and all the supervising engineers and architects should be appointed on account of scientific and other qualifications, not political. The survey of the public lands of the United States has been carried on for years in an unscientific and primitive manner, and hereafter both law and science will be required to make straight the crooked paths. To sum up, there does not appear to be a single bureau under the general government, having charge of civil public works, in which the methods either of appointment or administration cannot be improved in the direction of economy and efficiency.

It is incumbent, then, on every one having an interest in the general welfare, and on those especially to whom the people have confided the legislative and executive functions of the government, that they devote to this subject time and study sufficient to evolve something vastly better than the present systems under which the work under consideration is accomplished. In looking into the practice of other nations, to aid in the solution of this problem, one naturally turns first to France, where the administrative ability is of a high order, and the systems more thoroughly elaborated, and perhaps more perfectly carried on, than with any other of the great nations of the world. There we find that the civil public works are solidly concentrated in one department, under the control of a cabinet minister, who is called the Minister of Public Works. These works are classified, and each class is placed under its proper administrative bureau. For instance, there is a bureau for rivers and harbors, another for roads and bridges, another for mines; one for lighthouses, and one for the governmental supervision of the railways within the territorial limits of France; besides others, embracing in all the entire range of civil public works.

The duties of these various bureaus are executed by a Corps of Civil Engineers, forming a part of the permanent establishment of the government. The officers of this corps by their education are fitted to take charge of the duties under any bureau, and in their efficiency and capacity the nation has entire confidence. The existence of such a corps has settled forever in France the question of the method of carrying on works of public utility, and the ministerial Department of Public Works has outlived the various mutations to which the government itself has been subjected during the nineteenth century.

Such a system would naturally commend itself to any thinking person, but coming from such a source and with such a record as it has to prove its value, both as to efficiency and economy, the wonder is that a similar method has not long before this commended itself to some of our legislators and executives. We have, however, gone on as necessities have arisen, and added new bureaus of public works, assigning them, apparently by chance, to this or that executive department, till now there are few intelligent persons in this country who can tell what the divisions of such duties are and to what departments they belong. The reasons for the adoption and continuance of the present methods are undoubtedly :

1st. That the professional politicians would, under a better system, lose some of the patronage which falls to them in the bestowal of places at the incoming of every new administration ; and no question of public good would overcome their opposition.

2d. In the various bureaus which now control the different classes of public works there is to be found a certain amount of political influence, which is and will always be zealously used to prevent the absorption of bureaus and the changing of the present status. Puny efforts, when aggregated into work in one direction, may make a very effective sum total.

3d. The old proverb, that what is the business of every one is the business of no one, applies here, and as yet no strong public man has felt called upon to make a chivalric attack upon the many-headed monstrosity which now passes as a system for carrying on the public works of this country. We have seen

in late years, both here and in England, what has been accomplished by the persistent efforts of one man, or a small body of men, in the direction of true reform, and it is to be hoped that some one may yet don armor in this cause, against which no valid arguments can be brought, while on its side are to be found order, regularity, efficiency, and economy.

Supposing such a system to be adopted, the question would at once arise, How shall this Corps of Civil Engineers be organized and how recruited? For the organization of the bureaus nothing can be better than to follow closely the French system, by classifying the kindred works under one head. Thus, all surveys and the work of the National Observatory would form a class of duties for one bureau. The light-house, the life-saving, and the meteorological systems would fall together under another bureau. The supervision of railroads, and hulls and boilers of commercial steamers, might well be placed together. Public buildings would demand a separate bureau, as would also the improvement and care of rivers and harbors. There should also be a Bureau of Inventions, while agriculture and pisciculture would not be inharmonious under one bureau. This would give seven administrative bureaus for the civil public works, with infinite improvements in the simplicity of the work. The *personnel* of these divisions could be made up from the following sources:

1st. The many excellent officers of experience at present in existing bureaus.

2d. The great body of civil engineers of high rank and large experience, from which many could be selected who would take such honorable and permanent service.

3d. The young officers of the Engineer Corps and of the Navy are eminently fitted by education and training for the discharge of duties under all the various bureaus, and many would willingly exchange for advancement into a permanent Corps of Civil Engineers.

4th. The educational facilities afforded in this country give yearly a large field for the selection of the subordinates.

Supposing such a system to be put in operation, how is it to be recruited as vacancies occur? The French have what may be

called a finishing school, from which they fill the ranks of the Corps of Civil Engineers. That is to say, they have a standard for admission, both as to capacity and acquirements, and the selections for the government school are made from those who come up to that standard. The studies in this school are both theoretical and practical, and lead directly to the purpose in hand; that is, the fitting of the pupils for the discharge of any class of duties coming under the Department of Public Works. In addition to the scholars educated at the public expense, with a view to appointments in the Corps of Governmental Civil Engineers, the school receives, under certain conditions, those who pay a fee for tuition, thus acquiring an education second to none of its class in the world. The cost to the government of such a school would be but a tithe of what is now wasted on government works through ignorance, and the want of interest coming through a feeling of insecurity of position.

The French people cultivate carefully, as an important element in their entire range of administration, what is termed *esprit de corps*. This impresses upon each individual zeal in the discharge of duty, and a feeling that the general reputation of the corps rests in a degree upon the measure of his own success. In this country it exists in fragmentary bodies, and might be looked for as a natural result of the formation of a body of civil engineers for public works. However, when the law-makers of the republic see the necessity for consolidating the systems and simplifying the processes, the details of organization are matters that will offer no trouble in working out the problem of the administration of the civil public works.

WILLIAM FARRAR SMITH.

## THE NATURAL GAS SUPPLY.

THE first use of rock gas was made in the year 1821, when some enterprising citizens of Fredonia, in Chautauqua County, N. Y., devised a method for utilizing in a small way the gas which had long been observed issuing from the ground in the neighborhood of the town. A small well was bored in the village to the depth of twenty-seven feet, and the gas was conducted through pipes to the houses, where it was used for illuminating purposes alone. "In 1824, on the occasion of Lafayette's visit, the village was illuminated with natural gas." \*

This well, which was drilled in 1850 to the depth of only seventy feet, continued to supply the village with illuminating gas until the year 1858. It is a noteworthy fact that although this interesting discovery was widely known it did not lead to any further experiments, either in the neighborhood or in other places, till fully twenty years after 1821. In the early part of the present century it was found that the wells which were bored for salt in the Kanawha Valley yielded large quantities of gas. In 1841 this gas was first used as fuel for boiling the brines obtained from the wells.

Nearly all the wells drilled for the purpose of obtaining petroleum afforded natural gas in abundance; it was, in fact, a considerable inconvenience to those engaged in sinking the wells, and often a source of serious danger. Still, notwithstanding the obvious value of this gaseous fuel, no systematic effort was made to utilize the product until during the last decade. In 1873, a well in Armstrong County, Pa., was so arranged that the gas could be separated from the water with which it was discharged, and conveyed through pipes to several mills in that vicinity, where it was used in the manufacture of bar iron. From that

\* See "Mineral Resources of the United States," in the "Report of the U. S. Geological Survey, J. W. Powell, Director," 1885; p. 169.

time to the present day the use of natural gas has increased very rapidly. It is estimated, in the above-mentioned report of the United States Geological Survey, that the gas used in 1885 for heating and illuminating purposes was equivalent to 3,131,000 tons of coal, having a value of \$4,857,000. The consumption of gas during the last calendar year very much exceeded this quantity ; the total value, estimated on the basis of the coal which it has displaced, probably amounted to more than \$6,000,000.

The extreme slowness with which our people, though peculiarly ready to avail themselves of all the natural advantages which the earth affords, made use of this valuable source of power and of light, is an illustration of what may be called commercial inertia, or the tendency to keep to old ways, which resists all processes of improvement until they have by some chance been brought into use, and afforded the enterprising persons who have first won profit from them an advantage over their business competitors. This inertia is perhaps partly to be explained by the fact that the first experiments at Fredonia had in view the use of this gas for illuminating purposes, and that the gas was not enriched in any manner and was of weak light-giving power. Moreover, this use being purely domestic, it gave no particular advantage to manufacturers, and therefore did not create any competition in trade. As soon, however, as the gas was used in iron works, manufacturers obtained a decided advantage from the cheapening of their products, and therefore, naturally, their competitors in business sought as rapidly as possible to obtain the same reduction of expenses. At present this competition is leading to an interesting and very rapid extension of the use of this gas, and to commercial results of high importance, which promise to have in the end a very great effect on American industries. A supply of this gas affords in many factories an advantage which may safely be estimated as equal to not less than ten per cent. upon the capital engaged in the operations.

Already we see the effect of this industrial change in the decline in the iron works of Massachusetts and of other parts of the country where rolling and nail mills are disadvantageously placed with reference to a supply of fuel. It is evidently important to be able to forecast the future of this new source of heat

and light ; to determine the areas beneath which gas in considerable quantities may be found, and the probable duration of the supply in the known fields and in those yet to be explored. To gain an idea of the probable future of this new fuel it is necessary to consider in a general way the circumstances which lead to its formation and to its storage in the rocks.

The general conditions of the production and retention of natural gas within the earth are simple and easily understood. Wherever, on the present sea-floor or on the sea-floors of former geological ages, strata are built which contain a considerable quantity of organic matter, the remains of animal or of vegetable life, we find the first condition of formation of this rock gas. As soon as a layer of these sediments is buried beneath subsequent accumulations a process of decay sets in, which may or may not be accelerated by the invasion of the strata by the earth's central heat. If the superincumbent beds are close-textured enough to prevent the escape of these gaseous products of decomposition, they are retained within the rocks. In the course of time the chemical reactions become quite complicated, and we have a host of secondary products arising from the decay of the organic matter, which constitute our various grades of petroleum and the equally varied natural gases which are akin to them.

If, now, these deeply buried beds are elevated above the level of the sea they may afford a source of petroleum and of rock gases, or, as is commonly the case, of the two combined in varying proportions. The gaseous matter is packed in a very compressed form in the interstices between the grains of rock of which all sedimentary formations are composed. The preservation of the gases within these tiny chambers depends upon the absence of any channels by which they may escape to the surface. Urged by the strain arising from their compression, they will be forced out into the air provided a way of escape is afforded them.

When these rocks are elevated on the continental folds and become dry land, there is always a chance that means of escape may be provided by the accidents which attend this elevation. If the rock is folded into mountain curves so that the edges of the strata project above the surface of the ground, the gas is apt to escape. If the rock is much rifted by faults, these fractures

open free passage for the imprisoned gas, which will creep for miles to the outlet. It is only where the deposits remain unfractured and in tolerably horizontal attitudes, and where beds of porous rock are overlaid by beds of very compact clay, that we find the conditions in which this material may be firmly imprisoned.

There is another condition which limits the preservation of these gases. Although a certain amount of heat is favorable to the development of petroleum and of rock gas, any large accession of temperature is likely, by the great increase in the expansive energies of the gases, to force them from the crevices in which they are stored. Therefore, where rocks have been much metamorphosed by terrestrial heat coming in the form of hot waters, we generally find the cavities in which the gas might be stored completely obliterated, and the material which once occupied them expelled. It has therefore come about that only a small portion of the rocks which originally contained rock gas still retain it in sufficient quantities to reward the explorer. It seems likely that the Mississippi valley section of this country can alone be looked to as a field for a supply of this product, at least, in large quantities.

The Appalachian section, on the eastern shore, and the Cordilleran division of the continent from the Rocky Mountains westward, are to a great extent excluded from the possible field of supply by the extensive disturbance to which their rocks have been subjected as well as by their metamorphosed condition. It seems likely that within the Mississippi Valley only a small portion of the total area contains rock gases in quantities economically important, though in almost every part of that region they probably exist in smaller volume. So far the most extensive accumulations and those which are easiest reached from the surface have been found in or near the petroleum fields. The outrush of gas from many of the wells is extremely great in quantity, amounting, in the case of some of the wells, to as much as thirty million cubic feet a day. It is stated by Mr. J. D. Weeks, in the report of the Geological Survey already mentioned, that the outflow of a single well, during a period of five years, was equivalent in heating power to a thousand tons of coal a day.

As we go west from the fields where petroleum is found in abundance the quantity of rock gas seems steadily to diminish; still it is probable that throughout the Mississippi Valley, and perhaps in occasional small areas of undisturbed and unmetamorphosed rocks within the limit of the mountain systems on the east and west of that valley, we may find the supply considerable enough to have some economic importance. Professor Lesley, who has given much attention to the conditions of occurrence of rock gases, is of the opinion that even in the fields where the gas is most abundant it will not be found over the whole of the areas, but in isolated bodies among the accumulations of water or of oil which fill most of the crevices in the rocks, affording no room for the vaporous matter.

Turning, now, to the question of the maintenance of supply, on which clearly depends the eventual importance of this economic resource, the evidence in hand seems to show that we cannot reckon on a long continuance of a large supply from any one field, except, perhaps, in the case of certain wells in the oil district of Pennsylvania. It has been observed that the greater part of the borings which have yielded gas steadily diminish in their outflow from the time when they are first opened. The continuance of the supply of gas depends upon the number of wells in the same district. In most cases the gas is under high pressure; in some wells the pressure appears to amount to about a thousand pounds to the square inch. In consequence of this pressure it appears that the gas is enabled to migrate through the crevices of the rock for great distances, toward the point of escape which is provided by the boring. Each well drains a large territory; the pressure near the well rapidly diminishes, and with the diminution of pressure the distance from which the matter can migrate toward the boring becomes less, because of the friction which the gas encounters in the narrow crevices through which it passes. If these gas deposits belonged to the State, it would be possible to make some regulations for their conservation, but under our American system of complete individual proprietorship in land, a system by which each land-owner is supposed to own not only the surface of the earth but downward to the center and upward to the stars, competition leads to

a destructive multiplication of wells wherever the yield of gas proves of sufficient value to repay the expense of winning it. It has been estimated that the gas in the rocks for thirty miles around Pittsburg is likely to be exhausted within the period of eight years. Although this estimate does not rest upon any firm ground of observation, it seems to indicate that where the supply is as extensively drawn upon as it now is in the region tributary to Pittsburg we cannot expect it to be a permanent element in industries. Apparently, the only chance of a tolerably permanent supply, that is, of a supply which may endure for the lifetime of a generation, will be where large areas of gas-bearing territory are secured by capitalists and the stores drawn upon in a systematic and economic manner.

It is held by some students of the problem that there is a continuous production of this gas now going on in the rocks in which it is found, and that this production may be sufficiently rapid to provide against the speedy exhaustion of the store. Those who have paid the most attention to the facts, however, are of the opinion that while it is possible that the processes which form this gas are still in operation, the rate at which they contribute to the supply is so slow that they cannot materially affect the process of exhaustion. It seems, therefore, likely that even in a generation we shall find ourselves, as regards the production of natural gas, in the position to which we are sure to come within a century with regard to the production of petroleum, where the larger and more profitable stores of the material having been exhausted, there will remain only the scantier fields. We thus see that there is a chance of incurring considerable economic risk in founding industries upon these resources of rock gas. It is to be feared that a large part of the capital which is now being invested in obtaining and distributing this substance may be lost. There is, in a word, a danger of incurring, in the development of this industry, the economic disadvantages which we now have to face in the manufacture of iron : those arising from a change in the source of supply, leading to the loss of costly plant.

At present the use of natural gas, by reducing the cost of certain manufactured articles, is affording the producers of these

goods an advantage over foreign competitors. It seems possible that the cheapening of manufactured iron due to this new source of fuel supply may open to us foreign markets from which we are now excluded. It is, therefore, interesting to consider whether, in other countries, this gas is likely to be found in large quantities. It appears probable that none of the great seats of manufacturing industry in western Europe are likely to find any sources of supply of rock gas sufficiently extensive to prove of value. Eastern Europe and all the great tract of undisturbed stratified rocks in northern Asia are likely to afford supplies of natural gas similar to our own. In other parts of Asia, as well as on the other continents, Africa, South America, and Australia, it seems probable that there may be abundant stores of this material. But so far as the development of this resource can be determined by the general geological conditions of the countries, it does not appear likely that large supplies of natural gas may be reckoned on in any of the industrial centers of the Old World. Therefore this particular commercial advantage is likely for the present to remain a peculiar possession of our American manufacturers.

So far the deliberate search for rock gas has been but limited. Most of our information concerning its distribution has been obtained incidentally in sinking wells for petroleum. Since the time when "rock oil" was first won by bored wells, some thousands of these borings have been made, all of which might have afforded very valuable evidence as to the distribution of subterranean gases. Unfortunately, until the institution of the United States Geological Survey, no care was taken to preserve the records of these explorations, and the greater part of this valuable information has been lost. In the greater number of cases the petroleum wells yielded gas, but the supply from the old borings has now ceased or greatly diminished, and in few instances have we any data to determine its heat-giving value or the amount of the outflow. By far the greater number of these old wells were abandoned because they produced either no oil at all or too little to justify its economic use. They were left without being piped, and have generally become closed by the falling in of the walls. If, at the time when these

explorations were made, we had had in operation the careful supervision which the Geological Survey is now giving to such matters, we should have obtained information as to the distribution of rock gas which it will cost millions of dollars to secure.

The United States Geological Survey is now doing a good service to the commercial interests of our people by gathering statistics concerning this industry in all parts of the country. From the information which it is accumulating as to the circumstances under which the gas occurs we may hope soon to know the precise portions of our territory where it may be sought for with a prospect of success. Inventors have within the past five years greatly improved the mechanism by which this gas may be used without the serious dangers which at first beset its employment.

In all the arts where heat is required for direct application, as in rolling-mills, glass-factories, pottery establishments, etc., as well as in all places where the fuel is employed in the generation of steam, this source of caloric has important economic uses. It is not available for the purpose of ore smelting, but the range of its applications is sufficiently great to make it a matter of importance to all the manufacturing industries of this country. To it we may look for an important, though it may be but a momentary, stimulus to many of our industries. Even if, after a period of a generation, the supply should fail, it will doubtless lead to a very extensive use of gas produced from coal, and thus have a permanent effect upon our economic processes.

N. S. SHALER.

## DRESS AND UNDRESS.

THOMAS CARLYLE, in the title of "Sartor Resartus," gave us a word of promise which he scarcely fulfilled. Small account does he make of seams and stitches in his work, which professes only a mock reverence for the dignities and mysteries of human attire. The tailor, in his pages, is not only made wholly subservient to the philosopher, but is scarcely allowed to show his face at all. Yet the question of dress is of sufficient importance to-day to occupy the artist, the hygienist, and the moralist. Among the various points of view from which it may be considered, let us endeavor to find those in which it most nearly concerns the well-being of society.

Dress has, first of all, two aspects, which we may call esoteric and exoteric. In one of these we may consider it as expression, in the other, as ordinance; *i. e.*, as devised by individual fancy, or as imposed by the laws of fellowship and of imitation. As to the first of these, we might reasonably expect that society would gain by the inventive power of those for whom the æsthetic aspects of things have an absorbing interest. This expectation, if entertained, is often disappointed. Few things are more dangerous to attempt than originality in dress. Most of us have seen daring efforts in this line whose results could not but be called disastrous to good looks. We have met Americans recently returned from Europe, attired in such extravagance of costume as to provoke from elders the remark that "they oughtn't to be allowed to choose their own clothes." The London "Punch" even, in illustrating the uses and abuses of the round hat, gives its view of "when the police ought to interfere." If we take the world "by and large," we shall find the authority of ordinance in dress prevailing above the dictates of individual taste and fancy. Small as the wisdom of the majority may be in such matters, we cannot afford to do without it. A standard of the becoming

is important in dress, as in other things. The advantage of this standard is that it helps us to check the extravagance of our covetous imagination, to which shop windows remorselessly minister. The colors of the rainbow are for airy Iris, not for matronly Juno or sedate Minerva. Most of us are attracted by forms and colors which may be admirable in themselves, but which may be most unsuitable for our wear. Not each of us has the skill to choose what shall best harmonize with the coloring of nature, or what shall least call attention to defects of person. Certain general rules may be made very helpful in these respects. There is a traditional grammar of color which prescribes the hues and shades which suit best with dark or light complexions, with hair black, blond, red, or gray ; yet this grammar occasionally develops some irregular verbs, some exceptions to established rules. People sometimes please us by wearing exactly what we should have said that they could not wear.

One of the most important of the rules just alluded to concerns the adaptation of dress to different periods of life. Sixteen, twenty-five, forty, sixty—these numbers mark gradations of age which the careful dresser ought to observe. Personal vanity is apt to override these invidious distinctions, and to give us curious and pitiable anachronisms of toilet. The same very human trait leads many to ignore defects which dress is intended to conceal ; to give prominence to outlines of form which would better be masked, or at least softened ; to wear flowers or jewels which irresistibly challenge comparison with a wrinkled brow, faded eyes, and a dull or marred complexion. In such cases, friends, to be kind, should be cruel. Margaret Fuller, in one of her improvisations, said : “ We love nature ; we seek truth ; we are beauty.” It may be hard, and yet most merciful, to admonish some deluded acquaintance that she must aspire to spiritual beauty, the physical gift, which all covet, being denied her.

Thus much Carlyle’s “ Sartor ” does make plain to us, that there is a philosophy of attire. We may add, a religion also, in which the two schools of authority and freedom are represented.

All protestant movements in dress call for courage and hardihood on the part of their followers. A striking innovation

in costume is often ridiculed at first, to be adopted at a later period. Where the change, however, is such as to make evident the intention of sacrificing appearance to comfort, it is apt to be met by indignation on the part of the public. In proof of this we need only mention the Bloomer experiment of forty years ago, and its fate. The intention, in this instance, was a laudable one. The costume was devised in order to deliver women from a host of dangers and discomforts; from perils of falls through the entanglement of draperies, of chill from wet skirts, and from a general embargo laid by fashion upon the natural exercise of the abdominal and lateral muscles. It was adopted here and there by some lady in high social position, and by many women of undoubted good sense and character. But it was voted down in such vehement fashion as to intimidate all wearers of it, who presently returned to the bondage of ordinary costume. The concordant judgment of two very highly esteemed ladies upon the Bloomer costume was that "the comfort to the body was extreme, but not less was the discomfort to the mind."

Mrs. Bloomer and her allies did, however, sow good seed in the field of their endeavors; and it was not without a grateful remembrance of them that the dress-reform movement started, some years since, on a fresh attempt to deliver the bodies of women from unwholesome and deforming constraint. A greatly modified system of underclothing has been the result of this second crusade, and some of the hurtful conditions of fine dressing have been set aside by all save the devotees of what we may call the antiquated superstition of the toilet.

I spoke just now of dress as a matter coming within the province of the æstheticist, the hygienist, and the moralist. These three have, in fact, something to say about most things which concern human life. Each of them is disposed to be absolute in dictation, and, in support of this absoluteness, to take for granted a primary contradiction between the cardinal points of interest. Morals sometimes assume an uncalled-for hostility to the creed of the beautiful. Æsthetics sometimes cry "Hands off!" to morals, on the ground that works of art are not amenable to the laws of morality. Hygiene, in turn, is not less dictatorial. A better culture shows us these three master chords

braided into a threefold unity, and thus making themselves felt throughout human experience. A true æsthetic requires a true ethic, and the two together harmonize most happily with the conditions of health—*mens sana in corpore sano*.

Prominent on the moral side of the dress topic appears the present concern on the part of the public regarding the barenness of arms and of bust, which is becoming a frequent feature of fashionable society. A recent retort was made against certain patrons of American opera who took exception to the scant covering of the ballet-girls: "The stage may offend against decency, but how is it with the ladies in the boxes?" Now, in deciding whether this retort was justifiable or no, let us consult our three authorities.

In the first place, what does a true æsthetic hold regarding female attire? Its first condition would be that the woman's dress should by no means interfere with her greatest attraction. What is that greatest attraction? It is modesty. What will hygiene say? That dress should not be permitted to expose highly sensitive parts of the body to the air. What will morals say? They will say for once that æsthetics and hygiene are right, and that no consideration can properly be recognized as taking precedence of what modesty requires on the one hand, and health on the other.

But the debatable point of the question will probably be found on this very ground of modesty, and in defense of the side attacked a plea like the following will be made: Nakedness is the acknowledged concomitant of primitive innocence. In the heart of Africa may be found to-day women who have never worn clothing, and who yet, as travelers assure us, betray no lack of feminine reserve in their actions and demeanor. There is, therefore, no intrinsic right or wrong in covering or uncovering the body. The necessity of dress has its origin in the desire for comfort. Custom, then, imposes its laws, which vary in different countries and under different circumstances. Custom is, therefore, the supreme authority in these matters, and what custom allows may be accepted without blame.

To this the moralist may reply that custom has often sanctioned much which, to the enlightened conscience of mankind,

appears highly criminal. It has winked at brigandage and murder. It has crowned successful wrong, and immolated the struggling right. Having no proper conscience of its own, it should always be held subject to question, and, if necessary, to reform.

The reaction of what is once permitted upon what is thereafter held to be permissible, is a point much considered in the treatment of the law. It is equally important in the criticism of custom. History gives us some terrible lessons of the degradation which a corrupt taste may reach. To find one of them we need go back no farther than to the period of the French *Directoire*, whose nymphs and *merveilleuses* are thus described by an eye-witness, the scene being a reception at the "Petit Luxembourg."

"On the right, upon a dais, were fifty musicians and singers of the opera, performing a patriotic cantata to the music of Méhul. On the left, upon another dais, two hundred women, with the beauty of youth, freshness, and nudity, were going into ecstasies over the happiness and majesty of the republic. All of these were dressed in muslin tunics and silk tights, after the fashion of opera-dancers, the majority of them with rings on their great toes."

In another place are mentioned "three hundred women, perfumed and floating in their *deshabille, à la Vénus Impudique!*" Still another portrait of this kind is given us by a contemporaneous writer:

"Who is this woman preceded by applause? Come and see. The crowd presses around her. Is she naked? I am still in doubt. I see her light pantaloons, comparable to the famous skin breeches of the Comte d'Artois. Although of silk, the feminine trousers surpass perhaps in closeness of fit those famous breeches. A crowd of young men surround her with demonstrations of dissolute joy."

Let us leave our reasoning, and come at once to fact and feeling. In the domain of the first, it is worthy of note that the gentlemen of Christendom have decided not to make the display of physical beauty a leading object in their dress. Carlyle rightly calls the modern coat "a wide poke for the body, with two narrower pokes for the arms." The trousers, a comfortable and convenient garment, do not display the legs as did the breeches of olden time. The gain in this is obvious. The man accoutered in his complete suit has an aspect of freedom and

of bodily control which the breeched lord of older days had not. Even the wheelmen who disport themselves in knickerbockers suggest to the observer a train of possible mishaps and discomforts from which the trousers insure immunity. The progress of civilization, then, assigns to man, even if he be vain and pleasure-loving, objects other than the exhibition of his personal gifts and graces. Is it conceivable that this progress should lead women in the opposite direction?

Now, as to feeling. The beaded waists and sleeves which are often the only covering given to the neck, bust, and arms of fashionable women—are they comfortable to look upon? Do they not awaken in beholders a shivering sympathy with the shivering wearer? I feel, as I write, a positive shudder which I have often felt on seeing that the fine lady before me had slipped out of her undergarments before slipping into her transparents. This sympathetic discomfort to the bystanders is something which those who practice dress as an art should avoid. Why make yourself uncomfortable only to make others a little less uncomfortable?

As for supposing that the woman of fashion is a conventional apocryphal animal, devoid of natural sensibility, like the gryphon or the unicorn, we must call this the most impossible of social fictions. There are various minor falsities which we make up our minds to accept and to practice. We express pain or pleasure at circumstances which give us neither the one nor the other, and say that we are not at home when we are most at home. But to say that the woman exposed at the ball or the theater is not the real flesh-and-blood woman, that her skin is hardened for the time being, and feels no cold, that her nerves, veins, and arteries are not charged with the precious current of her life, but have entered into an agreement not to fulfill their functions when she wishes to appear in full undress: such a conviction as this would be necessary for our mental comfort when the sensitive skin is laid bare before us; but such a conviction even the credo of fashion does not contain.

On the other hand, if the skin is not hardened, how is it with the heart—with the delicate sensibilities which prompt a woman's reserves, and which would naturally make the most beautiful of

the sex the shyest of public observation? I do not believe that these are destroyed or destructible in the class of women who come within the scope of these remarks. If they are not, the style of dress which suggests to us the physical discomfort of the wearer must suggest to us also a moral discomfort, in which we participate even more deeply.

The female slaves of a Turkish harem are obliged to leave the bosom so much exposed that pulmonary disease is frequently the result. The ladies of the harem are entitled to a comfortable covering for the neck and shoulders. Within those precincts, exposure becomes a badge of servitude, and the contrary a condition of dignity. We may learn something even from the code of the zenana. The liberty which falls so largely to the lot of American women would seem to lead in a direction opposite to that indicated by an over-display of the person. This freedom concedes to them the right to serve and to labor in fields in which the question of sex does not need to be considered. The girl who sits beside the young man at college, the woman who meets men at the lecture or in the clinic, meets them as an equal. She is bound to abstain from all that could subject them to that slavery of the senses from which she herself claims to be free.

The extravagances of a wild revolutionary period had, no doubt, much to do with the French idea of "*la femme émancipée*." To us to-day it is given to rejoice in a real emancipation of woman. From the fetters of enforced ignorance and passivity she is delivered by the legitimate progress of civilization. Let her, then, hold fast the liberty wherewith true doctrine has set her free, and give no outward sign of a return to the bondage of a physical attraction which is useful and beautiful only when presented in its legitimate form and measure.

These are intended to be words of warning, not of censure. Custom and familiarity modify almost inevitably the general opinion regarding propriety in dress. Immodesty lies in the intention and purpose of the heart, and may penetrate through veils and draperies as well as stare from uncovered bust and shoulders. But good women are bound to maintain the best traditions of their sex. Refinement and good sense are foremost among these, and neither of them will permit either the

dressing or the acting down to a low level of attraction. There is an admiration which dishonors. There is a homage which exalts. Any training which allows women to mistake the one for the other is demoralizing, and should be so recognized and set aside.

I remember an afternoon on which a club of women were assembled in crowded parlors to hear the sweet voice of a puritan maiden whose first public message set "the gates ajar" before us. Clad in a rich gown of black silk, of very simple fashion, with the plainest white relief about the throat and wrists, she was herself an exemplification of her subject: "What to Wear." It would require a special grace to enable any of us to be satisfied with a garb from which all attempt at ornament should be absent. Most of us crave from others the notice we love to give them. We praise their adornments, and wish them to praise ours. But I am sure that the vision of that sweet, severe saint became a glorified remembrance in the minds of those who saw and heard her, as I did. She was not the less a woman. She did not the less share the wish natural to her sex, to represent beauty and grace in her appearance and demeanor. But in her pure and devout heart she held modesty to be inseparable from these. In the sea of forms and faces which society often reveals, I recall her fair brow, sweet, earnest eyes, and slender enfolded figure with a pleasure akin to that with which I remember the draped "Pudicitia" of the Vatican, which, standing shyly among goddesses devoid of drapery, seems in every fold of her garments to reveal a beauty which they cannot show, the beauty of the ideal womanly.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

## DINING-HALL MENDICANCY.

THE practice of tipping, or giving gratuities to, hotel porters, restaurant and hotel waiters, and other servants, is of comparatively recent introduction into the United States. Some eighteen or twenty years ago, when our foppish young men about town began to make trips abroad, it was observed, on their return home, that they had adopted foreign accents, inflections, affectations, and especially that they aped everything English. Tipping was at that time, as now, an established custom in England, as well as throughout Europe and Asia, and acres of palms, itching for coin, were outstretched by a mendicant host, ranging from the laced major-domos of gorgeous palaces and the liveried beadle in great cathedrals, down to the beggars of India and Egypt, and the lazzaroni of Naples. So universal was the custom that it went far to justify the sarcasm of Senator Thurman, who, when asked if he had met Prince Bismarck, replied that he was extremely sorry he had not, because he did want to meet one person in Europe who was not waiting for him to hand over a shilling !

When tipping was first introduced at Delmonico's, by some of the traveled fops, the astonished waiters did not know what to think of it. The more manly attendants were inclined to resent the seeming attempt to buy or bribe them, while others were disposed to pocket the gratuity, with the reflection that the donor must have "taken a little too much." But the men of fashion, who are usually the men of fortune, soon made it known that to tip was "good form." The practice rapidly spread from the fashionable restaurants and hotels to the second, third, and fourth-rate places. While the abuse has not yet become so universal here as in older countries, it is spreading apace. Guests are now expected to present gratuities only to waiters and cooks, to porters, chambermaids, bell-boys and

bootblacks, to janitors, baggage-checkers, trunk-handlers at railway stations, and a few other non-enumerated classes. Barbers receive extras, varying from a dime to a dollar, from nobs and nabobs ; soon they will be demanding like treatment from all. Before inquiring where the evil will end, let us ascertain precisely what the evil is.

The practice of exacting tips is indefensible from every point of view. The bill of fare at a restaurant sets forth a scale of prices for the articles of food or refreshment supplied, and, as a rule, these prices are high enough, heaven knows, and are steadily increased from year to year, in the face of the fact that provisions of all kinds have been declining for a long time. The profit on thirty different articles of food, chiefly vegetables, served in a leading restaurant of New York, is found upon investigation to range from three hundred to nine hundred per cent. The patron consents to pay this profit on his lettuce, beans, or corn, and he finds that he is also expected to pay twenty or twenty-five per cent. more to the servant who brings him his vegetables.

If one were expected to pay extra only for extra civility or special intelligence, there might be some excuse for the system. But this is not at all the ground on which the practice rests. You are expected to reward alike civility and incivility, to pay handsomely for both intelligence and stupidity, and to be equally liberal to courtesy and insolence. If your waiter brings you tainted meat or stale vegetables, he looks for the same *douceur* as if he had brought you palatable or wholesome food. If the tip is not forthcoming, his insolence is shown so long as you remain, and if you return he will either refuse to wait on you, or serve you worse than before. Between cooks and waiters there is always a perfect understanding as to the treatment that favored or obnoxious guests shall receive, for the reason that the tips are divided between them. The spendthrift, however worthless, who wastes the most money on them, gets the best entertainment the place can afford, while the provident patron, paying the same high rates, if not lavish with his money, must put up with the smallest and meanest portions that can be served. One of the most distinguished members of the United States Senate has frequently, it

is said, been insulted and reviled, because of his habitual refusal to submit to this iniquitous tax.

At hotels on the American plan, where the charges are four or five dollars a day, or fifty per cent. higher than when provisions were fifty per cent. dearer, the guest is expected to add a dollar or so a day, in the form of gratuities, to the exorbitant published rates. Now, the guests should either pay the servants all their wages, or pay none. Their employer, the landlord, should properly compensate all his *employés* for their services, or saddle their entire support upon his patrons. There is no logic and no sense in dividing their support between their employer and the persons they serve. At some hotels porters get \$20 a month from the proprietors, and about \$4 a day, or \$120 a month, from the guests. In the *café* at Delmonico's the waiters receive a salary of \$25 a month, and make as high as \$5 a day, or \$150 a month, in tips. Why impose six-sevenths of the burden of the servant's compensation upon the public, and not seven-sevenths? The step is, of course, a short one to that European system under which the servants pay fixed annual premiums to nominal employers for eligible positions from which they can prey upon the public.

From what we have said it follows that obtaining money through an ostensibly voluntary, but really compulsory, process is obtaining money under false pretenses; it is a species of blackmail, where insolence and insult follow a refusal to "deliver;" it is tolerated swindling, because it is taking your money without rendering any equivalent; and it is licensed robbery, less manly than the footpad's, because you are forced to pay a second time for what you have too exorbitantly paid for already. For it must not be forgotten that when you pay your legitimate restaurant or hotel bill you pay for intelligent service and for proper civility and proper attention, no less than for your napkins, knives, and food. These miscellaneous gratuities are not defensible on the score of charity, because chief waiters or superintendents, with whom the subordinates divide their ill-gotten gains, are frequently able to ride in their own carriages in Central Park, and are in better financial condition than many of those from whom they receive gratuities. If it be said that these

servants cannot live on \$25 or \$30 a month, and hence are objects of charity, the answer is, that thousands of deserving men and women all around us are receiving less. If these able-bodied table servants cannot live on their legitimate pay, they should seek other employment, and not be hourly asking alms.

That the practice we are considering is detrimental to the interests of employers is demonstrable, in fact, is conceded by managers of hotels and restaurants themselves. In collusion with cooks, waiters will often serve extra portions, or extra large portions, in expectation of thereby establishing a claim on the liberality of the guest. They thus rob their employer by serving what is not paid for, in order to make profit for themselves. At hotels conducted on the American plan they increase enormously the waste of food, by bringing guests more than they have ordered. Much good food is wasted at a large American hotel, and this waste is doubled through the tipping swindle. But the proprietors of hotels say they are powerless to get rid of the evil. When it was suggested to the manager of one of the principal hotels of New York that it would be thousands of dollars in his pocket if he should declare war upon the growing abuse, and put an end to the robbery of his patrons, he replied: "It can't be done; I should lose two months' business if I attempted it." In explanation he said that his help would all immediately leave him; that he could not keep a bell-boy or a chambermaid; and that it would take two months to get together servants that might stay, upon being paid higher wages than other hotels were paying. Thus, then, this organized evil has introduced a reign of terror; its systematized tyranny cannot be resisted by those whose interest it is to escape from its control. If this be true, is it not high time that this plundering servants' boycott should be terminated?

But the weightiest objections to this system remain to be stated. The "tippees," or persons receiving these unearned gratuities, are debased and demoralized by the irrational usage. The best way found, since the world began, to get money, is to earn it. But if able-bodied men can get a half-dollar by standing around opera-houses, and opening the doors of gentlemen's carriages, they will not work a half-day for the same sum. A lackey

will not toil an hour for a quarter of a dollar, if he can get as much by handing a fop a match or a tooth-pick. Hard work is precisely what the professional tip-hunters have an aversion to; their repugnance to labor increases with the increase of their easily-gotten gratuities. Nor will they strive to please, if a tip must follow whether they please or not. By placing themselves in the attitude of mendicants they lose their self-respect. A distaste for all work which brings in gains slowly soon follows. The real working classes are, hence, constantly depleted and the class of light workers re-enforced by the indolent and thoughtless, who are deluded with visions of sudden riches and rapid gains. In the Old World the demoralization of labor through this agency is universal. So wide-spread has the evil become, that our accomplished Consul-General at Frankfort, Hon. Alfred E. Lee, forwarded, in 1880, an official report to his government upon this subject. The Consul-General says:

"In estimating the rates of wages, the prevailing habit of paying petty gratuities, known as *trinkgeld*, drink money, should be taken into account. This vicious custom, which it is to be hoped may never take root in our country, bears the marks of the old feudal system, which made the employer a master and the employed a serf, and is one of the most demoralizing influences which affect German labor. The practice of making part of the laborer's compensation a favor, to be conferred at discretion, reduces his independence, degrades his manhood, and converts honorable toil into a sort of licensed beggary. . . . When the workman has earned his wages he is entitled to receive their full amount, independently of the discretion of his employer, and without liability to that natural contempt which is felt for a well-dressed or able-bodied mendicant. On the other hand, if he receives wages which he does not earn, his employer is imposed upon, and the position of the *employé* is that of a person supported in idleness or dependent on charity. The effect of the drink-money system on the morals of labor may be readily inferred, for even if the margin between licensed mendicancy and dishonesty were wide, the one would be a standing temptation to the other."

Mr. Lee's report need not be quoted further to prove that the question of servant-feeing deserves serious and dignified discussion, and that it rises to the height of an economic problem worthy of our most thoughtful attention. Since the evil has not yet spread far beyond the large cities and summer resorts, it may be checked, if all who are opposed to the imposition on principle will firmly refuse to submit to it, and will do what they

can to create, or rather strengthen, public sentiment against it. If not checked, when it may be, where will it end? It will come to this, that street-car conductors must be tipped, else they will land you in the mud, or not land you at all; gatemen on the elevated roads must be "remembered," or they will shut you in the cars or lock you out; every clerk in the stores, from whom you buy a tin pan or a yard of gingham, must be "treated handsomely," or you will find yourself contemptuously snubbed; and, as in London, every policeman of whom you ask your way must have a coin pressed to his palm, else he will purposely lead you astray. These and other classes of persons have as good a right to expect gratuities as have those we now reward for less valuable services. Logically, there is no place to stop between paying twice for all services, and paying twice for none. The lofty and truly grand style of feeding servants is that adopted by the Boston defaulter of the other day, who proudly handed five dollars to the waiter who brought him a spoonful of absinthe, or a finger-bowl. Having stolen half a million, there seemed to him no reason why he should not be liberal with other people's money, and squander it on harlots and menials.

We commend the Boston style to all spendthrifts, because it impresses waiters profoundly, and this seems to be the chief object of the tip. The waiter's unqualified admiration cannot be had on any lower terms; for all largess dispensers should know that a supercilious servant who has once received a five-dollar gratuity must consider dollar and half-dollar tips small and mean. He must draw the line somewhere. But had not practical Americans better draw the line on a business basis, and pay only for what they get?

JAMES Q. HOWARD.

# The Forum.

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## IS ANDOVER ROMANIZING?

I MUST not be understood as intending to stigmatize the Andover movement by the title of this article; nor as maintaining that the doctrine of future probation, to which the foregoing question refers, is in itself akin to any tenet of Roman Catholic theology. At the same time I cannot help believing that the question suggests some of the most serious difficulties with which the belief in future probation is burdened, and I am the more willing on that account to attempt an answer to the inquiry suggested by the editor of this Review. As there are various forms of the doctrine under consideration, it may be as well to say that it is dealt with here under the limitations imposed upon it by the Andover theologians in the volume entitled "Progressive Orthodoxy;" and it will, perhaps, be of advantage, to the non-theological reader, at least, if I state clearly at the outset what is and what is not meant by future probation as it is held by the authors of the volume just referred to.

The theory under discussion is very different from the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory. It is true that the advocates of both beliefs deny—so far, at least, as a portion of mankind are concerned—that the soul enters at death upon a career of unalterable destiny, and in this respect they agree in rejecting the common Protestant view. As even good men die

in a state of imperfection, and as an unholy being cannot enter heaven, it is natural to suppose—though there is no authority for this belief—that there is a place and a period of purification in the intermediate state. This is the rational basis of the doctrine of purgatory. The Andover divines, it need hardly be said, betray no leanings toward this belief. Nor is the doctrine in question to be mistaken for belief in the ultimate restoration of all men to the favor of God. Along with the belief that the offer of salvation will be made in the next world, there may be an underlying hope that it will be accepted. But the Andover professors have not said that they entertain this hope. Nor is the doctrine of future probation to be confused with belief in "eternal hope," as held by Canon Farrar. If the next life were regarded simply as a continuation of the present, it would be natural to suppose that the offers of salvation will be continuously made then as now, and that, but for the hardening tendencies of character, there never would come a time when the sinner might not repent and be forgiven. But the writers of whom I speak do not believe that the door of mercy will never close, nor that the day of opportunity will never end. Whatever may be their views respecting the critical nature of death, they are strong in their conviction that the final judgment will unalterably determine the destiny of all mankind. Again: the doctrine under consideration does not contemplate the renewal of opportunity in a future life to those who reject Christ in this life. A belief in the future probation of the heathen may very naturally suggest a belief in the renewal of the offer of salvation in the next world to many whose neglect of the gospel in this life might be regarded as attended with palliating circumstances, and it must be said that the Andover theologians do not explicitly deny this belief; but neither do they affirm it, the doctrine taught in "Progressive Orthodoxy" being simply that those who had no opportunity of believing in Christ in this life will have it at some time prior to the judgment. Or, in other words, it is affirmed that none will be finally rejected at the judgment who have not first of all rejected Christ.

This statement of the case of future probation raises several important questions, a slight consideration of which will pre-

pare the way for an answer to the inquiry at the head of this article. It may be asked, for example, whether the doctrine of future probation is compatible with the other doctrines of Christianity. Doctrines are sometimes more dangerous by reason of their logical relation to other doctrines than in virtue of the specific error they themselves contain. In estimating any departure from confessional orthodoxy, it is important to consider whether it is an isolated error or whether it is organically related to other articles of faith, so as to involve them. If, now, it were held that the conditions of our present existence, so far as the offer of the gospel is concerned, are continued in the next life, there is no reason why this belief should necessarily affect other Christian beliefs. Objection would be made to the use of the word "probation" in this connection, for the opinion is generally held that the race has already had one probation, in Adam, and will not have another; but in the simple belief that the gospel will be offered to the heathen in a future life there is nothing that need affect any of the generally received doctrines of Christianity. I do not mean to say, however, that because the doctrine of future probation may be an isolated belief, it is an isolated belief in the theology of the Andover divines. It will appear presently that it is not, and that the title of this article is justified in some measure by the fact that it is not. Moreover, while it is true that the Andover divines evince no sympathy with Restorationism, it is impossible not to see that the doctrine under discussion arises out of a very natural revolt of the human heart against the idea of eternal punishment; and while it would be wrong to impute to the Andover divines what are only the tendencies of their theory, it is not difficult to believe that the natural development of the doctrine, as they now hold it, will be in the direction of a belief in the continued offer of the gospel in the next life to all who do not embrace it in this, coupled with the charitable hope that the disclosures of eternity will render its acceptance almost certain.

It may also be asked whether the doctrine of future probation is prejudicial to the interests of foreign missions. The church is interested in the conversion of the world. A great deal of thought, learning, and endeavor are enlisted in this work. Mis-



sionary operations have assumed great magnitude, involving the annual expenditure of large sums of money, and including—besides the ordinary preaching of the gospel—the organization of schools and endowment of colleges in heathen lands, and the publishing of a religious literature in heathen languages. Those who devote their time and money to the cause of foreign missions believe that Christianity is an exclusive and will be a world-wide religion, and that it is the only message of hope to a lost world. How, then, would the doctrine of future probation affect the missionary operations of the church? How would the holding of this view affect the message of the missionary, and how would a general prevalence of this belief affect the zeal of the community upon which the missionary relies for moral and material support? It might be questionable whether a man who held this view would care to be a missionary, but if he did there is no reason why it should lessen his zeal or change his message. For whatever hope he might entertain that the heathen who do not hear the gospel in this life will hear it in the next, he would not believe that they will hear any other gospel than the one he is commissioned to preach. Nor should his hope that the ancestors of those to whom he preaches will hear in another world the gospel preached to their children here make him less earnest in his mode of presenting divine truth. If anything, he should be the more earnest, for by the very act of preaching to them he would be taking them out of the category of those for whom a future probation is available. But if the doctrine of a future probation for the heathen became prevalent, would it not "cut the nerve" of missions? The Andover professors say, in reply to this question, that the work of missions should be prosecuted under the influence of a higher motive than belief that the heathen go to perdition. They say very truly that the command of Christ is a sufficient reason for earnest effort on the part of Christians to deliver the heathen world from the degrading power of vice and superstition. At the same time it is probably true that a general belief in future probation would be disastrous to foreign missions. It would be said that, since men are to have but one opportunity for repentance, it is questionable whether we are not doing the heathen

harm by offering them the gospel under the unfavorable conditions of the present life. Men would think of the lonely graves of martyred missionaries, and the almost fruitless efforts that have been made to gain an entrance into some heathen lands, and they would wonder whether the enterprise is worthy of the outlay. They would think that since all the heathen will hear the gospel, at the very latest, in the disembodied state, and, perhaps, under more favorable conditions, it would do no harm to postpone evangelistic efforts in their behalf until they can be made in the spirit-world, without sacrifice of lives, without constant demands upon the church's benevolence, without annual overdrafts of the missionary funds, and annual appeals for the payment of a missionary debt. It is true that men ought not to be influenced by considerations like these, but those who know what little things affect the streams of benevolence would not hesitate to predict a dry time as the result of a wide-spread prevalence of the doctrine of future probation. Andover is certainly not Romanizing in regard to the motives that should influence men to preach the gospel to the heathen. Rome believes that the heathen are lost.

It may be further asked whether it is compatible with the conditions of the Andover trust for professors in Andover Seminary to hold the doctrine of future probation. It is required of every professor in that seminary that, among other things, he be a "consistent Calvinist." I have already virtually said that a man may be a consistent Calvinist and believe in a doctrine of future probation, or rather, in a *post mortem* proclamation of the gospel; but this is not saying that the Andover divines are consistent Calvinists, nor even that their doctrine of future probation has nothing to do with their not being consistent Calvinists. For the doctrine, as they hold it, is not an isolated doctrine. They hold it as part of a system of doctrine that is both anti-Calvinistic and anti-Protestant. It is true that they claim to be within the limits of their creed, and are conscientious in maintaining their right to hold and teach the doctrine in question. They are good men, able and learned men, devoted to their work, and of unimpeachable character; but they are, nevertheless, teaching what is fundamentally opposed to the doc-

trinal system on which Andover Seminary is founded. They maintain an attitude that gives the Andover controversy something more than local importance. The Andover case must go far toward determining the question whether endowments afford an institution a safe anchorage; whether the living organism will not always prove too much for the conservatism of creeds and vested funds; and whether those who give money for charitable uses can feel sure that their trusts will always be sacredly regarded. One of the professors at Andover says, in defense of himself and his colleagues: "We have received the creed of the seminary as a sacred trust. We have sought to put its truths out to usury." It has been commonly supposed, however, that instead of making safe investments they have been speculating with the deposit of faith. There doubtless is a fruitless conservatism that may well be likened to the man who hid his talent in the earth; but when Professor Smyth says, in defense of "progressive orthodoxy," that he and his colleagues have put the Lord's money out at usury, he comes perilously near the doctrine of development by means of which Cardinal Newman attempted to justify the extra-biblical theology of the Church of Rome. The Andover men may be able to say: "Lord, thou deliveredst unto us two doctrines; behold, we have gained two other doctrines besides them. Thou hast said that the Scriptures testify of thee, but we have found also in 'the Christian Consciousness' a more sure word of prophecy whereunto we do well to take heed. Thou hast said that none can be saved except they believe in thee, and we have found that no man can perish except he reject thee." And so, likewise, Roman Catholics may say: "Lord, thou deliveredst unto us two sacraments; behold, we have gained five other sacraments besides them. Thou deliveredst unto us a certain deposit of faith, but we have put the Lord's money out at usury, and behold now we have transubstantiation, purgatory, the immaculate conception, and the doctrine of papal infallibility." Have we any reason to suppose that Christ will say more readily to Andover than to Rome, "Well done, good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord"? Is not Rome's usury larger than Andover's, and are not the securities for the two investments equally worthless?

Is the doctrine of future probation taught in the Bible? If it is, one would think that the Andover professors would rest their case upon scriptural ground, and not undertake to fortify their belief by *a priori* reasoning. But it is pretty safe to say that, with the exception of two or three passages of doubtful import, the teaching of the Bible is opposed to the doctrine. No one would infer from the Saviour's command to his disciples to preach the gospel to every creature, that a system of evangelism would likewise go into operation in the other world. No one would infer, from St. Paul's earnest and toilsome missionary experience, that those who died without a knowledge of Christ would be sure of an opportunity of hearing the gospel some time between death and the final judgment. On the contrary, when we read that the heathen, living without law, likewise perish without law; that we are judged for the deeds done in the body; and that it is appointed unto men once to die, and after death the judgment, it is difficult to see how there can be any room for belief in a future probation. It is true that the Saviour says that the sin against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the world to come; but to infer from this that other sins may be forgiven in the next world is to make unwarrantable use of what is probably nothing more than a strong negative. It is true that St. Peter speaks of Christ preaching to the spirits in prison; but it is doubtful whether the preaching is a preaching of the gospel, and whether the spirits were in prison at the time of the preaching or only at the time of Peter's writing; just as it is doubtful whether, in the place where St. Peter says that the gospel was preached to the dead, he means that those preached to were dead at the time of the preaching or only at the time of the writing. And if these passages really mean what the advocates of future probation say they mean, they prove too much for the Andover divines; for instead of favoring the limitation of *post mortem* evangelism to the heathen, they would seem to imply that all men will have an opportunity in the spirit-world of making amends for the mistakes of their earthly life. The Andover divines would do well to accept Professor Fisher's view of the matter, and regard their doctrine as an extra-biblical belief.

They will expose themselves in doing this to the charge of departing from the fundamental Protestant principle, that the Bible is the only rule of faith ; but they may be sure that they will fail to establish their peculiar theory on exegetical grounds. The Bible either teaches much less or else much more than they believe. It is pretty safe to say that they cannot remain in their present position. They must either go back to the old Reformed doctrine concerning the fate of the heathen, or else they must go forward with Dorner to the position that in the future life "the gospel will be decisively presented to all who had not come to a final decision in this life."

It may also be fairly asked whether the doctrine of future probation, as taught by the authors of "Progressive Orthodoxy," does not betray a rationalizing tendency. These writers defend the doctrine on *a priori* grounds, and on grounds too that involve the rejection of another doctrine that many think is explicitly taught in Scripture. They say truly that Christ died for the world. This fact is a good argument for foreign missions ; but it is no evidence that missionary operations are carried on in Hades. They say that men cannot be saved without faith in Christ, and make a strong and solid argument against those who talk of faith in the "essential" Christ, or the sufficiency of the light of nature. When, however, they advance to their third position, and say that the gospel will be preached to the heathen in the next life, they are not logical. It might be logical to say that the heathen must be granted a future probation or else the heathen will be lost. But I am under no obligation to believe that the heathen will not be lost. The common belief of the Christian church and the fair inference from the Scripture is that the heathen perish. It may be objected that this view involves the doctrine of election, at least to the external privileges of the gospel. But this doctrine is very plainly taught in the Bible, and ought not to be objected to by professors who claim to be "consistent Calvinists." The Andover divines see that, according to their views of salvation, they must admit the doctrine of election if they deny that of future probation. They reject the doctrine that is taught and accept the doctrine that is not taught in the Scripture, on the ground that the one is and the

other is not in accord with their reason. The condemnation of the heathen, as it is commonly held, is looked upon by the Andover theologians as "a terrible impeachment of the divine goodness" and as "opposed to the Christian sentiment that is the outgrowth of the gospel." To say this, however, is simply to set up as judges of what the divine procedure ought to be. The fate of the heathen is confessedly a dark problem. It is not strange that some prefer to take an agnostic attitude toward it, or to make the most of the statement that the servant who knew not his lord's will was beaten with few stripes. But there is no warrant for the belief that the heathen can be saved by the light of nature or by any other means than by the blood of Christ. There is certainly nothing in the Bible to justify any diminution of missionary zeal, and nothing to warrant belief in future probation.

As has been said already, the Andover theologians limit their application of the doctrine of future probation to those who have had no opportunity in this life of believing in Christ. It would be manifestly wrong to charge them with holding opinions which seem to follow very naturally from the view they entertain upon this question. At the same time we must not be blind to the manifest tendencies of the Andover doctrine of future probation. Having these tendencies in view, and not meaning in any way to make a personal application of what is said to the Andover professors, it will appear from what has gone before that there may be good reason for asking if Andover is not Universalizing and Rationalizing as well as Romanizing. It will certainly appear that it is only in a very qualified sense that Andover can be said to be Romanizing. The authors of the volume so often referred to in this article show no disposition to submit their reason to authority ; they have no sympathy with the doctrine *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* ; they do not believe in sacerdotalism ; and their ethical view of salvation would prevent them from accepting the Roman Catholic theory of sacramental grace, which they would probably call "salvation by magic." And yet, speaking in a general way, it is fair to regard the Andover movement as having a Romanizing tendency. It is a backward and not a forward movement. It is a partial return to the theology

against which the reformers protested. It is a retrogressive and not a "progressive" orthodoxy. This may be seen in the consequences that seem to follow naturally from the Andover doctrine of future probation, and from the principles that underlie it.

The doctrine of a future probation for the heathen cannot be defended without first breaking down the doctrine that death fixes destiny. If there is nothing essentially critical in death there is no reason why the experiences of the other life should not follow the analogies of this; and, therefore, no reason why the offers of salvation, repeatedly rejected in this world, should not be repeatedly renewed in the other world. It is irrational, therefore, to limit probation to the heathen. But if the analogies of this life hold with regard to the offers of salvation in the next life, it is fair to expect them to hold with regard to the completion of sanctification. It will be natural to ask why we should believe that Christian character is perfected in the article of death. Therefore, along with a future opportunity for accepting Christ, it will be rational to anticipate a future opportunity—lasting, it may be, up to the hour of judgment—of perfecting character. This is substantially Dorner's position, and it is manifestly more tenable than that of the Andover theologians, with its irrational and non-scriptural limitation of future probation to the heathen. Dorner's position, however, notwithstanding his protest, is simply the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory somewhat rationalized.

If, now, we turn to the principles that underlie the Andover doctrine of future probation, the Romanizing tendency will be still more manifest. The Andover theologians emphasize the ethical element in salvation. They do not teach the moral-influence theory of the Atonement in the form that Bushnell has made familiar; but I am unable to discover that their view rises any higher than it, or is essentially different. They hold that the heathen can be saved only by change of character (which is, of course, true); that they must know Christ in order to be in possession of motives that will lead them to repentance; and that if they repent, follow Christ, and become like Christ, God will forgive them. From which it is manifest that the Andover doctrine

of probation is connected very closely with their doctrine of justification; and that the Andover theologians teach a subjective instead of an objective justification: justification by works, instead of justification by faith—a Romish instead of a Protestant theory of justification. The doctrine of future probation is the point in the new Andover theology that has attracted most attention; but it is really a subsidiary part of the movement, and is a less radical departure from Protestant theology than the doctrine of subjective justification that conditions it. But, besides being based upon an anti-Protestant view of justification, the doctrine of future probation is also an extra-biblical belief. It therefore contravenes the Protestant principle of the sufficiency of Scripture. What limit is there, then, to the additions that may be made to the church's creed when it is understood that there may be extra-biblical beliefs? And what criterion is there by which these extra-biblical beliefs are to be judged? It is clear that if new doctrines are to be advanced on *a priori* grounds, and then defended by appeals to obscure passages in Holy Writ, we need a criterion of truth that Protestantism does not possess. Rome is fortunate. She can speak consistently of "progressive orthodoxy;" for she claims to be infallible and she speaks in the present tense. There is no limit, therefore, to the possible additions to the creed that Rome may make. But what is the organ of advance among the advocates of progressive orthodoxy at Andover? It is to be regretted that Dr. Harris did not include his article on the Christian Consciousness in the series of entertaining essays that constitute the volume which has furnished the occasion of the writing of this article. I remember that the author did not distinguish as clearly as one could have wished between the Christian consciousness of the individual and the aggregate of Christian consciousnesses in the church; and I was, therefore, constrained to characterize his theory as "a cross between Quakerism and Romanism." It is very clear, however, that whenever the Christian consciousness comes to be a norm of truth and an organ of doctrinal development it must be a corporate infallibility of some kind. Rome also falls back upon her claim of corporate infallibility when she wishes to defend her extra-biblical beliefs. Nor can any one deny that an infalli-

ble organism, as the norm of truth, is the only possible basis of a "progressive orthodoxy." But who will tell us where the headquarters of organic infallibility are? Some say they are at Rome: others seem to say they are at Andover.

FRANCIS L. PATTON.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

IN one sense, there are no books that do not help a man, and in another, it may be doubted whether any books help him at all. Every book that lets itself be read more or less amuses, or interests, or diverts, or at least occupies you, and so assists you to fleet the time, and in that sense is helpful. On the other hand, in face of the great problems and trials of life, there is no book (we are not speaking of sacred literature) which helps you at all, except by way of sympathy, which, of course, is something. People have given up writing volumes *De Consolatione*, and one may doubt whether Boethius or Tully ever lightened, by a feather's weight, any man's load. Marcus Aurelius himself can say no more than "endure and abstain," when it comes to the last word, and popular philosophy serves the turn as well with its "grin and bear it." Books cannot give you courage, or carelessness, or resignation; men do not grieve less because they can read "In Memoriam;" they do but win a kind of sense of sympathy and some faint comfort from the knowledge that another has been in the same difficult case, and has lived through it. There is a great deal of pleasure in this comradeship with Marcus Aurelius, or with the author of the "Imitatio," or, for that matter, with Achilles, when he makes his choice of a short life and honor therewith, rather than a long age and without renown. Pent up in London, among hideous noises, sights, and smells, one can turn to Virgil, with his *Flumina amem silvasque inglorius*; or to Martial, with his regret for time misspent in Rome, his homesickness for Tagus, and the fleet stream of Sillo, and the hill of Bilbilis. If sympathy be help, then all the dead folk who have endured what we endure and who have left their message, help us. It widens our narrow life to be one in mood with those poets long gone to their own place, and now happy in the fields Elysian. But for other aid than that of sympathy and example, how can we believe that books are of any avail? The secret is

the secret still, for all that Omar has sung, or Plato dreamed. In the grave there is no knowledge, nor device, more than among men living, nor is any wisdom whispered from the volumes of the dead so useful as a natural fortitude of heart and temper.

Thus, as we began by saying, it is hard to make a particular choice of books that have helped us, when, in one sense, none have wholly failed to help and, in another, none have helped at all. Yet are we so made that each man will think of some authors as if they had served him better than others, the truth being that these are the authors with whom he is most in sympathy, and in whom he best recognizes something of himself; they are the brothers, or, rather, the chosen friends, of his soul. They have sat with him and conversed with him when ashes were on his head and sackcloth was the raiment of his spirit, or they have walked and talked with him on the sunny ways of youth, and rested with him at the water side: their books have been often in his pocket and their verses always on his lips.

He who writes can say, with some confidence, that he never read a book (except at school and college) for the purpose of being "helped" by it; he has always read books in a disinterested way, because he liked reading. I have never sought in books for the secret of life, or the way to the city spoken of by Lucian in "Hermotimus." Some men are born to be disciples and to hang on the lips of a teacher, dead or living. Like Horace, I would swear by no mortal master. Nobody has any secret; nobody can tell you what life does not tell everybody. These secrets of the wise are like the secret *bottles* of the old swordsmen, delusions and snares. Wisdom is neither of the Porch, nor of the Garden, nor of the Tub; you must face the world for yourself, except by sympathy, unhelped and unenlightened. Thus, if certain books are named here, more than others, as having "helped" the writer, nothing is meant beyond this, that these are the books, or, rather, the authors, with whom to sympathize has been most enjoyable.

It is not very easy to bring back all their names to memory, and the roll-call would be something long. About books, as about everything else, man is *ondoyant et divers*—fickle and changeful. The book-friends of our nonage are not always those

of to-day; the "Longfellow" we loved at fourteen or the "Carlyle" one swore by at twenty is seldom opened "once you come to forty years." But I have never wavered about the works of Scott, Thackeray, Homer, Thucydides, Molière, Tennyson, Pascal, Montaigne, Plato, Aristotle, and Marcus Aurelius, and Mr. Matthew Arnold's poems. If any books have helped me, they are the books of these authors; it seems desirable to leave Shakespeare out, as peerless, and not counted among mortals, any more than we commonly reckon the sun among stars. The authors named have answered to various moods of the reader, to various ages, and yet all of them are fit for the joy of any age after childhood, to which only certain parts of certain of them can be delightful. One began with Scott, with the "Lady of the Lake," which, I think, is the first poem I can remember reading, except the "Midsummer Night's Dream," and "Henry IV." It is wonderful how early Sir John appeals to the child; one knows and admires the young lady of eleven who, in her enthusiastic appreciation, cast herself for the fat knight's part in the drama, which she adapted for the nursery stage. Almost my earliest recollection of books is the memory of a child reading the "Midsummer Night's Dream" by the firelight, in a room where some one touches the piano now and then, and a young man and a maid are playing chess. It all melts into a kind of fairy past, and a vision of perfect happiness. The real people were not more real to me than Ariel, Ferdinand, and Miranda, in the other fairy play. But the "Lady of the Lake" was, probably, one's first experience of narrative poetry, and then came the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," and then the "Border Minstrelsy." This was the more delightful because the "dowie dens o' Yarrow" were within three miles of home, and one constantly drove past Carterhaugh in the summer twilight—Carterhaugh, where Janet won Tamlane, under Newark tower, with the gate whence "an army in battle array had marched out." No child who cared for poetry could be born in the Border without turning first to Scott's lays, and then living for years in the enchanted castles of his romance.

Without dispossessing Scott, Thackeray came in one's boyhood to take a place near him in one's affections—Thackeray, and

Homer, who was only the Scott of an earlier and more brilliant day. There are discomforts in the career of a schoolboy whom nature has been niggardly to in the matter of muscles. Yet it was in the "Gaits," as Scott (in "Redgauntlet") calls the junior class of the Scotch schools, that one made the acquaintance of Thackeray and Edgar Poe and Dickens and Charles Lever. Can any literary pleasure of manhood equal that of an extremely idle small boy, who, neglecting "Cæsar" (to him also were we introduced), gave himself entirely up to the society of David Copperfield, of Charles O'Malley, of Minna and Brenda, of Dobbin, and little Rawdon Crawley? "Those were halcyon hours," as the hairdresser says, in Mr. Anstey's romance.

Homer came a little later than that, and how very welcome he was! Till we read the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" at school Greek appeared the baneful secret of schoolmasters, a mere torment for youth, an obscure way of recording the facts that "Xenophon marched so many parasangs, and then took breakfast." Homer changed all that. Here was life, here were heroes and lance-thrusts and sword-strokes, for the love of Helen, the fairest of women. Can one ever forget the first reading of that line where Thetis bewails herself, "Ah me, that have borne the bravest of men to my sorrow;" and the words of Achilles, "Mother, thou that hast borne me to be brief of days;" and the first sight of Circe, weaving at her golden woof, and singing her magic song? We had all been wandering, like the company of Odysseus, "through the tangled copses and the thicket"—through jungles of irregular verbs and exercises; then, like the Achæans, "we heard the song divine," not of Circe, but of Homer. If there be real help in mortal words, it is in that speech of Odysseus, "Endure, my heart!"

All schoolboys who have since taken to literature may not have the same charmed memory of Homer. Mr. James Payn has not, I believe, for one. But at our humble Scotch school (where we only once, I think, produced an Ireland scholar) there chanced, in my time, to be a very unusual head-master. The Rev. Dr. Hodson happened to be aware that the Greek and Latin classics were "literature," an opinion singular among schoolmasters, which was shared by Mr. D'Arcy Thompson,

now Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Galway. With them we drank from Homer, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Lucretius, in good large draughts. Most schoolmasters dole out the classics as Mr. Squeers doled out the weak milk and water to his young friends. "Ah," said that gentleman, tasting the milk and water, "here's richness," and Number One was allowed to drink "just enough to make him wish for more." So it is usual to serve out a few lines of Homer, or a brief chapter of Herodotus, not even enough to make the boys "wish for more," and all the time is occupied with worrying over tenses and particles. This process may, indeed, make boys grammarians, but it will almost infallibly prevent them from discovering the charm and delight of the classics, though they may be such hypocrites, in later life, as to say, "Ah, here's richness," like Mr. Squeers.

Thucydides, of course, is not to be reveled in like Homer; his quintessence of all political wisdom will affect different men in different ways. Mr. Grote knew the Athenian, with his high disdain of democracy, and remained an advanced Liberal, for his age. To myself it seems that the lesson of Thucydides, as of Odysseus, is, "Endure, my heart!" in public affairs, as in private. Endure! Look on and see the greatest empire made the toy of the ultimate democracy. Look on, and behold the ruin of the Sicilian Expedition; see Gordon die in Khartoum, as Demosthenes at the hands of the Syracusan tormentors. The Sausage-seller is outbidding Cleon; Cleon is outbidding the Sausage-seller. All these things are inevitably evolved in the history of peoples. There is no nation, not the proudest, but comes one day to the stone quarries of Syracuse. "Others before us have known mortal fortunes, and have suffered things that must needs be endured." Not the genius of Alcibiades, not the virtues of Nicias, not the courage of Lamachus, can save the people that has become a mob, and that insists on mismanaging its own misunderstood affairs.

For the rest it seems to me that from Lord Tennyson first one learned to appreciate the charm, the magic, of poetry, as distinct from the joy of the narrative and the interest of the persons. This came to me, I remember, when reading the "Mort d'Arthur," as a boy. "So all day long the noise of battle rolled,"

and what follows. This discovery once made leads you to Keats, to Virgil, to Theocritus, to all the poets in whom art is more manifest than nature, as in Scott and Homer. Finally you come, by this path, to Théophile Gautier and "Emaux et Camées," but I cannot go with a very young lover of letters, who said to me once, "After Shakespeare I place Théophile." These French artists, from the nameless author of "Aucassin et Nicolette" downward, were rather a diversion of idleness, things to read in a college garden, when a man had got his fellowship, and had time to look round lazily, and be "as sad as night," if he chose. Just at this moment a new tale of Mr. Rider Haggard's would please me more than a new volume of *contes* by Théophile. Perhaps that may be stating it rather too strongly.

Molière seems to me the dramatic poet of modern civilized life. There is no other who saw it so clearly, so wisely, and so enjoyed its passing follies, with that unchanged background of age, failure, faithlessness, and death. One may think him too pessimistic and too skeptical, in pieces like "Le Festin de Pierre," but, on the whole, how human he is, and how strong is his belief in good men, and his belief in common sense and courage. He is the poet for the man of the world, or, rather, for the man *in* the world, by no desire of his own, rather than *of* it, while Montaigne is the philosopher for the man who from the world can keep aloof. We need no more than these, and the immortal Pascal, the greatest of all who have very nearly succeeded in believing. We can hardly enjoy Molière without Pascal, nor Pascal without Molière. Each is the complement of the other.

If any young man or woman interested in letters chances to read this paper, which is a kind of confession, perhaps, I should like to say (if the editor of the **FORUM** would let me), Do read good books, and don't read magazines and newspapers. The best books are few; to know them is a joy that does not perish. Knowing them, you can at all times enter the haunted country, and find your favorite places, and be at rest with that which is perfect. Make acquaintance with the masters, with the immortals. There are no such good friends as they are; may they meet us one day, as Dante was met by Virgil!

ANDREW LANG.

## WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF LIFE?

I AM invited to contribute the first paper of a series, in which shall be presented discussions, from several points of view, of the question at the head of this article.

Several years ago Mr. Mallock raised the question, "Is life worth living?" A warm discussion followed; but, so far as I am aware, none of those who took part in the debate appeared to notice that any answer to this question must necessarily presuppose some agreement upon the previous question, which has now been put by the editor of the *FORUM*. No doubt Mr. Mallock, and all who followed in the debate which he opened, took it for granted that the object of life is the attainment of happiness, and, therefore, that whether or not life is worth living must depend for each individual on the state of the balance between his pleasures and his pains. But this implied answer to the previous question is open to two objections. In the first place, it is too vague, and in the next place, it is of doubtful truth. It is too vague, inasmuch as it disregards the ethical question touching the quality of pleasures and pains in respect of what the intuitionists call "higher" and "lower." The term "happiness" thus becomes but a short-hand mode of expressing a desirable state of existence; and, therefore, to say that life is or is not worth living according as happiness preponderates or does not preponderate over unhappiness becomes but a barren truism: life is worth living if it is desirable to live; it is worth living if it is worth living. Under this point of view, therefore, it seems that the real question raised by Mr. Mallock was whether, upon the whole, desirable states of existence preponderate over undesirable, so far as the individual consciousness is concerned. The question thus becomes a question of fact which each man can determine only for himself; and forasmuch as we find all degrees of idiosyncrasy between the extremes of optimism and

pessimism, it is obvious that no general answer, applicable to all mankind, can be given. Again, in the second place, besides being too vague, the implied answer before us is of doubtful truth. For it appears to assume that the question to which it is an answer is not concerned with anything beyond the limits of the individual consciousness. Yet this is clearly not the case. For the question is not, *Is my life worth living to me?* This would be a comparatively simple question, being, as I have said, but a question of fact, which each individual may be presumed to be capable of judging by an immediate appeal to his own feelings ; but the question is as to whether or not the whole sum of human life is worth living. And forasmuch as each individual life reacts on many other individual lives in respect of causing them happiness or the reverse, there arises this further question for each individual mind : Quite irrespective of my own states of feeling, is my life worth living for the sake of the happiness which it may help to shed on others ? Now, these two questions are obviously quite distinct : the question, *Is life worth living?* may admit of one answer in terms of egoism, and of precisely the opposite answer in terms of altruism. For which reason I say that any answer to this question must be of doubtful truth which only takes into account the state of balance between pleasures and pains on the part of the individual who is answering.

Clearly, then, in order to answer this question, we must have obtained some more definite answer to the previous question (*What is the object of life?*) than is derived by saying, *The attainment of happiness for myself.* So long as man remains human he will have a moral sense, and, therefore, even if any man were to endeavor on principle to achieve his own happiness without regard to the happiness of others, he would carry that in his own nature which must necessarily defeat his own object ; in shutting out all consideration for the happiness of others he would be most effectually closing the door to happiness against himself. Hence the question, *Is life worth living?* presupposes some answer to the question, *What is the object of life?* And this answer cannot be given on a basis of egoism alone, or by saying that the object of life is the attainment of maximum

happiness for self. In order to give a full answer to the question there must be included the element of altruism; one must say that the object of life is the attainment of maximum happiness; but whether for myself or for others I ought not to wait to consider. Very often, indeed, usually, the attainment of another's happiness will best insure the attainment of my own; but even where this is not the case, my aim should be the attainment of the greatest sum of happiness, be it my own or that of my neighbor. From which it follows that the object of life is that of making life desirable, first to myself, and next to those around me.

So far it is scarcely to be expected that any differences of opinion will arise. But when we pass from this bare enunciation of the object of life, stated in its most general terms, to the practical question of how this object is to be attained, we arrive at the branching place of many ways of thought. The Christian who counts the loss of all earthly pleasures but as dung so that he may win Christ, must necessarily shape his conduct on totally different lines from the agnostic, even though both be conscientiously aiming at the same object of life. The Shorter Catechism defines the "chief end of man" (*i. e.*, the object of life) as that of glorifying God and enjoying him forever; in somewhat longer phraseology the English Church Catechism conveys a similar doctrine, and both sum up the "whole duty of man" as duty first to God, and next to neighbor. And similarly with all other systems of religious belief, however widely they may differ in their teachings as to what exactly these respective duties are. Now in all these systems of doctrine the implied basis is the same; and it is nothing other than that which has been furnished by ethical thought in the well-worn phrase, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." The reason why it is the chief end of man to glorify God is because, according to Christian belief, this is the happiest thing for him to do; "it is good for us to be here," so that we may "enjoy God forever." Hence the altruistic desire of all Christians that others should be as they are—partakers of the highest joy of which a creature is capable. And, obviously, the only reason why infidelity does not join in missionary effort is that infidelity supposes this land of joy to be delusive. But the object of

infidelity is the same as that of religious faith, namely, to bring the human mind into such harmony with what is believed to be its true environment as will in the long run prove most conducive to its well-being or happiness. The difference between the Christian and the infidel is, therefore, not a difference of aim, but merely a difference in what they severally believe to constitute the truest welfare of the race. And so, of course, with regard to other systems of religion, different systems of philosophy, grades of civilization, and so forth. Now, my purpose in taking part in this discussion is that of furnishing a general answer to this question of method, or means, of attaining the common object of life, and one which it appears to me all enlightened men, of whatever creed or country, ought to agree in accepting. Any such general agreement can only be secured on a basis of observable fact. I, therefore, propose to take the human mind as we find it, and to ascertain by a mere observation of its constitution how it best admits of being brought into harmony with its environment, or, in other words, how it best admits of being brought to find joy in its own existence.

Taking, then, the human mind as it is, I cannot conceive the possibility of any one disputing the fact that the deepest and the strongest of its feelings—those with which its capacities of happiness and of misery are most intimately involved—are the feelings which belong to the order of what we call love. No doubt in many individual cases other emotions, such as ambition, avarice, etc., are stronger and deeper still; but as a rule of very wide generality, alike in men, women, and children, the ties of mutual affection are by far the most important constituents of the psychological fabric. Moreover, they are by far the most productive of happiness. This must be acknowledged by every one; so that even though a man should feel conscious of spiritual poverty in this respect, it is impossible for him not to know that it is a kind of poverty which can never be compensated by any of the world's goods, as wealth, fame, etc. Hence, all systems of religion and of morality that pretend to any degree of culture are built upon this foundation-stone of love. It makes no difference to our present discussion whether this supreme dominion of love in the constitution of mind has been

due to the intentional design of a God of love, or to the principles of evolution having constantly set the highest premium on a quality of mind so useful to a social animal. It is enough for us that, as matters actually stand, love is both the strongest of our emotions, and the one which is most productive of happiness. Hence, unless it be denied that the object of life is that of promoting happiness, it must be conceded that the chief object of life is that of promoting love, both in ourselves and in others; which, of course, is no more than a restatement of "the golden rule," to love one's neighbors as one's self.

But although we may all agree that this is the chief object of life, or, apart from any matters of religious belief, "the chief end of man," it obviously does not comprise the whole object of life, seeing that the promoting of love does not by any means exhaust the possibilities of promoting happiness, either in ourselves or in others. What, then, are the other principles, besides that of promoting love, which remain to be mentioned, and which are also of a sufficiently general nature to claim universal assent? So far as I can see they are only two in number. One of them is the duty of ministering to the wants of the body; the other is the duty of ministering to the wants of the mind.

Touching the first of these two duties it is not needful to say much. Every citizen recognizes the obligation of seeing that his neighbor does not want for food and clothing; every husband and father knows that his wife and children have a natural right to look to him for protection from cold and hunger. And, in the last resort, it is a general recognition of these things which lies at the root of all the social industry which goes by the name of labor, trade, and commerce. For although a merchant-prince never requires to contemplate the possibility of starvation in his own household, his work is primarily directed to the attainment of benefits of the material order, and thus he is still, though doubtless in a greatly extended sense, the "bread-winner" of his family. In other words, *qua* merchant-prince, he is working for the forms of happiness which arise from luxuries of sense; not for those which arise from cultivation of mind. Now, it is the common conviction of almost every one who has had experience of both these forms of happiness that the Hedonistic value of the

latter is greatly inferior to that of the former; in other words, that the pleasures which are called intellectual are much more productive of happiness than those which are called sensuous. But, if this is so, it clearly follows that the attainment of intellectual culture must be regarded as a higher object of life than the attainment of sensuous gratification, in however refined a form. No doubt, in its higher levels, such gratification demands intellectual culture as a needful condition, the fine arts in all their branches growing from the root of sensuous perception. But this needful overlapping of the pleasures of sense and the pleasures of intellect in the higher levels of the former does not obscure the difference between them elsewhere. Such overlapping arises only from the fact that intellect is obliged to work with the tools of sense, and the distinction consists in these tools being here the means of working, and not themselves the ends for which we work.

Now, if it is true that next only to what may be termed the emotional happiness of love there stands the intellectual happiness of thought, it appears to me that the two great objects of life are to love and to think. And it further appears to me that in this verdict men of all schools ought to agree. Whether the relations that obtain between man and his environment be supposed due to a mechanical process of adaptation alone, or likewise and ultimately to a disposing mind, it must be equally true that the object of his life is that of living his life in accordance with its "design," no matter whether this word be used in a literal or in a metaphorical sense. For in this way, and in this way only, can he hope to secure that fullest harmony with his environment upon which he knows that his happiness must depend. Or, otherwise stated, if we turn the question, What is the object of life? into any of its equivalents, such as, Why are we here? What do we live for? How should we act? the answer must always be, In order to work as we seem designed to work. And if the final end of our working be taken to consist in the production of happiness, we find, as a matter of fact, that the machinery of the Ego is so constituted that it can only work to this end when actuated by the motive principles of love and thought.

To this it will at once be replied that much has to be said

*per contra.* For it is evident that in the very measure of our love is poured out to us the bitterness of death, while the greater our capacity of thought the more dismal is the void of mystery. Therefore it may be said, the more that we are victimized by the allurements of love the greater is the misery that is in store for us ; and the more we increase our knowledge the more do we increase our sorrow. This, in effect, is the reasoning of pessimism, so far as pessimism has ever appeared to me rational. And the only answer I know to this reasoning is that both love and thought are, so to speak, sanctified by the very solemnity of their limitations. Moreover, as a matter of fact, explain it how we may, there is no one who has both loved and thought who would willingly have foregone the experience. Although he well knows the double pang so necessarily attendant on these, the noblest functions of his being, no consideration could induce him to desire an exchange of what he feels to be the higher life of a man, for anything that he would recognize as approximating to the lower life of a brute. It is

“ Better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all ; ”

and, to take cognizance of the human complement of thought—strangely doomed though we may fear it to be to an infinite disappointment—must we not still add, It is better to have lived and died than never to have lived at all ?

Following Tennyson, I have said that no one who has lived the higher life, whether of love or of thought, could possibly desire to exchange it for a lower one ; and this seems the best possible answer to the reasonings of the pessimist, seeing that it is an answer directly yielded by a subjective consciousness to itself. But I have also said that the practical question, What do we live for ? admits of being still further tested by observing for what it is that we seem to be designed, whether the latter term be used in its literal sense or as implying the outcome of a mechanical evolution ; for, in either case, happiness must be best attainable by our best conforming to those conditions of existence for agreement with which we have been brought into life. Now, if we look upon the matter in this its objective aspect, we obtain substantially the same answer to our question. For, without dis-

pute, the faculties most distinctive of man are those of love and thought. No doubt the lower animals present both these faculties in germ ; but the love and thought which they manifest give rise to only the feeblest gleams of altruism on the one hand and of wonder on the other. It is only man who can be defined as either a moral animal or a wondering animal. And in respect of both these faculties his development is so great that, were it not for what we now believe to have been the history of this evolution, we should be justified in indorsing the opinion of all previous generations, and holding that they are the initial or most fundamental faculties of his being. And even upon the theory of evolution we are justified in assigning to them an almost basal position in the fabric of our mind, seeing that they both occur with such conspicuous prominence in early childhood. But if it is thus true that love and thought—conscience and wonder—are the faculties most distinctive of man, it appears to me that we have an objective verification of the conclusion previously reached by subjective analysis, viz.: that the object of our human life must be that of exercising these our distinctively human faculties; and that the better each one of us can succeed in doing this, the more fully is he living the life which is most distinctively the life of a man.

GEORGE J. ROMANES.

## WHY THE REVISED VERSION HAS FAILED.

THE "Revised Version" of the Scriptures, as it is commonly called, or the "Westminster Version," as it may now be more properly called, appears to be a failure. In the Church of England, by which it was projected, it has not been synodically approved. There is no sign of its adoption by any other church as a substitute for the Authorized Version of King James. All general interest in it has subsided. The public, which eagerly bought up the numerous and immense editions of it which were first issued, asks for it no longer. The ponderous criticisms of it, which at one time threatened a new Battle of the Books, are clean forgotten. If anything is certain in human affairs, it may be held for certain that the Westminster Version will never be the Bible of the English-speaking world. Why has this enterprise, so hopefully inaugurated, resulted in so complete a failure? The object of the present essay is to show that a probability, if not a certainty, of failure was involved in the nature of the undertaking, as it was understood by the revisers.

The report on the proposal to revise the Authorized Version, presented to the Convocation of Canterbury, was exceedingly guarded in its phraseology; it seemed to set forth a project of extreme simplicity and modesty; and yet its terms were such as really to allow the utmost latitude to the revisers. The resolutions were as follows:

"1. That it is desirable that a revision of the Authorized Version of the Holy Scriptures should be undertaken.

"2. That the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the Authorized Version.

"3. That in the above resolutions we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except where, in the judgment of the most competent scholars, such change is necessary.

"4. That in such changes the style of the language employed in the existing version be closely followed.

"5. That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong."

The limits of the project being thus defined, there were many who expected at the hands of the revisers nothing more than the removal of certain blemishes which were acknowledged to exist in the Authorized Version; such, for instance, as a few words or sentences which are now known to be spurious, a few words like "let" and "prevent," which have changed their former significations, and a few obsolete forms like "his" in the sense of "its." But the terms of the resolutions clearly allowed a wider interpretation of their meaning; and, as the event has proved, the revisers understood the work committed to them to be nothing less than the making of a version of the Scriptures which should represent with critical accuracy the precise verbal equivalent of every word and phrase of the original text. To use a convenient illustration, the new version was to be a photograph in English of the living word of the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Having this conception of their task, the revisers are not to be blamed if they have produced a photograph, and not a picture. Nor are they to be blamed if the conditions of their undertaking, as they understood it, have compelled them to produce a microscopic line-engraving, and not a photograph in any sense whatever. Bearing this illustration in mind, we may proceed to a short study of the facts.

And, first, of the revisers themselves. They were chosen from among the most accomplished critics, linguists, and scholars to be found in the wide range of English-speaking communions on both sides of the Atlantic. Their learning was not only of the highest; it was the highest possible. Their knowledge of textual criticism and of the Hebrew and Greek languages is above dispute. Their knowledge of the English language was not less perfect. So that, for the task of furnishing an exactly precise version of every word and phrase of the original text, it must be cheerfully conceded that men more competent could not have been found.

The work done by the revisers has realized every reasonable

expectation. The Westminster Version is the most valuable verbal commentary on the old version that has ever been produced. Making due allowance for slips which must occur in all human doings, and for errors from which nothing short of infallibility could have saved them, it may be said in a broad way that wherever the Westminster Version materially differs in sense from the Authorized Version, the right of the difference is on the side of the former. Of minor differences the same can certainly not be said with truth; for in thousands of instances in which minute and merely arbitrary changes have been made without affecting the sense, the hand of the revisers has not been dexterous. And yet, if we adhere to the terms of our illustration, it cannot well be denied that, on the whole, the photograph (or line-engraving) is more exact in its delineation of microscopic details than the portrait with which we are familiar. We may next consider the original of both.

If there is any one characteristic of the Scriptures which needs only to be mentioned in order to be admitted it is the broad, generic simplicity of the ideas which they contain. In the Old Testament there are many books in which we should search in vain for one single abstract idea, or one single complicated combination of simple ideas. Of the New Testament, if we except the writings of St. Paul, the same observation may be made. Generally speaking, it contains no subtlety of thought, no abstractions, no abstruse nicety of distinction. It has everywhere a broad, generic simplicity which "the wayfaring man, though a fool," cannot mistake.

The original languages in which the Scriptures were written resemble the thought of which they are the vehicle. The Hebrew tongue is hardly capable of expressing abstract ideas. Its words convey only broad generic meanings. It has few synonyms, and hardly any intermixture of foreign elements. Hence it is not capable of the delicate distinctions which are familiar to us from childhood. If the religion of Moses had been in any, the least, degree an abstract or philosophical religion, the great lawgiver would have had to find a different people to whom to impart it, and a different language in which to frame its doctrines.

At first sight it may seem that the language of the New

Testament is in striking contrast to that of the Old, since the lips of men have never used a speech more capable of indicating nice distinctions, or of stating abstract propositions, than the Greek. So far, however, as our present subject is concerned, the contrast is less real than apparent. For the Greek of the New Testament is not classical Greek. It is little more than a rude Hellenic "*lingua Franca*" (if a small Hibernicism may be permitted), which was in use for commercial and other purposes from the heights of India to the Pillars of Hercules. As in every other *lingua Franca*, its vocabulary is limited and simple; it has neither refinement nor accuracy of grammatical structure; and throughout the whole of the New Testament, except St. Paul's writings, it is used for the expression of ideas of the simplest, broadest, and most generic sort. And here we may observe that if the religion of the Old Testament and the New was meant to be a world-wide religion, and to guide the faith and hope and conduct of mankind, we should expect its sacred words to be delivered in just such broad, simple, and generic language; that is to say, in language so plain and intelligible as to be most easily and faithfully rendered into the simplest tongues that men of any age or clime or state of intellectual advancement find sufficient for the ordinary uses of their lives.

We may now inquire how far our nineteenth-century English is adapted to the literal translation of the broad, generic, simple Greek and Hebrew of the Scriptures. The English language, as it now is, possesses a richness of vocabulary which no other language has ever attained. It has drawn its wealth from all sources, and is rich in synonyms beyond all precedent. Now, the nature of synonymous words is such that while they all relate to one common idea, each of them is so specialized with reference to that idea as to represent one separate and distinct aspect of it. It often happens that synonymous words can be freely interchanged, and yet it is invariably the case that each has a specific meaning which it does not share with any other. Is it not, then, clear that to render into such a language as ours has come to be the words and phrases of a language like the Hebrew is a task of inexpressible difficulty? And, to illustrate the whole by one particular, is it not clear that the revisers' rule

of using one word only as the constant equivalent of one and the same Hebrew or Greek word could have no other result than a general narrowing of the meaning of the whole Bible, from end to end, by the substitution of words of special and restricted meaning for the broad, generic words of the original?

It is sometimes regretted that our modern English has lost, or very nearly lost, its power of inflection; but whatever may have been thus lost to the ear has been more than compensated to the sense, by our wealth of finely shaded auxiliary words. There is no differentiation of wish, will, condition, supposition, potentiality, or possibility representable in syllables of human speech, or conceivable to the mind of man, which cannot be precisely put in some form of our English verb. But here, again, our power of precision has been purchased at a certain cost. For every form of our verbal combinations has now come to have its own peculiar and appropriate sense, and no other; so that, when we use any one of those forms, it is understood by the hearer or reader that we intend the special sense of that form, and of that alone. In this respect, as in the specific values of our synonyms, we encounter a self-evident difficulty in the literal translation of the Scriptures into modern English. For there is no such refinement of tense and mood in the Hebrew language; and, although the classical Greek was undoubtedly perfect in its inflections, the writers of the New Testament were either ignorant of its powers, or were not capable of using them correctly. In a general way, for example, they did understand the meaning of the aorist as distinguished from the perfect and imperfect; but that they always used the aorist in its specific sense is very far from clear. The self-imposed rule of the revisers required them invariably to translate the aoristic forms by their closest English equivalents; but the vast number of cases in which they have forsaken their own rule shows that it could not be followed without in effect changing the meaning of the original; and we may add that to whatever extent that rule has been slavishly followed, to that extent the broad sense of the original has been marred. The sacred writers wrote with a broad brush; the pen of the revisers was a finely pointed stylus. The living pictures of the former furnish a grand panorama of

providential history; the drawing of the latter is the cunning work of fine engravers, wrought in hair lines, and on polished plates of steel. The Westminster Version is not, and, as its purpose was conceived by the revisers, could not be made, anything like a photograph of the originals. The best of photographs lacks life and color, but it does produce the broad effects of light and shade. It has no resemblance to the portrait of the Chinese artist, who measures each several feature with the compass, and then draws it by the scale. The work of the revisers is a purely Chinese work of art, in which the scale and compass are applied to microscopic niceties, with no regard whatever to light and shade, or to the life and color of their subject. It follows that the more conscientiously their plan was followed, the more certainly must they fail to produce a life-like rendering of the living word of the original.

It is a fact in history that, with one exception easy of explanation, no critical translation has ever survived the generation which produced it. The Septuagint version of the Old Testament was assuredly not a critical version of that part of the Scriptures. The old Italic version into the rude Low Latin of the second century held its own as long as Latin continued to be the language of the people. The critical version of Jerome never displaced it, and only replaced it when the Latin ceased to be a living language, and became the language of the learned. The Gothic version of Ulfilas, in the same way, held its own until the tongue in which it was written ceased to exist. Luther's Bible was the first genuine beginning of modern German literature. In Germany, as in England, many critical translations have been made, but they have fallen still-born from the press. The reason of these facts seems to be this: that the languages into which these versions were made were almost perfectly adapted to express the broad, generic simplicity of the original text. Microscopic accuracy of phrase and classical nicety of expression may be very well for the student in his closet, but they do not represent the human and divine simplicity of the Scriptures to the mass of those for whom the Scriptures were written. To render that, the translator needs not only a simplicity of mind rarely to be found in companies of learned

critics, but also a language possessing in some large measure that broad, simple, and generic character which we have seen to belong to the Hebrew and to the Greek of the New Testament. It was partly because the Low Latin of the second century, and the Gothic of Ulfilas, and the rude, strong German of Luther had that character in a remarkable degree, that they were capable of rendering the Scriptures with a faithfulness which guaranteed their permanence.

And yet it may perhaps be said with truth that the English of our Authorized Version is, on the whole, better adapted to a perfect translation of the Scriptures than any other language, ancient or modern. Wycliffe's version, on which it is based, was made in the fourteenth century, when the Saxon elements of the speech of the common people still predominated over all others, though the grammatical forms of the Old Saxon had almost disappeared. The Middle English of that time was neither Old Saxon nor modern English, but it contained those elements of the former which are to-day the strength and substance of the latter. From the time of Wycliffe until the end of the Tudor period the language was in a state of gradual transition; its grammatical forms were unsettled; its vocabulary was growing by constant additions of words of which the sense was seldom immediately fixed; only the homely Saxon words remained unchanged as the centuries went by. In the Tudor period, down to the time of Shakespeare himself, as Abbott observes :\*

"Almost any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech. An adverb can be used as a verb: they 'askance' their eyes; as a noun: the 'backward and abysm of time'; or as an adjective: 'a seldom pleasure.' Any noun, adjective, or neuter verb can be used as an active verb. You can 'happy' your friend, 'malice' or 'foot' your enemy, or 'fall' an axe on his neck. An adjective can be used as an adverb; and you can speak and act 'easy,' 'free,' 'excellent;' or as a noun, and you can talk of 'fair' instead of 'beauty,' and a 'pale' instead of a 'paleness.' . . . Every variety of apparent grammatical inaccuracy meets us: 'he' for 'him,' 'him' for 'he;' 'spoke' and 'took' for 'spoken' and 'taken;' plural nominatives with singular verbs; relatives omitted where they are now considered necessary; unnecessary antecedents inserted: 'shall' for 'will,' 'should' for 'would,' 'would' for 'wish,' etc."

\* "Shakespearean Grammar," p. 5.

While the grammar of the language remained thus unsettled, the form of its future literary style was equally undetermined. Dr. Abbott says:\*

"On the one hand there was the influx of new discoveries and new thoughts requiring as their equivalent the coinage of new words (especially words expressive of abstract ideas); on the other hand, the revival of classical studies and the popularity of translations from Latin and Greek authors suggested Latin and Greek words (but principally Latin) as the readiest and most malleable metal. Moreover, the long and rounded periods of the ancients commended themselves to the ear of the Elizabethan authors. In the attempt to conform English to the Latin frame, the constructive power of the former language was severely strained. But for the most part the influence of the classical languages was confined to single words and to the rhythm of the sentence."

It was at the beginning of this epoch, or a little earlier, while the elements of the English tongue were still of such simplicity as to be scarcely more capable of expressing abstract ideas than the Hebrew, that the framework of our English Bible was first laid; and it was only after hundreds of years, when the grammar and literary style had taken permanent shape, that its final form was fixed, under King James. By this happy concurrence of circumstances, the text retains that broad, generic simplicity which is requisite to a true version of the Sacred Word, and yet it has a polished smoothness which will forever make it the noblest classic of the English tongue. To lay a finger on a work so precious escapes the brand of sacrilege only on condition that the touch shall not mar that which it pretends to better.

The learned divines by whom the Authorized Version of the Bible was at last settled understood their task perfectly. It was not to make a critical version, in the sense of rendering the exact grammatical equivalent of every word and phrase of the original; it was simply to remove from the then existing version any evident mistranslations which it might contain, to replace words which had grown obsolete, or which had changed their meanings with the lapse of time, and to give a certain simple roundness to the English, which should also correspond to some extent with the form of the original. By way of illustration we here copy from the "Encyclopædia Britannica" the

\* "Shakespearean Grammar," pp. 6, 7.

fourteenth-century version of Luke xvi. 19–31, in modern spelling, and with it, line by line, the Authorized Version of the same passage :

“ There was a rich man, and was clothed in purple and white silk, and ate every day shiningly; and there was a beggar, Lazarus by name, that lay at his gate, full of boils, and coveted to be fulfilled of the crumbs that fallen down from the rich man’s board; and no man gave to him; but hounds came and licked his boils. And it was done that the beggar died, and was borne of angels into Abraham’s bosom : And the rich man was dead also and was buried in hell. And he raised his eyes when he was in torments, and saw Abraham afar, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he dip the end of his finger in water, to cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. And Abraham said to him, Son, have mind, for thou hast received good thing in thy life, and Lazarus also evil things; but he is now comforted, and thou art tormented. And in all these things, a great dark place is established betwixt us and you; that they that would from hence pass to you may not; neither from thence pass over hither. And he said, Then I pray thee, Father, that thou send him into the house

[which was “ There was a certain rich man, clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day : and there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man’s table; moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham’s bosom : the rich man also died and was buried : and in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things : but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. And beside all this, between us and you there is a great gulf fixed : so that they which would pass from hence to you cannot : neither can they pass to us which would come from thence. Then he said, I pray thee therefore, Father, that thou wouldest send him to my

of my father, for I have five brethren; that he witness to them, lest they also come into this place of torments. And Abraham said to him, They have Moses and the prophets; hear they them. And he said, Nay, Father Abraham, but if any of dead men go to them they shall do penance. And he said to him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither if any of dead men rise again, they should believe to him."

father's house : for I have five brethren; that he may testify unto them, lest they also come into this place of torment. Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them. And he said, Nay, Father Abraham, but if one went unto them from the dead, they will repent. And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

From the foregoing passage alone it may sufficiently appear that in simplicity the Authorized Version frequently excels its predecessor; in accuracy of translation it is superior; in smoothness of structure there is no comparison between them; and yet nothing in the older is altered merely for the sake of change. Since the date of the Authorized Version there has been but one grammatical change in our language which would suggest—it does not even now require—the change of a word in the passage given above; the old form "lift" might now be properly changed to "lifted." As a matter of exact translation it might also be allowable to change "went" to "go," and "rose" to "rise," in the last two sentences. Thus three changes, and they of the slightest, and not one of them necessary, would have been sufficient to bring the Authorized Version of the passage, critically and grammatically, into perfect form at the present day. What shall we think, then, of the fact that in this, one of the most charming pieces of our English Bible, the revisers have felt themselves obliged by the nature of their task to make twenty-one other changes, every one of which is absolutely useless, several of which are merely (and offensively) pedantic, and most of which stiffen the rhythm without bettering the sense? The translators under King James retained the genius of our mother tongue in its sublime simplicity, and yet had learned that perfect art of composition which turns words to music in their flow; the nineteenth-century English of the Westminster

revisers has an almost finical refinement which is wholly foreign to the genius of the sacred writings. If the Westminster revisers had confined themselves to the simplest interpretation of their task, that is to say, if they had been content to remove spurious passages, to adopt improved readings which were not known to their predecessors, to correct manifest mistranslations of the sense of the original, to insert modern forms for forms which have grown obsolete, and to substitute words which are universally understood for words which, through the lapse of time, are now liable to be misunderstood, they would not have offered us a substitute for the version of King James, but they would have given us a new edition of that version worthy of the present age. As they have interpreted their work, and as its projectors probably meant them to interpret it, they have made a new version of undoubted value, but valuable only as a verbal commentary on the old, and which will never take the place held by the old. The fate of versions of the Scriptures does not rest exclusively with scholars and critics. The ear of the people is true to something more essential than the subtleties of the grammarian. The same instinct which rejected the elaborate version of Jerome and clung to the rude Italic version till the tongue in which it had been written died; the same instinct which has made it impossible to substitute a modern version for the rude, strong German of Luther; and, we may add, the same instinct which made the people take to the Authorized Version in spite of the objections of scholars, will prevent the adoption of the Westminster Version as the Bible of the English-speaking world. The old is better.

JOHN FULTON.

## FALSE NOTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

THERE is perhaps no more unfortunate term in the language than the word "government." Besides having a harsh sound it has a harsh meaning. In its primary sense, to govern is to interfere with the liberty of action. It is to command and to prohibit, to exact and to refuse. Nothing is more unpleasant than this, and hence everybody naturally objects to being governed.

Whatever may have been the origin of the word as applied to the central authority in a state, it must be admitted that, until a comparatively recent date in human history, the governments of the world had always done so much of this kind of governing that it had come to be looked upon as almost their only function. However constituted, when once in existence they had considered it their privilege to govern in this objectionable sense. From this have arisen most of the great struggles that peoples have had to make for liberty, *i. e.*, for relief from this kind of government. And when one government had been overthrown another was immediately organized, which soon proved as oppressive as the first. Hence there gradually grew up a wide-spread popular distrust of all government, amounting often to positive hatred.

This deep-seated dread and detestation of government has been salutary in the extreme. It has resulted within the last two centuries in abolishing, throughout all the most enlightened states of the world, all real governmental oppression. The so-called monarchies of Europe that survive (Russia excepted) are monarchies only in name, and some of them, as, for example, Sweden, are more representative than some countries that style themselves republican. The royal prerogatives are pared down to a minimum, ministers perform all executive duties, and the legislators are chosen by the people to make laws which neither crown nor ministry dare violate.

Both in the monarchies and in the republics, as now constituted, the old forms of governmental abuse are impossible. The only

oppression practicable in them is that which the people themselves sanction. The power of majorities to oppress minorities still exists, but in practice it is inoperative. For such is the popular sense of justice that if a majority undertakes to practice any real wrong upon a minority, enough voters will speedily go over to the minority to convert it into a majority, and secure the redress of the wrong. Knowing this, and wishing to remain in power, the government, *i. e.*, the officers of any given administration, is careful to refrain from shocking this public sense of justice, and no serious attempts to wrong the minority are made.

There is another reason why none of the objectionable methods of government are any longer possible. Everything must now be done according to law. There is scarcely any discretionary power. The laws are made by representatives chosen by the people, and these do nothing but carry out to the best of their ability the will of their constituents, who, in turn, constantly watch them and scrutinize their vote on every measure. The executive branch can do nothing but execute these laws, and this it does with great fidelity and exactness. Rarely, indeed, do we hear of cases in which an executive officer has exceeded his authority as expressly given in some statutory enactment, and nearly as rare are the cases in which such enactments are not faithfully executed. Such officers may at first imagine that they are going into places where they can exercise some discretionary power, but they soon find that every duty is specifically prescribed, and that all they can do is to perform it as they must swear that they will do. Very few ever have the least desire to overstep their authority. Those who are intrusted with funds are powerless to appropriate them to their own uses. The crude popular notion that the officers of government have nothing to do but help themselves to the people's money is disproved at every change of administration. A treasurer of any modern state finds himself, on admission to office, in the midst of a system of checks which renders any attempt at fraud unsuccessful, and which is itself an almost infallible detective of any irregularities on the part of officers and subordinates.

In fact, throughout the entire system of a modern representative government, the limitations that exist to the violation of law,

the perpetration of fraud, or the abuse of power, are so great and so effective that it is only at rare intervals that such things are practiced or attempted. This statement is no less true because of the prevailing popular impression to the contrary, and the persistent attempts of a certain class of journals to inculcate the belief that wide-spread corruption and constant malfeasance in office are the characteristics of public life. It has been shown over and over again that losses through dishonesty are very much less in public than in private financial transactions, and scarcely a case can be named in which an officer has undertaken any high-handed proceedings in excess of his prescribed duties.

It thus appears that government now is a very different thing from what it formerly was. The so-called "rulers" are the most innocent of men, having neither power nor desire to do evil. If evil is done it is because they have been instructed to do it by those who choose them. This, as a general proposition, is perfectly true, and only needs such special qualification as arises from the imperfection of human nature and human institutions. I have brought it prominently into view in order to point out a fundamental fallacy in most of the current reasoning about government.

So deep-seated had become the fear of governmental oppression, and so firmly had this sentiment taken root in the constitution of man, that not even the complete revolution which it wrought throughout the civilized world has sufficed to eradicate it. It still exists, and permeates the entire body politic. The most representative forms of government are still feared, watched, and suspected as if they were self-constituted despotisms.

Most persons regard this as a healthy state of things, and one calculated to prevent abuses and forestall dangers. This is by no means the case. On the contrary, its effects are extremely injurious in a variety of ways. In the first place, good men will not subject themselves to this unjust censorship, and will have nothing to do with government, and thus the tone of government is greatly lowered. Again, this feeling tends to produce a thoroughly false and perverted idea of what government really is. In consequence of it the voter imagines he is conferring vastly more power upon his candidate than it is possible to confer. He

looks upon the public officer as a sort of lord, capable of exercising arbitrary power, and thus a glamour is thrown over government which completely obscures its true and simple character. This intensifies party spirit and the strife to gain control of the government, which is regarded in the light of booty to be captured. A corollary to this reasoning is the notion that public offices are merely spoils belonging to the victor. And here it should be remarked that, contrary to popular belief so often reiterated, this system of frequent rotation in office, due to political vicissitudes, is in no sense a democratic idea, but is a relic of past ages of abuse of power, when kings and despots made and unmade the fortunes of men. The test of progress toward true democracy is the constantly diminishing power of the ruling class and the adoption by government of business principles in conducting the affairs of the people. From this the so-called spoils system is the farthest remove conceivable.

The old idea of government was that it was a power essentially hostile to the people, but fastened upon them by fate. The modern survival of this idea contemplates government as a "necessary evil." No matter how representative it may be it is still looked upon to a great extent as an arbitrary personality, with great power and evil intent, requiring the exercise of "eternal vigilance" to prevent it from destroying all liberty. Many who know better are unable to divest themselves of this view, and entertain it as a mere hereditary instinct. In fact, it is one of those late social instincts of self-preservation, which persist, as all instincts do, long after the conditions under which they were developed have passed away.

This irrational distrust of government not only makes it worse than it otherwise would be, but, so far as this is possible, it tends to give it the character it is accused of possessing. When any one knows that he is believed to possess great power he will try to exercise more power than he legitimately has. Whenever modern governments do exercise power not vested in them by the people it is because they are conscious of this false sentiment, which ascribes to them more power than they have any claim to. The occasional instances of municipal mismanagement and malfeasance are doubtless attributable to this cause.

But, bad as all these consequences are, they are trivial compared to that which we will now consider. The most disastrous effect of this false public sentiment is that it deprives government itself of its chief element of usefulness to the people, viz., its power to protect society.

Without going back over the history and reputed origin of government, it will not be disputed that its primary purpose is protection. In the earlier and more primitive types of society the chief protection required was that against the crude physical elements of human nature that perpetually conflicted and destroyed all peace. These still exist, perhaps undiminished, and it is not denied that they are fairly and effectually held in check by government. But besides these, in the modern epoch of vast undertakings and complicated civilization, there has grown up another class of social evils against which protection should be secured, which is far more dangerous than that of brute force, sporadic passion, and low animal cunning. I refer to the evils of organized aggrandizement, the abuse of wealth, and the subtle processes by which the producer of wealth is deprived of his share in it. These evils have grown up with civilization, and are simply the organized expression of human acquisitiveness. They are the natural products of an advancing intelligence without moral restraint. In short, they represent the rule of mind, which is no more moral than is the rule of muscle. Without government the latter would have prevailed; the weaker would have gone to the wall; the "fittest," in the same sense that zoologists use that term, would have survived; but what society would have been no one dare conjecture. But in the unregulated rule of mind we are able to see some of the results. Yet it has, as it were, but just begun, and no one can predict its ultimate consequences. They are so bad now that the leading question must soon be, How shall society be protected? Under the system as it now exists the wealth of the world, however created, and irrespective of the claims of the producer, is made to flow toward certain centers of accumulation, to be enjoyed by those holding the keys to such situations. The world appears to be approaching a stage at which the laborer, no matter how skilled, how industri-

ous, or how frugal, will receive, according to an oft-quoted law of political economy, only so much for his services as will enable him "to live and reproduce." The rest finds its way into the hands of a comparatively few, usually non-producing, individuals, whom the usages and laws of all countries permit to claim that they own the very sources of all wealth and the right to allow or to forbid its production.

These are great and serious evils, compared with which all the crimes, recognized as such, that would be committed if no government existed would be as trifles. The underpaid labor, the prolonged and groveling drudgery, the wasted strength, the misery and squalor, the diseases resulting, and the premature deaths that would be prevented by a just distribution of the products of labor, would in a single year outweigh all the so-called "crime" of a century. This vast theater of woe is regarded as wholly outside the jurisdiction of government, while the most strenuous efforts are put forth to detect and punish the perpetrators of the least of the ordinary recognized crimes. This ignoring of great evils while so violently striking at small ones is the mark of an effete civilization, and warns us of the approaching dotage of the race.

Against the legitimate action of government in the protection of society from these worst of its evils the instinctive hostility to government, or "misarchy," above described, powerfully militates. In the face of it the government hesitates to take action, however clear the right or the method. But it is proper to point out that this groundless over-caution against an impossible occurrence would not in and of itself have sufficed to prevent government from redressing such palpable wrongs. It has been nursed and kept alive for a specific purpose. It has formed the chief argument of those whose interests require the maintenance of the existing social order in relation to the distribution of wealth. Indeed, it is doubtful whether, without the incessant reiteration given to it by this class, it could have persisted to the present time. This inequitable economic system has itself been the product of centuries of astute management on the part of the shrewdest heads, with a view to securing by legal devices that undue share of the world's products which

was formerly the reward of superior physical strength. It is clear to this class that their interests require a policy of strict non-interference on the part of government in what they call the natural laws of political economy, and they are quick to see that the old odium that still lingers among the people can be made a bulwark of strength for their position. They, therefore, never lose an opportunity to appeal to it in the most effective manner. Through the constant use of this *argumentum ad populum* the anti-government sentiment, which would naturally have smoldered and died out after its cause ceased to exist, is perpetually fanned into life.

In view of all this, it becomes clear that nothing is so much needed at the present time as the removal of the popular error on this point. It is the duty of all those who have the true reform of society at heart to point out in the most convincing manner that the people are no longer in any danger from governmental oppression, that their present danger lies in an entirely different direction, that what they really need is more government in its primary sense, greater protection of the exposed masses from the rapacity of the favored few, and that, instead of distrusting and crippling government, they should greatly enlarge its power to grapple with these evils. Let it be insisted upon that this is nothing but the re-clothing of government with its original power to protect society. It was for this that it was instituted, and unless it does this it has no right to exist. Originally it undertook to make protection complete. It extended it to all cases of social abuse. It recognized the natural inequalities of citizens, and had no other object than to see to it that none should thereby be debarred from their rights. But then the inequalities were chiefly individual and personal. They were therefore natural, and hence governmental protection certainly must have counteracted to some extent the law of the survival of the fittest. With the progress of civilization all this has been changed. Social inequalities are now the result of circumstances, of accident. They are artificial. The strongest are no longer the best physically or mentally. They are merely the favored, often the pampered and degenerate. How much more, then, should protection be vouchsafed to the victims of such inequality! Yet for such there is no protection in law or government.

The great evils under which society now labors have grown up during the progress of intellectual supremacy. They have crept in stealthily during the gradual encroachment of organized cunning upon the domain of brute force. Over that vanishing domain government retains its power, but it is still powerless in the expanding and now all-embracing field of psychic influence. No one ever claimed that in the trial of physical strength the booty should fall to the strongest. In all such cases the arm of government is stretched out and justice enforced. But in those manifold and far more unequal struggles now going on between mind and mind, or rather, between the individual and an organized system, the product of ages of thought, it is customary to say that such matters must be left to regulate themselves, and that the fittest must be allowed to survive. Writers of a certain school are fond of appealing to Malthus, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer, and strongly deprecate the bolstering up of the weaker elements of society. They picture the degeneracy that must follow all attempts to oppose the "immutable laws of nature." Yet, to any one who will candidly consider the matter, it must be clear that the first and principal acts of government openly and avowedly opposed these same laws in preventing, through forcible interference, the natural results of all trials of physical strength. These laws of nature are violated now every time the highway robber is arrested and sent to jail.

Primitive government, when only brute force was employed, was strong enough to secure the just and equitable distribution of wealth. To-day, when mental force is everything and physical force nothing, it is powerless to accomplish this. This alone proves that government needs to be strengthened in its primary quality—the protection of society. There is no reasoning that applies to one kind of protection that does not apply equally to another. The only question that need be asked is, whether justice is done. If justice is not done it should be enforced by the state against any and all opposing interests. It is utterly illogical to say that aggrandizement by physical force should be forbidden, while aggrandizement by mental force or legal fiction should be permitted. It is absurd to claim that injustice com-

mitted by muscle should be regulated, while that committed by brain should be unrestrained.

I am aware that in expressing these views I do but utter the thought of a considerable number of able and active writers and thinkers upon current social and political questions. They constitute the nucleus of a practical social philosophy which must sooner or later solve all the knotty questions of the time. For this they need only to become the property of the general public and to be so firmly grasped by the great mass as to form an intelligible code of political action. Above all, the working people should realize that the government is their own and will be just what they make it. They should learn to look upon it as a creature of their will. They should cease to fear and distrust it, and should seek to mold and shape it. They should turn a deaf ear to those who seek to use it as a scarecrow to frighten them into inaction. If they are to secure from government that protection which forms its only claim to exist, they must throw off all party allegiance, and demand of all candidates the strongest pledges of fidelity to their interests, and sustain none who do not honestly and earnestly fulfill those pledges. They need no revolutionary schemes of socialism, communism, or anarchy. The present machinery of government, especially in this country, is all they could wish. They have only to take possession of it and operate it in their own interest.

The true solution of the great social problem of this age is to be found in the ultimate establishment of a genuine people's government, with ample power to protect society against all forms of injustice, from whatever source, coupled with a warm and dutiful regard for the true interests of each and all, the poor as well as the rich. If this be what is meant by the oft-repeated phrase "paternal government," then were this certainly a consummation devoutly to be wished. But in this conception of government there is nothing paternal. It gets rid entirely of the paternal, the patriarchal, the personal element, and becomes nothing more nor less than the effective expression of the public will, the active agency by which society consciously and intelligently governs its own conduct.

LESTER F. WARD.

## ON THINGS SOCIAL.

IN more than one direction the habits of society are improved from what they were a generation or so ago. There is less drinking among men and less gambling among women ; conversation is cleaner in the way of oaths, and less coarse in the way of anecdotes, though topics are just as doubtful and the stains of evil thoughts lie quite as thick ; and a little ray of common sense has penetrated the thick cloud of caste exclusiveness and formal exaggeration in which things social were then enveloped. For all that, the critic's trade is still alive, and the shafts of satire are now, as ever before, sharpened to a point and ready for use. Those who stand a little aside and look at things in perspective can always find cause for laughter in the ways of man ; for the follies which jostle and displace one another are as many as the virtues which overcome his sins—as the vices which dim the luster of his virtues. For these, however, we have reverence, for those, abhorrence ; for the follies only the satire that flames but does not burn. Composite creature as this human being is, made of the noblest metals and the basest earths—of gems here, and “strass” there—he is still the best thing we know. And the mind which imagines a folly is the same as that which condemns a fault.

In an old country like England, where the institutions stretch back into the darkness of the past, and the roots of social customs lie as deep as religion itself, the court is naturally the keystone of the arch, the pinnacle of the spire, the fountain of honor, the glass of fashion, or what you will to express the social supreme. What kings and queens, princes and princesses, dukes and duchesses think, do, and say, is surely good enough for the small fry—for those, the blueness of whose blood, when contrasted with these rich purple streams, is as a chicory flower compared to a gentian. The quicksilver at the back of the glass, too,

may be a little scratched and run here and there ; but that counts for nothing with those who have none other. The waters of the fount may flow through a tarnished pipe, still, the moral of that quaint old "gest" holds good, and the stream is pure if the service pipe is not. And, furthermore, the mind of man having that trick of idealization which, in its lowest term, is superstition, its middle respect, and its highest veneration, the small fry in a monarchical and aristocratic country do really feel, even if they do not confess, that the very human nature of great people is different from their own, and that the artificial accidents of birth and station convey specialized qualities and confer inherent superiority. That cynical reminder of personal nothingness, of elemental humiliation, in the phrase, "We are all naked under our clothes, and all tailed under our skin," does not apply to these great people. The crown and royal robes, the velvet and ermine, the stars and garters are as much part of the personality as the hair and the eyes, the smile and the hand. The narrow brain does not show when the head is encircled by jewels which give out rays of light as effulgent as those which betrayed a god. The narrow brain does not exist ; only the light, like that belonging to the god. And who thinks of that poorly blocked, half-finished body, over which hang those royal robes of crimson velvet, heavy with gold and resplendent with pearls ? The robes are the king ; the man within them is the mere vehicle. Stripped and turned out shivering into the streets, where would his kingship be then ? So here, as elsewhere, men emphatically first create their idols, and then worship them as divinely bestowed for reverence and adoration.

Because of this half-divine sanction, we submit to a few court customs, here in England, of great personal inconvenience, and to one, especially, of astounding folly and no less cruelty. This is, of course, that institution called the Drawing-room ; that function which has in it about as much rationality as may be found in any form of fetich worship among the savages of Africa. In the piercing east winds of March hundreds of delicate young girls, of middle-aged ladies, and tottering old dowagers bare their arms and necks half-way to the waist, put on trains to which the peacock's is a dusty joke, and set out in

broad daylight to spend an hour or so in their carriages, waiting their turn for presentation or simple attendance. The rudest roughs and coarsest scum of London gather round the carriages, standing stationary for a quarter of an hour at a time, or moving forward at a foot's pace. They press close, flattening their noses against the glass, making brutal remarks, and passing round little jokes. The show is for them as well as for the immediate actors, and they are not minded to lose the benefit of it. The pretty young girls have to run the gantlet of an admiration that is more offensive than flattering. The plain ones hear a few unvarnished words which make no pretense of gilding. The stout old ladies, with their quivering acres of flesh displayed according to the rules, and the thin quinquagenarians, bronchitic, nervous, anaemic, are saluted with derision and criticised without mercy. Only that certain kind of opulent beauty, which is radiant with health and destitute of nerves, enjoys the admiration, which to others sounds more like insults than praise; and this kind sits well forward in the carriage, with a white hand and arm and polished shoulder generously displayed; and the roughs are not ungrateful.

This is the first of the day's ordeals to be gone through by those who attend the Drawing-rooms on their own account, or to present their daughters, as a kind of fetichistic dedication on their introduction to society and the marriage market.

Within the palace the crush is even more painful than has been the slow transit, semi-nude, in broad daylight, in a biting wind and through the gross-tongued crowd. A well-dressed mob strives for front places and first moments as strenuously as its ragged brethren in the streets. Its language is more choice, and its fists are not so free; but its elbows are as sharp, and it knows how to use them; while pretty feet, daintily cased in silken stockings and satin shoes, prove that high heels are by no means inefficient pestles. There have been Drawing-rooms where the struggle has been severe indeed, so that the floor has been strewn with plumes and flowers and ribbons and jewels, as the wrecks and spoils of battle; and whence the fair flesh of the sweet-faced combatants has carried away scratches and bruises as tokens of the contest. And all for what? To pass in

one rapid moment before the Queen and her court, standing in a semicircle a little behind her, mute and motionless as so many wax-work figures at Madame Tussaud's. There is no kindly conversation, no pleasant speeches, as in the evening receptions in Italy, say, where the Queen receives as any other lady, and her dignity as Queen enhances her sweetness as hostess. With us it is a mere lifeless form, out of which every fragment of humanity and common sense has been abstracted. But all this personal discomfort and distress the women of England willingly undergo for the sake of the fetich they have created, and now adore. It is the right thing to do ; and they do it.

The strangers within their gates follow suit and do likewise. Some, indeed, go beyond the autochthones in their devotion, and enlarge the quart measure to a bushel. Among these, it is pain and sorrow to confess that those who should be the loyal up-holders of their own grander simplicity and nobler equality—American women—are specially noticeable. They make their bushel very big, and to all comparatives tack on the superlative. Take a little example—the court courtesy or reverence. This is not the sweeping stage courtesy which goes with powder, high heads, the minuet, and peaked stomachers ; but the sudden drop, the bent knee and upright body of the ritualistic reverence, never seen out of a church or the court, save in the houses of those who are so used to court life and its ways as to have adopted all its habits as by second nature and almost automatically. But American women who have once been presented very often adopt this special courtesy, as if to the manner born ; and bend and bob as if they had never lived anywhere save at courts, nor known plainer folk than royalties. It is their protest against the supposition that republicanism wants anything whatsoever that monarchy has ; even to the bob courtesy of the court circle.

In spite, however, of all its natural servility, society has shown itself both wiser and more independent than its glass of fashion, and those who dress according to its form. It does not give *décolleté* afternoon assemblies. It is a marvel that it does not. One wonders by what antiseptic process this little trait of independence and common sense has been preserved amidst so much that is servile and more that is foolish. But there it is : and the

great people and the fashionable do not, in this, play at the disastrous game of "follow my leader," but have warm, snug, decently clothed Afternoons. As a rule, these Afternoons, with or without adventitious aids, are among the pleasantest and most successful kinds of entertainment. They are informal, lively, inexpensive, and without fuss. A well-appointed dinner, with good service and sympathetic neighbors, is, of course, the prime of all social pleasures. To which we may add, that an ill-appointed and ill-served dinner, with inharmonious neighbors, is a ghastly simulacrum of pleasure, compared to which a humble mutton-chop by one's own lonely fireside is luxury and completeness. Of course, to the young, a dance is the main thing, but to those whose pirouetting days are over, the well-conditioned dinner comes first on the list, and then the informal Afternoon; where to "five-ocloquer" is to "*s'amuser beaucoup.*"

Our Afternoons take the place, in our dear old foggy and expensive land, of the informal Evenings—the *prime sere* of Italy. Our own Evenings are, as a rule, mere crushes and crowds; seas of unrest, where each individual wave is running after the others, and all are hurrying distractedly—whither? It is impossible to talk to any one in these crushes. The buzz and noisy hum of voices distract a sensitive ear, and make the head, as it were, spin round. The heat is as distracting to sensitive temperaments. The glare, the vitiated atmosphere, the lateness of the hour, the fragmentary talk, the unsatisfactory reunion of friends, the unsatisfied desire for introductions, all reduce these Evenings to a polite torture surpassing even that of a badly served and unsympathetically companioned dinner. The social appetite must be specially sharp-set to enjoy them, not to feel them a cruel waste of time and strength, not to vow that this shall be the last, and never again will we make ourselves so uncomfortable for no return in meal or in malt, in profit or in pleasure, only for the vague satisfaction of having been "seen there." But, alas, for the weakness of human nature! We do not keep our word. We have to go with the stream and sail with the wind, and another invitation sees us struggling on the staircase, jammed against the wall, blocked in the doorway, fainting with heat in the inner room, dead tired with standing, blinded by

the light, dazed by the noise, disappointed that we cannot push through the press to such and such a one, button-holed by a bore, overlooked by a beloved, baffled, disappointed, weary, and undone; with our morrow's work a failure because of our loss of nervous force to-night. All for that in which we find no pleasure, but simply do as others do! Add to this, if we are women, our velvet train made into a carpet for many feet to tread on, and our laces crushed and torn by the spikes and buttons of our neighbors.

Another of our follies in things social is the zeal with which we hunt down lions, no matter of what kind. The heroine of a divorce court, the hero of a gigantic failure, the possessor of a splendid fortune, the writer of a doubtful book, called clever and warranted audacious, the gallant leader of a forlorn hope, the noble standard-bearer of an unpopular cause: it matters not who nor what the lion may be, nor whether honorable or ignoble. So long as he is notorious, so long as she is one for whom men will mass themselves in crowds to see her as she passes, and women stand on tiptoe to take note of her dress and copy what they can remember, each is equally welcome in the social menagerie, and the lion hunter rejoices in his bag. Such a society as our present would have lionized Judas Iscariot. It does lionize its Judas, as things are; and its Mary Magdalenes have no need of repentance. The world likes them better, indeed, unrepentant, and prefers the roses and rapture to the lilies and languor. Those who do not care for this kind of thing are looked on as souls devoid of animation; mere clogs and logs and stocks and stones in the social mill-race, and men and women "of no account." It is distinctly understood that dishonor, with a certain social standing, is no disqualification. The hard old days, when a man's spurs were hacked off if he had forfeited his honor, and was no longer held fit to be classed among the *preux chevaliers* of his time—these days have melted away into a kind of twilight of the gods, where good and evil pass into each other so intimately as not to leave a line of demarkation visible. The universal pity which has taken the backbone out of man's morality, and the love of novelty, no matter of what kind, exceeding even the old Athenians', have conspired together to make even

shame a lion like any other, and gigantic dishonor a better thing to stare at than mediocre probity—which no one would care to stare at anyway!

Among so much, however, that is contemptible in present society it is pleasant to record one small change in fashion which is honorable; that is, the greater simplicity of life and dress found among the nobly born contrasted with the *nouveaux riches*. Those highly born among us are for the most part not so wealthy as the *nouveaux riches*. Land does not pay as it used, and as their possessions are in land their purses have grown lighter as those of commercial men of all kinds have become heavier. Hence, among these people of high name and diminished means we find a certain noble simplicity, a certain highbred but not costly elegance, which the lavish splendor of the new men cannot touch. To go to one of those houses, after a visit to a gorgeous mansion, built, decorated, furnished only yesterday, is like passing into the purity of the moonlight after the glare and color of Bengal lights. This grand possession of intrinsic elegance, good-breeding, and the consciousness of old historic renown remains as an heirloom, not to be alienated by circumstances. The man whose ancestor was a knight of renown in the days of chivalry has a certain holding to natural nobility and worthiness of deed which he wants who has no family record to inspire him. It is the scent of the roses which clings even in decay. The new vase may be handsomer, more perfect in shape and conservation, but it has not that subtle aroma which comes only from old association. Chipped, scratched, defaced, broken, that subtle aroma clings still, and the most gorgeous production of yesterday cannot reproduce it, while the latest seems but coarsely to imitate its delicate perfume. Not the most thoroughly convinced republican among us all can fail to recognize this. To deny it is like denying the quiet beauty of the mosses and small wilding flowers which grow on the sheltered ledges of old buildings; like denying the mellowed colors and harmonized tints of fine old Venetian brocade; like denying the poetry of history, the suggestiveness of art. It says nothing against the grandeur of the man who owes all his superiority to himself; it only claims a place side by side with him for those who are worthy of the superior-

ity, as being the faithful torch-bearers of an historic splendor. Those who have quenched their torches in the muddy waters of a foul morass have no place with either.

Things social, fickle and changeable as they are, perpetually steep themselves in new follies while abandoning the old. Extravagance never goes long without fresh outlets. If the rage for tulips has passed, that for orchids has set in ; if christening presents are not so numerous as they were, wedding gifts are more so, and are also more lavish in extent as well as more costly in kind. Funeral flowers have taken the place of the May-day garlands, and Christmas cards are in hundreds where the old valentines counted units. The huge joints and barbaric profusion of the dinner-tables of a generation ago have given place to fewer dishes of smaller weight. But the flowers strewed on the cloth cover all the saving, and the adjuncts are as costly as the *pièces de résistance*. The solid splendor of the heavy cut glass which shone in the light like transparent metal is now out of date. The taste of the time goes to light, airy bubbles, which the servants break by the score. For all solidity and durability are at a discount, and from jerry buildings to Venetian glass, our modern productions are not made to last—only to look well for a day, to be destroyed in the night. Change and unrest are the characteristics of the present time, and the Cynthia of the minute is gone before we have well seen her. Prophets might make their account out of this change, this unrest. Is it the unconscious preparation for a universal cataclysm ? When society was stable things social were solid ; now they are fluid to the last degree of instability, and in this instability, perhaps, foretell more than we foresee. Meanwhile, the shafts of satire wing their way through the air in vain. If they sting they do not deter ; for where there are many to follow on one path that path will not be deserted, though ghosts gibber and specters assail, and elf-arrows fly quickly and fast. Men and women always have been exaggerated, foolish, extreme, and always will be. From the painted and tattooed savage to the wonderfully got up “dude,” with his painted and powdered belle, vanity has been the ruling passion of sex, and society follows the law of nature in this as in other things.

ELIZA LYNN LINTON.

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

THE recent execution of a woman for murdering her husband, under peculiarly revolting circumstances, has raised the question in some minds whether the time has not come for the abolition of the death penalty. The discussions in the press and in the New York Legislature, on the propriety of hanging a woman, were noteworthy in several respects. The governor was besieged with petitions from within and without the State. Christians, unbelievers, and life-long opponents of capital punishment were re-enforced by the female suffragists, who protested against the hanging of a woman, as she had had no voice in the making of the laws.

The press in general held that the law should not discriminate on the ground of sex. The governor referred the matter to the legislature, declaring that unless it should take action he saw no reason to interfere. Whereupon a bill was introduced to prohibit the hanging of women; but the legislators saw that to make a distinction in such a case would be a stimulant to the commission of crime. Immediately a distinguished member introduced a bill for the repeal of the statute inflicting capital punishment. This was rejected by the house, by a vote of about two-thirds.

Laws inflicting capital punishment have been almost universal. No conclusive argument in favor of any institution can be drawn simply from its antiquity or universality; but when any principle or course of action has been generally adopted by mankind, this fact throws the burden of proof upon those who propose a change. If human governments have no right to take life in any case, capital punishment is judicial murder; or if it can be shown that there is a more effectual method of preventing crime, the same conclusion follows. In any discussion of the subject, the decision must turn upon these fundamental questions.

Theories of government—whether it be of divine origin, implied compact, or a natural and necessary organization of society—have been involved in the controversy. So far as the Bible is concerned, it is not difficult to determine the right of governments to take life. The Old Testament is explicit upon this point, and capital punishment prevailed under often repeated divine sanctions during the entire period of the Law and the Prophets. In the New Testament the foundations of government are formally discussed in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, thirteenth chapter; here it is affirmed that the Roman government derived its right from God:

“For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid ; for he beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience’ sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also : for they are God’s ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.”

There are other passages equally conclusive. The teachings of Jesus Christ in the Sermon on the Mount cannot be alleged against the punishment of criminals without overthrowing the structure of government. That Christ did not mean to do that is clear from many references to law, judges, legal punishments, taxes, etc.; notably Matt. xxii. 19–21 :

“Show me the tribute money. And they brought unto him a penny. And he saith unto them, Whose is this image and superscription? They say unto him, Cæsar’s. Then saith he unto them, Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.”

The Sermon on the Mount teaches, in opposition to the law of retaliation, the spirit of personal forgiveness, sympathy, pity, and a desire to lead the offender to a better mind, rather than to find gratification in inflicting deserved pain upon him. But the administration of law according to the New Testament rests upon another basis. So that it is possible for a man to possess the spirit inculcated by Christ, and yet promote the conviction of a criminal. Any use of Christ’s words which would make them incompatible with the infliction of capital punishment, provided the same be shown to be necessary, would bear equally against all forms of legal punishment.

On all other theories of government society must have the right to do whatever is necessary to maintain itself. So that the question is whether there is a more effectual way of preventing crime than by the execution of those to whose crime the present law affixes the penalty of death. The final object to be attained by all punishment under human government is the prevention of crime. This involves several conditions. The criminal must be placed where he cannot commit crime. He must be reformed, if possible, so that he will be able and willing to resist temptations, and his fate must be made a warning to others. It is clear, however, that some criminals cannot be reformed; the presumption that they cannot being drawn from their deeds and from a knowledge of their personal characters. Society, therefore, has adopted a graduated scale; inflicting light punishments for the smaller crimes called misdemeanors, severer penalties for felonies, and so on, until the worst are reached, these being punished by imprisonment for life, or by death.

Practically, therefore, the question narrows itself to this: If the death penalty be restricted to murder committed with malice prepense, by a sane person, in resisting arrest, or in the commission of another felony, is it the best method of preventing such crimes? It is affirmed that the taking of human life, even by judicial processes, after clear conviction, diminishes its sacredness and thus leads to murder. This is an argument against public executions, nothing more. The conduct of criminals, the gushing sentimentality with which they are treated, the crowding of towns with spectators of both sexes and all ages, the minuteness with which the sickening particulars of the prisoner's conduct before the execution and upon the scaffold are published, the publicity given to his last words, the maudlin devotion of some women to almost every murderer, and the effeminate conduct of most ministers who are brought before the public as spiritual advisers of the condemned, form a combination of depraving elements, whose natural tendency is to promote crime. That the solemn infliction of capital punishment, apart from such scenic accessories, would diminish the sacredness of human life, or lead indirectly to murder, is but a gratuitous assumption.

The alternative must be imprisonment for life, for no one has yet appeared to advocate a sentence of less duration for murder in the first degree. It is assumed that such imprisonment will place the murderer where he cannot commit a similar act; for the gravity of his crime demands that an example be made, and for this end nothing less than such hopeless imprisonment will be adequate. Upon such an assumption his reformation, if he does reform, affects not at all his subsequent relations to society, to which he is as one dead, but only his personal character. Hence the question is once more circumscribed to whether such imprisonment be sufficient to act as a deterrent; and whether it be possible, without greater cruelty than is inflicted in capital punishment, to maintain imprisonment for life.

In new countries, without prisons or regular judicial processes, the murderer and even the horse-thief is hanged, and the moral sense of the best citizens approves it. There is nothing else to do with him. He cannot be kept in restraint; he cannot be allowed his freedom. Judge Lynch there holds his court by day and night; nor does he adjourn for legal holidays or Sundays. From his judgment there is no appeal; no exceptions can be taken; no jurors disqualified; no challenges allowed; no defects in the indictment pleaded; no delays permitted in the interest of the guilty man. Here no insistence upon technical points can preserve the life of the criminal until the memory of his crime has been obliterated, and he appears as a poor, persecuted, and friendless wretch, whom it would be an act of philanthropy to release. But Judge Lynch, though absolute in power, is not infallible. He appeared at his best in the days of the Vigilance Committee in San Francisco. Then the culprit had a short shrift; and Judge Lynch was certain that if in any case the victim had not committed the offense with which he was charged, he had committed enough to justify his speedy surrender by the then imperfectly formed society to the Judge Supreme.

But the question must turn, not upon exceptional cases of inchoate commonwealths, but upon the practice of established governments, with all the powers implied in the civilization of the nineteenth century. It should be noted that imprisonment

for life, with the possibility of pardon or escape, is a guaranteed support, under circumstances from which many of the criminal classes would not shrink; which not a few accept, after their desperate and hopeless lives, without any manifestation of grief or painful apprehension; and which the majority hail with joy when their fate has been uncertain, considering it an immense relief to escape the death penalty. The same element has been found to be of great importance in inducing persons to turn state's evidence. It is the opinion of some penologists that only criminals of unusually refined and reflective natures would prefer death to imprisonment for life; and it is probable that the thoughts voiced in Hamlet's soliloquy :

“rather bear those ills we have,  
Than fly to others that we know not of,”

would be sufficient to keep them from “shuffling off this mortal coil” except under circumstances to be hereinafter mentioned.

A point of the first importance is that imprisonment for life offers a premium on additional murder. If a man has already committed murder in the first degree, has been sentenced for life for the commission of that crime, and is unrepentant; if this be the highest penalty allowed, what is to deter him from attempting to escape by the murder of his keepers? If he shall make a dash for liberty and kill his keeper, and shall be brought back, he is simply where he was before—sentenced for life. And the same views which would lead to the abolition of capital punishment would prevent the infliction of physical pain upon him. Murders have been perpetrated by prisoners under a life sentence, in States where capital punishment is not allowed. Nor is there any reason to suppose, if prison discipline were in any case relaxed so as to offer the hope of escape, that many such murderers would be deterred from the attempt by any fear that they might be the means of the death of an officer. Again, if imprisonment for life be the penalty for one murder, and capital punishment in no case be allowed, then the commission of two or three murders at the time of the original crime, or to destroy witnesses thereof, would not add to the penalty.

Nor is it just to say that persons intent upon murder are never mindful of such considerations as these. Murder in the first degree involves premeditation; and authentic instances exist of murderers decoying their victims into jurisdictions where the death penalty does not prevail, so that in case they should fail to escape after the murder which they had planned, they would be liable to imprisonment only. And the elaborate scheme to take them out of the State in which capital punishment existed into one in which imprisonment for life was the sole penalty, was as deliberately contrived as the murder itself. I have seen a man in prison for life who had murdered his father, his mother, and his wife; murdering his wife that he might be free to marry a woman of whom he was enamored, and his parents that he might get hold of their property. There were no evidences of insanity, and he constantly assigned after his conviction, as a reason for killing them all, that "he might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb, and if he killed only his wife he would be as badly off if he was caught as if he killed the whole of them."

To prevent escape is the first essential to the execution of a life sentence, and this was originally accomplished by solitary confinement. But solitary confinement almost invariably produces insanity in a comparatively short time. I have seen seven insane murderers in the penitentiary of a State where the death penalty had been abrogated. Not all of them became insane through solitary confinement, but some did, and the tendency is unquestionable. Instances in former years, in England, were so common among solitary life prisoners that the number was published, and used in every discussion of this subject. Civilization cries out against solitary confinement, except as a penalty employed for short periods, for the purpose of keeping order in prisons.

Co-operative work is the concomitant of non-solitary confinement; for to allow men to be together and to be idle would destroy order, and afford the opportunity for rebellion, riot, and escape. Co-operative work gives an opportunity for escape, and for crime; and it is not very uncommon for one prisoner to assault or murder another, or an officer, or to escape. The use

of tools, the change of place, and many other things combine to inspire hope of escape in the minds of desperate criminals.

The subject of pardon is even more important. The manner in which pardons are procured and granted in the United States has attracted the attention of observers in foreign lands, who have often asserted in the periodicals of Europe that nothing like it can be found elsewhere in the civilized world. Comparatively few who receive a life sentence remain in prison until death. The number of those having friends and personal or political influence who do so is very small. In 1870, having occasion to make some inquiries into this subject, I wrote to Dr. James T. Edwards, at that time a member of the Senate of Rhode Island, in which State capital punishment did not exist. I wrote to Dr. Edwards, because I had read a short time before a remarkable address delivered by him in the senate upon the subject of pardons and the exercise of the pardoning power. His reply I now place before the reader:

“EAST GREENWICH, R. I., March 21, 1870.

“J. M. BUCKLEY. Dear Sir: Last year I had occasion to investigate the whole subject of punishment for crimes, and in the course of my investigation I communicated with every governor in the United States.

“After a thorough and impartial comparison of our own system with that of other States, and a full investigation into the statistics of crime here and elsewhere, both now and in the past, I have formed the deliberate conviction that it would be for the interests of humanity, and promotive of public security and order, to establish capital punishment in the State of Rhode Island.

“Murder has disproportionately increased since its abolition, and in fact it reduces itself to this: We neither hang nor imprison for life for murder in the first degree. The criminals are pardoned, and I think that no man ‘imprisoned for life’ has ever died in our prison. Be that as it may, had I time I could give you startling facts to show you how justice is tampered with here under the present system.      Truly yours,                            J. T. EDWARDS.”

On the other hand, if pardon be rendered impossible under any circumstances, two things are to be considered: that the rectification of mistakes would be attended with difficulty, and the maintenance of order in prisons would not be possible without cruelties from which humanity would recoil. The case seems, therefore, to reduce itself to this: that to make escape practically impossible, cruelties must be constantly perpetrated, or the pardoning power must exist. And after the memory of

the crime is forgotten, sympathy usurps the place of judgment; the murderer's friends are persistent; the friends of his victim are silent; fables are told concerning his health; his wife, perhaps dying, pleads that he may be pardoned; political influence is enlisted, and he comes forth, the hope that he took with him of escape or pardon fulfilled.

About the same time that I wrote to Dr. Edwards, I wrote to the Mayor of the city of Detroit, of whose sentiments upon the subject I was entirely ignorant, and received from him the following reply:

"I am of the opinion, after a residence in this State of over sixteen years, that the security of life would be increased and the ends of justice promoted by the adoption of capital punishment for murder in the first degree, when the party is convicted upon positive evidence."

I also wrote to an eminent lawyer of Detroit, Mr. D. Bethune Duffield, who replied as follows:

"I am decidedly of the opinion that life is by no means as secure with us, under our laws, which some years since abolished capital punishment, as it was before, or as it would be in the event of its restoration. . . . It is admitted by those who prefer solitary confinement to the death penalty, that the murderer has forfeited his life so far as all intercourse with his kind is concerned, and he must be put out of the way and shut up the balance of his days; 'but with a view to his reformation!' His reformation, for what end? If they mean for his entrance into the next world (and they can mean nothing else, as the man cannot return to society), that may be done and the death penalty be still inflicted. . . . But to say that the abolition of the death penalty, and the substitution of solitary confinement, is humanitarian in its practical workings, is not true. The statistics of our State prison show that death or insanity comes to the rescue of the prisoner in about the eighth or ninth year of his confinement, and in the case of a woman generally sooner. I refer you to a table of statistics on this point, in the Report of our State Prison Inspectors for 1868, page 58. Doubtless the death and insane record would appear even larger, but that another modification of the law's penalty leaves it discretionary with certain of our executive authorities to relieve the convict from his solitary confinement, and put him to hard labor with the rest of the prisoners."

It was in the prison referred to by Mr. Duffield that I had seen seven insane murderers, and in that same prison an officer of high grade was subsequently murdered by a life convict. In Michigan the feeling against the present law, and in favor of the re-enaction of capital punishment, has been constantly in-

creasing; and while this article was in preparation a bill for that purpose failed in the House of Representatives by only one vote. Into the subject of statistics I do not enter; not because of any fear as to the result, but on account of the fact that mere figures, independent of an analysis of national temperament, social condition, climate, history, and government, reflect no more light upon such questions as this than they do upon suicide, insanity, longevity, or the increase of the population.

The most common objection to capital punishment is the possibility of mistake. That some innocent persons have been executed cannot be denied. That the number is very small is the opinion of those best informed; but the possibility of error must be admitted. The common form of stating the case is: "When a government takes human life, it takes what it cannot restore in case of a mistake." But the possibility of mistake did not prevent the infliction of the death penalty under the divine administration. The whole history of the Jews confirms this point; and unless it is held that in the times covered by the Bible every judicial decree was infallible, this should be sufficient to dispose of the question in the minds of believers in the Bible as a divine revelation. But as many citizens would not be governed by considerations drawn from any form of religion, it would seem sufficient to remind them that the liability to mistake attends all human judgments. False imprisonment takes away from a man what can never be given back; the time for which he was imprisoned is forever gone; and the possibility of spending an entire life in prison upon a false charge has been demonstrated. Besides this, prisoners under such circumstances are liable to become insane, and cases of suicide from despair, where the prisoner was subsequently proved innocent, are not unknown. So that to denounce any form of punishment, justifiable on other grounds, on this consideration alone is unreasonable.

In this age men will rarely be sentenced to death where the evidence is not conclusive beyond the possibility of a doubt; and with the delays that exist in the execution of the law, the opportunities for new trials and commutations of sentence, the interests of the prisoners are far better protected than those of

the state, or those of private individuals who are the subjects of criminal outrages.

In the course of my investigations of this subject, having heard that the late John A. Kennedy, for many years Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police in the city of New York, had originally disapproved of capital punishment, I addressed a letter to him, to which I received the following response, in which the whole subject is clearly and unanswerably stated :

“OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF METROPOLITAN POLICE,  
NEW YORK CITY, March 17, 1870.

“J. M. BUCKLEY. Dear Sir : To inquiries such as yours I have uniformly declined to make reply. My theoretic opinions, formed in early life, were averse to taking life under any circumstances. And during a term as petit juror of nearly twenty years, I managed to avoid being on the panel of capital trials, excepting in two cases, where the verdicts were manslaughter. But I must acknowledge that my views have undergone a change on this, as on other subjects, where experience and observation have operated on my judgment. And especially so since circumstances have brought me in immediate contact with the criminal classes.

“The first lesson I learned was that our so-called reformatory prison discipline was a failure, so far as reformation is concerned ; that its only benefit consisted in keeping the criminal out of the way of doing harm, so long as he was incarcerated ; that, with scarce an exception, criminals come out of prison better schooled for crime, more hardened to undertake desperate chances in crime, and with increased personal acquaintanceship with the criminal classes, than when they entered the establishment. Indeed, I regard the reform of a criminal, after a second conviction, as very nearly impossible.

“In regard to the class of offenses known as capital, the perpetrators are usually among persons who are not regarded of the dangerous classes ; as jealousy, disappointment, drink, or sudden passion may influence a person, theretofore of good character, to commit a murder. And if there could possibly be such a thing as reformation by prison confinement, it would probably be more in consonance with modern ideas of humanity that imprisonment for life should be substituted for capital punishment. But no such reformation follows imprisonment as a rule. Reformation is exceptional. Then, should the class I have described be so sentenced, our experience in this country is, unless the prisoner dies early, that our sympathies operate upon the pardoning power, and the prisoner is released a much worse man than he was when first convicted.

“In regard to the bad classes, who commit such offenses for revenge, or hire as an assassin, or in the perpetration of some other felony, or mere wantonness and recklessness of human life, I have to say that, frequently as these occurrences now take place, the number would undoubtedly be frightfully increased were the fear of the gallows entirely removed from their depraved apprehensions.

"Uncertain as are convictions for the higher crimes by courts in this community, yet, that there is a possibility of their worthless lives being the forfeit of such crime, holds in check, to an astonishing extent, the worst population now having existence on the footstool of the Almighty. Should the Legislature of New York ever abolish capital punishment in this State, I should regard the vicinity of this city as a very unsafe place as a residence, or even to visit. I would bid the locality a final adieu. The last case of conviction for murder in this city presented, under testimony, that the reckless perpetrator, immediately after arrest, showed his confidence in his safety, by exclaiming, 'Hanging's played out,' immediately after having confessed that he had committed the crime.

"In conclusion, allow me to say my experiences have convinced me that it would tend to the increase of capital offenses to relieve the perpetrators from capital punishment by law, until we reach that condition of moral improvement described by the prophet, when 'the lion shall eat straw like the ox.' When that day comes, if I have a voice, it shall be raised in favor of abolishing capital punishment. Yours truly, JOHN A. KENNEDY."

Lynch law is the natural product of the treatment of criminals in too indulgent a manner. The uncertainties of the administration of justice, and the escape of the criminals from even the insufficient penalties pronounced against them, account for many of the terrible scenes of burning, shooting, and hanging which disgrace our civilization. Nor are these crimes committed in the South alone, or on the frontiers. It is extremely grievous for human nature at its best estate, to see one who has murdered a father, a wife, or a child, or ruined a daughter, alive, and, perhaps through political influence and cunningly devised fables, set free; and not a few homicides have resulted from such provocation; whereas, if the punishment of criminals in a manner in harmony with a common-sense judgment of their deserving were certain, only sudden outbreaks of passion would lead to interference with legal processes.

The present mode of execution is not essential. Hanging is repulsive, though it is a consideration of importance whether the method of punishment should not express in some unmistakable way the detestation of society for the crime. But the progress of civilization may devise a better way. The guillotine was an unsuccessful attempt to do so. What is essential is that the penalty for premeditated murder without extenuating circumstances shall be more certain, speedy, and private in its execution than it now is, and that it shall be *death*. J. M. BUCKLEY.

## RAILWAY PASSES AND THE PUBLIC.

THE use of passes by men in public life has advanced from the stage of harmless custom to the form of acute disease. Railway companies are wantonly wasting their income. The public, only half informed as to the nature of the evil, regard it with fatal insensibility, or load the companies with unjust abuse. It is, therefore, time that a consultation be held and a remedy prescribed.

If the American people should suddenly learn that their servants in every grade of national, State, county, and municipal service, with rare exceptions, receive or demand money regularly from men whose conduct or property is hourly under consideration in places where laws are made, interpreted, and enforced, the practice would be denounced as infamous, and the officials, whether found traitors or not, because of their weak moral vision, would be sent to the shade of private life. A railway pass is the equivalent of money, in the strictest sense. It secures to the holder a valuable service, for which, otherwise, money must be paid. Transportation costs the carrier money; the service performed is worth money to the passenger. Possession of the pass saves him money which otherwise he would spend. Therefore the gift of a pass is a gift of money, and the official who receives a pass is affected precisely as if he received cash. The argument loses none of its force when applied to men who would not travel if they had not a pass. People travel from choice or necessity; they go for pleasure or gain; the use of the means of travel has a cash value, and the cost to the carrier is the same whatever the motive of the traveler. If it is true, then, that the great body of public officials in the United States systematically receive the equivalent of money from railway companies, why does the public conscience sleep? A study of this question reveals the fact that the pass system, like all human institutions, is a mixture

of good and evil. The motives of many who give and receive passes are imperfectly understood. The public, for reasons that will be stated, are not informed of the extent to which the practice prevails, and are not impartial in the judgment they pass upon the parties who are involved.

In a multitude of cases, passes are apparently issued without unworthy motive on either side. They are given and received as a courtesy, or because it is the custom. Sometimes they are given for the express purpose of securing the favor of an official; and often because they are demanded by an official whose enmity it is dangerous to incur. The public are not advised of the extent of the system, because railway companies habitually, as far as possible, keep their business to themselves. The officials who receive passes do not announce the fact, for obvious reasons; and the public press, enjoying the privilege to an extraordinary degree, are interested in suppressing, rather than in publishing, the details. And what of the public? They condemn railway companies for giving passes, but they elect and re-elect to office those who receive them. When the managers of a great railway carry with tender care, and with every circumstance of comfort and safety, a dying President from the capital to the sea; or transport his remains, his afflicted family, and his colleagues in the national service, to the tomb in a distant State, free of charge, a sense of gratitude pervades the public breast. But when the fact is published that some needy legislator or some low-salaried judge travels on a pass, that is a scandal not to be tolerated. It thus appears that the subject presents several phases which need attention; and, before a wise judgment can be pronounced, all the facts must be known.

Passes are used by presidents of the United States, cabinet ministers, heads of departments, judges, marshals, and clerks of the Supreme Court of the United States, and their families; not without exceptions, but nearly so. Almost invariably, passes are tendered to these eminent officials out of respect to their high character and learning, or in consequence of their exalted station; sometimes, however, they are solicited. Passes are used by governors of States and Territories, secretaries of State, State auditors, treasurers, attorney-generals, and judges of

every grade of State courts, and their families, with very rare exceptions. Also, by members of Congress, members of State and Territorial legislatures, by clerks, sergeants-at-arms, door-keepers, messengers, and policemen in and about the State and national capitols. To the prominent officials already named, annual passes are commonly given. Sometimes these passes include the families of the officials; more frequently, trip passes are issued for members of the families, upon the request, direct or indirect, of the officials. In the latter case, the clerk, the marshal, or a private secretary is the medium of communication, and the request is couched in such terms as these: "His Honor, Judge ——, will spend a portion of his vacation in Florida; he has already been kindly supplied with an annual pass for himself, but, if the rules of your company will permit, he would be glad to have the courtesy extended to his family, who will accompany him;" or thus: "His Excellency, Governor ——, wishes to make a trip to the seashore, with his wife, daughters, and niece. He has been tendered passes over the Air Line, but would be glad to travel by your route. Kindly send me transportation for the governor and five persons, from —— to New York and return." Often His Excellency or His Honor will emerge in person from the executive or judicial covert and announce his wishes over his own name. The railway official needs moral courage of a high order, if he would refuse applications from such a source.

The average law-maker of to-day looks upon free travel as one of the incidents of statesmanship; with very rare exceptions he takes a pass as he does his pay, without a thought of impropriety. Compelled to travel often between his home and the State or national capital, he regards the perquisite as a great convenience, and has never yet been brought to vote for the abolition of passes, when there was danger that his vote was likely to produce that result.

Some members ask for passes boldly, others timidly; a very few make no request, but will use a pass when offered; not one in a hundred has scruples against riding on a pass; while still another class, whose greed drowns every sense of honor, treat railroads as public property, and demand passes as of right. It

is needless to add that such men mark for vengeance those who deny their requests. Of this ravenous crew the late General Assembly of Wisconsin is a fair, though exceptional, type; it passed a law compelling railroad companies in that State to furnish free travel to all persons filling elective offices in the State government.

As the dispositions of the beneficiaries differ, so does the practice of railroad companies. Some send session or annual passes to newly elected members as soon as their names and addresses are known; usually a sergeant-at-arms, soon after the session begins, makes out lists of passes desired by members, and sends them to the various companies. A majority of the members of a legislature are usually men of intelligence, conscience, and honor; they regard an occasional trip pass as an honorable courtesy, and when they ask for passes they do so with moderation and modesty. But not a legislature is known to have existed in modern times in which there was not a hungry pack, greedy for passes and shameless in the arts of getting them. They are not necessarily corrupt men; but they are men without delicacy of feeling with no sense of propriety, and debauched by indulgence in free travel. If they have session passes, they begin, as the session draws to a close, to ask for annual ones. They ask for trip passes over remote and foreign railways from ocean to ocean, from the lakes to the Gulf; they ask for them by the half-dozen for relatives, friends, and political adherents; they bespeak them beforehand for use in summer tours; they plan excursions during the session, in which two, ten, or twenty members unite, inviting families and friends, and thus go free in shoals to the national capital or to a *Mardi-gras* festival. As many as twenty applications will be made in a single day to one company, for passes good between a western State capital and Washington; at the same time applications for local passes will average as high as two hundred daily. Extremes often meet: a great corporation will appear on the floor of a legislative chamber, in the person of a well-known representative, during hours of session, and distribute passes to members as if they were stationery from the office of the Secretary of State. In all this business there may be, perhaps, no thought of bribery. The honorable member

takes his pass without a blush, and votes as caprice or passion dictates. The railroad manager yields to the force of supposed necessity, and sighs with relief when the session is ended. With whatever fine phrases the custom may be veiled, it will not bear honest inspection. It cannot be presumed for one moment that these passes would be given, if the men who receive them were not armed with the omnipotent power of legislation.

Passes are given to every grade of county officials; to mayors of villages, towns, and cities; to members of city councils, and to every hanger-on upon the machine of city government. Judges of courts of inferior jurisdiction profit most by the possession of a pass. Many are constantly on the circuit traveling from place to place, and to such the privilege of free travel may be worth several hundred dollars a year. Annual passes are usually sent to judges at the beginning of the year. But the latter ask for them in every form of the comic, pathetic, and arrogant. One simply announces the fact of his election, and directs where his pass shall be sent to him. Another asks if a personal insult is intended, because his pass is not received. A third pleads poverty and a low salary, and says if a pass is given he will never forget the favor. A fourth returns an old annual pass, and, with a faint approach to wit, suggests that the date of "the inclosed" is wrong. A few good old members of the judiciary, who have enjoyed the blessed privilege of a pass so long that it has become blended insensibly with their pay, are peevish and fretful as babes if their "annual" does not reach them promptly at the beginning of the new year.

County officials in general, especially when untainted by the vicious influence of a large city, are moderate in their requests for passes, and in their use of them. They seldom ask for them even for their families; now and then, however, when one wishes to take a long trip, or to pack a political convention, he asks as boldly as a member of a legislature. Sometimes they are so weak as to promise pay for passes in the coin of official service; or, if a pass is refused, they will threaten the terrors of official power. In very rare cases, sheriffs will pack juries, clerks will refuse information, auditors will increase assessments, treasurers will enforce penalties, district-attorneys will decline to prosecute, if

their requests for passes have been denied. In towns, villages, and smaller cities, passes are seldom issued except upon request; in the larger cities nearly every official asks and receives. Although there are honorable exceptions, and although the average intelligence of members of city councils is equal to that of State legislatures, yet the conditions of city life breed and sustain a type of public men whose equal is nowhere else to be found. They buy their way into office with money and liquor; they choose judges of election; they stuff ballot-boxes or forge returns, as necessity requires. The terms, official duty and public virtue, are as strange to their ears as is the slang of thieves to honest men. They read neither books nor magazines; they defy the public press; they fear nothing but the jail. Having bribed their way into the council chamber, they station themselves like robbers at a mountain pass, and exact money of all who come that way. They work or abstain from work; they vote aye or no according as they are paid. As it is incredible to suppose that such men would not stoop to pick up money from the street, if it were lying before them, so it cannot be presumed that they would not ask for money, or its equivalent, if they knew that by asking they would get it. Hence, when times are dull and other game is scarce, they work the railroad-pass mine, and in this work they are bold as the rats that infest the city docks. They demand trip passes and annuals for themselves, their families, and their friends. They ask for them by the dozen and the gross, over near and distant railroads; they sell them for cash to travelers and "scalpers;" they give them to harlots, loafers, and thieves. Business men and even railroad employees have learned to go to councilmen for passes when they cannot get them on their own request. In one of the largest and most respectable cities in the land, the exactions of this remorseless gang became so great that railroad companies were forced to combine in self-defense, and limit the number of passes which each councilman should receive in a year. It is not averred or believed that the railroad officials know in each instance the improper use that the alderman makes of a pass. The fact simply is recorded with amazement that the able, brave, and strong-willed men who manage railways in America should

submit to a yoke laid upon them by such unworthy hands; for the master is infamous, the service degrading, and the bondage base. How long shall it last?

When we consider the purchasing power of a pass, and the fact that it can be had for the asking, we need not stop to inquire why the public official is glad to get them. Each one may be equivalent to the cost of a new suit of clothes, a basket of wine, several boxes of fine cigars, a diamond pin, or even a gold watch. To the councilman's wife it means a trip to New York or the sea-shore, a handsome shawl, a silk dress, or a multitude of trifles that are known to be dear to the female heart. It saves to a judge several hundred dollars of his salary, or makes a comfortable addition to his library. It enables a rural law-maker to acquire a horse, a carriage, or an organ. It pays numberless election bills for a congressman, or permits him to indulge his family in travel or in luxuries which otherwise they would never enjoy. Hence, all rejoice in the custom and pray that it may never cease. As the gain is great to those who receive passes, so is the loss correspondingly great to those who give them. Why do railroad companies encourage and endure this great burden? It is a pleasing duty to record the mitigating circumstances first.

Power is a toy of which all men are fond; the temptation to use it is as old as the race. The railway manager has resources at his command which a magician might envy. He represents a large combination of money and men. He employs operatives by the thousand, and the magnitude of his business dwarfs other enterprises. The daily comfort and welfare of vast communities depend upon his efficiency and energy. His passenger and traffic trains are in motion at a hundred places at every hour of the day and night. Every day he is besieged by ministers of the gospel, trustees of hospitals, guardians of the poor, sisters of mercy, for free transportation for the sick and the needy. He gives and is blessed. The door is thus opened, and others less worthy enter. Intimate friends, prominent citizens, editors, publishers, men of power and repute, all in private life, ask and receive. The pride and pleasure which the manager feels in helping the poor, pleasing the rich, and accommodating personal

friends may be censurable, but it is human and universal. In this royal dispensation of favors, granted to so many, and in many cases so worthily, it could hardly be expected that a request would be refused merely because it came from one in the public service. The official is thus served along with the multitude, and in this way many a pass finds its way into the pocket of a public servant without design or aim, good or bad, on the part of the railway company. Again, hospitality is one of the noble instincts of the human heart and the source of some of life's sweetest joys, a prevailing trait in all civilized races and a redeeming one even with those that are barbarous; it is not strange that the railway manager should yield to the universal impulse. If the matter ended here, the public should praise rather than blame, for the hospitable act is done to those whom the people have honored with their suffrages, and placed in charge of their public concerns. The sentiment in which the manager indulges is akin to that often entertained by the people toward eminent public men, and which takes the form of memorial addresses, public ovations, and even the gift of houses and money. The bounty in such cases is honorable alike to the receiver and the giver. Will any one say that a base motive lies behind the gift of a pass to the President, to a cabinet minister, a justice of the Supreme Court, or the governor of a State? Do the people think so basely of the men they have put in these high places as to say they would sell their trust for the pottage of a pass?

Gratitude is a trait that is, by common consent, one of the chief ornaments of human character. The railway manager is often placed in circumstances where, if he failed to give a pass to a public officer, he would be stigmatized as narrow and cold. He goes to public departments and offices for information or papers. His time is valuable; he needs assistance; special courtesy is shown him; his personal convenience is consulted; the interests of his company are promoted, and no charge is made. Or it may be that he goes to a city council for a new privilege, or to a legislature for a new law, and necessity drives him thither constantly; for railroad companies can do only the things which the law permits, while individuals can do every-

thing except what is prohibited. Growth and change are constant factors in railroad life. New demands require new supplies; new conditions need new conveniences. Public welfare, as well as corporate interest, requires that the iron bands of law be relaxed from time to time, that room be made for growth and new conditions met. Thus railway officials come in contact with legislators; acquaintances are made and friendships are formed. The machinery of legislation is complex, and under ordinary circumstances it moves slowly. When a railroad company wants a new law, it wants it badly and it wants it quick. It therefore appreciates the disinterested efforts put forth by a member to master the details of a bill, summon committees, explain the old law and the new, and hurry up printers, messengers, and clerks. All this service is rendered in the conscientious discharge of a duty, and without hope or thought of pay. The new law is a benefit both to the company and the public. But the railway officer is grateful for the personal service that has been rendered by the member, and wishes to reciprocate his courtesy. In such a case it would seem that a pass might be given with honor to one party and without reproach to the other.

The other side of the story remains to be told. There are railway officials, and their name is legion, who systematically put passes into the hands of every public servant who will receive them, for the express purpose of securing a favorable disposition in the breast of the man in power, knowing that, at one time or another, the interests of the railway company will be under consideration. They give them to judges in the hope that, when their company is brought to the bar, justice may be tempered with mercy. They give them to sheriffs, clerks, and other officers whose duties keep them about a court-room, where panels are filled, where juries consult, and where criminal and civil administration has its seat. They give them to county auditors, who are clothed with powers of assessment; to county treasurers, who can remit penalties; to district attorneys, who prosecute; to probate judges, who preside at the exercise of the power of eminent domain.

The attempt to hide the motive under the cloak of courtesy is the weakest of all inventions. Some do not even attempt to

hide it. They have lost faith in human nature, if they ever had it. They think every man has his price, and are willing to buy him. Being thoroughly corrupted by the possession of vast power and unscrupulous in the mode of exercising it, they have become the veritable scourge of the country. They are the men who favor one class of shippers at the expense of another; who allow drawbacks and rebates, and become partners in the deal; who depress revenue to buy stock cheap, and put forth false statements of income to sell it high. They enter pools because they can cheat their associates more successfully under the garb of a friend than as an open enemy. They make contracts with an oath and break them with a jest. They scandalize the entire administration of railway property, and involve all railway managers in a common and unmerited reproach. They will never disappear until the law clutches them by the throat, and either drives them from power or puts them in prison.

While the motives of railway managers in giving passes to public men are a compound of good and bad, the ingredients being courtesy, gratitude, greed, and fear, the bad predominates, and in the interest of railroad properties, no less than of the public morals, the system should be entirely suppressed. It is capable of demonstration that its influence is blighting in every direction.

Railways fill so large a space in the affairs of men that their maintenance, without stop or friction, is one of the necessities of modern life. Whatever tends to cause irregularity, uncertainty, or delay in the operation of railways is an object of concern to every member of society. They require daily supplies, in infinite variety and amount. They wear and break incessantly. They keep countless girls, boys, and men in work and wages, on track and train, in office, mine, field, and shop. Without steady and copious income they cannot exist. Loss of revenue means trouble on every side. Employees are dismissed, wages are reduced, chances are taken in bridges and tracks. The standard of efficiency and safety is lowered. Accidents occur. Life and property are destroyed, and employees strike and boycott. People engaged in collateral lines of industry are forced into idleness, and widespread suffering and distress are the result.

When passengers are carried free, therefore, not only rail-

way stockholders, but the public, incur a loss. Not a train moves but carries from one to a dozen dead-heads. With many companies the free list amounts to thirty, forty, and fifty thousand dollars a month. Lavishness in one direction begets lavishness in another. The free use of passes by public men creates a thirst for something stronger when a valuable franchise is desired. They learn that railroad companies are willing to pay for what they want, and they are quick to utilize the knowledge. Thus the change from a courtesy to a bribe is easy, and those who give and those who take become corrupt. The deadly influence of this business does not stop here. A certain grade of public men, taught by railway experts, learn to charge for official, as for professional, service. They expect pay from those who have money, and they serve with indifference, or not at all, those who cannot pay. And when we have reached the point where the rich and strong buy the official services of public men, and the weak and poor get on as they can, our political edifice is in ruins.

Moreover, in legislative bodies, railway companies now seldom seek an advantage over the public or over each other; hence, the gift of passes to members of legislatures is a voluntary and useless waste of money. If they do seek to cheat the public or rob one another by aid of law, experience tells them that they must pay in something heavier than paper. Under the wise constitutional provisions of modern times, grants of corporate power are made under general laws, and railway companies seldom appear except to obtain or defeat a new regulation which will affect all companies alike.

If railway managers are wise they will not ask for laws that are not just, for their properties will become the glittering prize when legislators have become thoroughly corrupt. If they ask for none but reasonable powers, they will get them in time, without giving passes or money. If new conditions make new powers necessary, fair means and patience will surely win them at the hands of the American people. Railway managers must learn, as wise individuals have long since learned, that an object gained by bad means will hurt rather than help. Railroad legislation obtained by bribes multiplies evil in every direction.

The public, who have been cheated, retaliate in a hundred ways. They refuse protection and deny even justice to those who have wronged them. Juries wreak vengeance by giving outrageous verdicts. Citizens look on with apathy while railroad property is ruined by striking employees and by the torch of anarchists. The Broadway franchise was at first thought cheap at half a million; but the bills are not yet all in.

The virtue of railway managers is put to a severe test in dealing with city councils, but their millennium will be at hand if they dismiss fear, do what is right, and trust the people. Aldermen and councilmen terrorize the manager and put their hands into his pocket whenever they like, because they can pass ordinances regulating the speed of trains within city limits, or can require tracks to be lighted or guarded, or give or withhold the right to construct additional tracks or connections. A moment's reflection should convince him, first, that he is hired by his stockholders not to do dirty work, but to do the best he can in an honorable way to manage their property. Not one stockholder in a thousand can be found who will admit that he hired or expected the manager to bribe a city council. Second, that the unreasonable exercise of power by municipal thieves affects not himself or his property, but rather the property of a vast body of stockholders, and the public at large as well. If the speed of trains is reduced through spite, to an intolerable degree, people crossing the tracks are the chief sufferers, and will clamor for a change. If tracks are not properly lighted or guarded, the destruction of life soon teaches the company to adopt proper means for protection, and no council has ever been known to demand guards against danger where no danger exists. If new tracks or additional connections are needed in a city, the public need them equally with the company; and if corrupt members of council refuse to move because they are not paid, the public will arise and drive them out of their corrupt torpidity. In any phase of the subject the pass cuts no figure but to whet the appetite of the councilman for cash. It brings neither protection nor power.

The gift of passes to judges and county officials of every stripe is a sheer waste of money, besides being a heinous crime against society. The scale of justice was never known to turn in favor

of a railroad company because the judge could ride free. Sub-ordinate officials deal with the manager on the basis of profit and loss, and accept the pass, because, in so doing, they get more than they give. It is strange that the manager, in twenty-five years' experience, has not learned this little fact. In many States of the Union, the county auditor, acting alone or as member of a board of appraisers, is clothed with discretionary power in fixing the value of railroad property for purposes of taxation. His relation to every taxpayer is one of great delicacy and responsibility, and his discretion in fixing values, within the forms provided by law, can be challenged by no man. He can justify himself in making a low valuation of railroad property on the ground that other property is appraised below value, or he can justify himself in making a high valuation because the property has great value, and the law requires it to be appraised at its true value in money. He is, therefore, in a position to receive gifts from a railroad company, and yet exercise his discretion with perfect safety. Of all public officials, from President down to policemen, the manager is most anxious to obtain the auditor's favor. He, therefore, sends his respects in the form of an annual pass to the county auditor, early in the first day of the new year; not, as might be supposed, to county auditors in general, but to the auditors of those counties in which his railway is located, and wherein it is to be taxed. In many cases the auditor shows his appreciation of these courtesies by favoring those who give, and taxing heavily those whose conscience will not permit them to do so.

The president of one of the foremost railways of the country recently said that he saved his company thousands of dollars a year by giving annual passes to county auditors. He was mistaken. The property of his company is and for years has been taxed on a higher basis than property belonging to individuals, in every county of several States in which his railway is located. A fit complement to his remark is one made by a man who had lately closed a many years' term of auditor, in one of the prominent cities of the land, that he had the satisfaction of knowing that the taxes of the —— Railroad Company had been increased about twenty thousand dollars a year, because the com-

pany was so stingy with passes, and had entertained the auditors so niggardly when they were on a tour of inspection of that company's property. Although the remark bears close on the fact, and shows that the author had the instinct of a felon, it would be rank injustice to judge the character of the average county auditor by the remark of the ex-auditor or of the railway president. County auditors are usually men of high sense of honor, conscientious in the discharge of their duty, and always intelligent enough to know that a good name is better than a railway pass. Their salary and a re-election are of more consequence to them than a few free rides. They take the pass because others do, and in every known instance assess the railway for taxation higher than the property of individuals or other corporations. The thought that they could be moved, in the performance of a public duty, by so cheap a reward as a pass, comes properly from those who are not above making the attempt.

The responsibility for the pass system must be divided between the railway companies and the public. If giving a pass be a mild form of bribery, the man who receives is as guilty as he who gives. Those who give are servants of a corporation. Those who take are servants of the people. The people and the companies must unite to extirpate the evil. It is the interest as well as the duty of stockholders to instruct their officers to issue no passes to any man on account of a public office. No railway officer will dare disobey such instruction. It is the duty, and it should be the pleasure, of every railway officer, whether such instruction be given or not, to recall every pass now held by a servant of the people, and to withhold them from such in the future. He must repress the hospitable impulse, and return personal courtesy with courtesy of the same kind.

But all railway companies, and their managers, will not think alike on this question. Until the people take vigorous hold of the subject, virtue will be expensive to those companies who practice it. Therefore the people must take up the question, insist on reform, and protect honest railway officials and the property they represent against the rogues who still linger in office. They should exact a pledge from each candidate for office, that he will not, if elected, accept a pass or its equivalent

from any corporation. They should, in farmers' clubs, citizens' meetings, and political conventions, adopt resolutions denouncing the system of issuing passes. They must not trust to the momentary impulse of virtue; they must perpetuate it in law. They should not trust to a temporary law that may be evaded or repealed. They should adopt an amendment to their State constitutions, in such terms that it will execute itself, forbidding the gift or use of passes, or their equivalent, by officers of corporations and men in public life. How necessary all those safeguards are may be inferred from the fact that in one great State the use of railway passes is forbidden both by constitution and law, and yet, because neither constitution nor law contains the sting of punishment, railway passes are used by every member of every department of the State government, legislative, executive, and judicial, with exceptions so few that a child could count them. The relief afforded by the Inter-State Commerce Law will be brief and trifling. Already its terms are being evaded by daring railway managers, who give passes to large shippers and designate them as employees of their own or other companies. Moreover, the people should revise the salaries of such of their servants as must travel while performing public duties, and add a separate, specific compensation on account of mileage traveled. The strongest temptation which besets an underpaid official to accept a pass will thus be withdrawn. The influence and aid of the press must be invoked to arouse and instruct public opinion. Against its attack no man or human institution can stand; without its aid, no reform, however wise or just, can ever prevail.

There are men who are styled practical, hard-sense men, who manage railways successfully, who will say this particular reform cannot be brought about; they will say the idea is well enough, but railway companies cannot live unless they protect themselves by giving passes to men in public life. These men will do nothing. There are other railway officers to whom the institutions of the country are dear, and who wish to see them preserved; who would keep their reputation untarnished, and hand down their savings in safety to their children. These will unite in the good work.

I. T. BROOKS.

## THE CONTROL OF THE PACIFIC.

IT may reasonably be supposed that in the course of time the States of our west coast will dominate the Pacific Ocean, but it will be long before their population and resources justify this expectation. For the next half-century this control will depend principally upon the use and ownership of a canal across the narrow lands that connect us with South America. Chili and Peru are much nearer to our eastern ports than to San Francisco, their longitude being the same as that of New York; and, with a canal across Central America, swift steamships would make Callao and Panama almost the neighbors of New Orleans and Mobile. It is with the circumstances of such a canal, therefore, and with the various interests that group themselves about such a possible transit, that we must principally concern ourselves, when, looking at the probabilities of the time to come, we endeavor to assign properly the future control of the Pacific.

Of the two great isthmuses of the world, it seems natural that Suez should first receive the attention of modern commerce. Some surprise might, indeed, be felt that the Suez problem was not attacked and solved long before that of the American isthmus. The reason is apparent, when we reflect that steam vessels are comparatively modern inventions, and that the Suez Canal is not of service to sailing ships, owing to the calms, baffling winds, and intense heat which prevail throughout the length of the Red Sea, for more than a thousand miles. Sailing vessels from Europe to India or China must continue to use the route around the Cape of Good Hope in preference to the Suez Canal. It was not, therefore, until steamships became numerous upon the ocean highways that a canal joining the Mediterranean and the Red Sea became justified by existing facts. The shores on both sides of Central America, with few exceptions, present, on the contrary, very favorable conditions of wind and weather

for the approach of sailing ships; and, had steamships not been introduced, the question of cutting the American isthmus would have preceded by many years the construction of a canal at Suez. The weather and the prevailing winds will continue to be important factors in the canal problem. Much of the world's merchandise is still transported in sailing vessels, and in steamers of a class which must economize coal and be governed to a great extent, in the selection of routes, by the winds they are to encounter.

In considering the interchange of products between the countries of the Pacific and those of the Atlantic, the difficulties and perils of the passage around Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan present themselves as the most serious that shipping has to encounter. Twenty degrees farther to the south than its companion cape of Africa, Cape Horn thrusts its bleak rocks far out toward the ice-fields of the Antarctic, and into the most tempestuous region known to seamen. Rich must be the products of countries to tempt shipping to seek them by a route so dangerous and expensive. How rich these products are may be inferred from the rapid increase in the number of vessels visiting the Pacific shores. The official reports of the United States Bureau of Statistics show the number of ships trading from our eastern coast and from Europe to the North and South Pacific to be, in the year 1879, 2,647, of an aggregate tonnage of 2,671,886 tons. The same reports show, in the year 1885, the total number of ships to be 4,139, of a tonnage of 4,252,434. This remarkable growth of trade will be more than repeated in the coming years. The industrial development of our Pacific States, the settlement of Alaska, the growing importance of Chili, assure this. Thus, should a canal through Central America be provided at the earliest possible moment, say in 1892, we might feel assured that shipping to the amount of from six to seven million tons annually would at once avail itself of this means of shortening and cheapening voyages. So much for the direct and immediate benefits to commerce; as for secondary and more remote advantages, the possibilities are, indeed, vast. The lumber trade between Alaska and the countries bordering on the Atlantic, checked at present by the expensive freights, would

quickly assume large proportions. The guano and nitrate trade of the west coast of South America, already large, in defiance of almost prohibitory transportation charges, is capable of indefinite expansion if favored by the presence of such a Central American canal. It is questionable wisdom, from a business point of view, to construct canals or railroads for the purpose of developing and building up business, unless sufficient trade already exists to justify the cost of their construction; but, when there already awaits the opening of a canal a shipping three times greater than is needed to justify the cost of its construction, the mind may be permitted to measure in advance the great volume of business in those new branches of commerce which shorter lines of transportation would call into existence.

What nations will receive most benefit from such a transit between the seas? From a commercial standpoint and in the light of existing facts, the United States would not stand first. Great Britain would for the moment gain the greatest advantage. The ships which her enterprise sends around South America, to Chili and Peru, the manufactures they transport, the native products she receives in return, in fact, all of her trade north of Valparaiso, would be benefited by the canal. Much of the English trade with China, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand would use this line of travel. The sailing craft and slow freight steamers, especially when outward bound from home ports, would make the quickest and cheapest voyage possible by way of a Central American canal, being, during four-fifths of the whole voyage, in the region of favoring trade winds, blowing them smoothly and rapidly to their destination.

Germany has already a large trade with the South Sea, and has practically monopolized the commerce of the west coast of Mexico. It is safe to say that German merchants, after paying canal tolls, would double their present annual gains; and that the opening of a canal would be speedily followed by a great increase in the German shipping using it, and in the general proportions of the German trade with the Pacific. So too, the interests of Spain in the Philippine Islands, of France in Tonquin and at Otaheite, of Holland in Java, of Russia in Eastern Siberia,

would cause the canal to be a source of much profit to the shipping of these nations.

It is not surprising that other shipping than American should be the immediate gainers, when we reflect how few ships still carry our flag upon the high seas, and when we find that, of the four millions of tonnage referred to above, over two millions is recorded as vessels clearing "from European ports in trade around Cape Horn with foreign countries other than the United States." We have to consider also that between our own ports on the Atlantic and Pacific, the trans-continental railroads have been effective competitors with the distance, delay, and expense of the Cape Horn route; thus reducing the number of American ships employed, and hence making the advantage to our commerce, immediately upon the opening of a canal, less apparent, in any tabular statement, than that derived by some other nations.

Returning to the comparison of the advantages gained by foreign shipping over our own, we find those advantages existing only at the moment of opening the canal. Immediately afterward, the value of our proximity to Central America would be felt, and would give us overwhelming odds against European shipping. To the question, "Do we control the Pacific?" our statistics answer decidedly, "No;" but to the question, "Shall we control the Pacific?" the inauguration of a Central American canal would give loud affirmative response that would be understood throughout the world. The manufactures of our eastern States, the products issuing from Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Mobile, would quickly find their way by such a route to profitable markets on the west coast, from Acapulco, in Mexico, to Valparaiso, in Chili. Competition of merchandise brought from London and Hamburg, with our goods, favored by the quickness and ease of transportation, would be hopeless. Our trade once established along the Pacific coast, it would soon reach out strongly among the Pacific islands, for the advantage of time, distance, and favorable weather would still be with us. Nor would these favorable conditions cease before reaching New Zealand and Australia, between which countries and New Orleans and New York an active traffic would soon

establish itself. Thus, with our Pacific States holding their proper influence in the Sandwich Islands and the North Pacific, the question, "Who shall control the Pacific?" would be practically answered in favor of the United States. It is not within the province of this article to discuss the revival of American shipping, but the writer cannot refrain from asking here, what surer method can be suggested of attaining that much-desired revival, in a natural and healthy manner, than by the opening of this interoceanic canal?

The political and international aspects of the situation must not be disregarded. No trade can flourish if dominated and repressed by the power, military, naval, or diplomatic, of a foreign nation. How shall we, then, protect our future commerce, without departing too far from our republican traditions of a small army and navy, and without involving ourselves too much in international complications? This question at once suggests that of the proper geographical location of the canal. The two subjects are interdependent and must be discussed jointly. There have been different opinions as to the best route for interoceanic communication. Since the days of Columbus the dispute has been going on. It is sufficient, however, for the scope of this discussion, to know that twenty years ago the United States Government, urged on by the demands of commerce, and weary of the general ignorance concerning a matter so closely related to the country's welfare, determined to inform itself thoroughly as to the whole subject, and to decide once for all what routes for a ship canal across Central America were possible, and, of these, which one would be the most desirable. To obtain this information the best energies and intelligence of the government were directed for several years, and exploration and surveying work was done, representing the judicious expenditure of millions of dollars. The Atrato River, San Blas, and Panama lines, the Nicaragua Lake routes, and those of the Tehuantepec Isthmus, all were thoroughly examined.

These examinations of the various localities were exhaustive. Under the name of reconnaissance and preliminary work, surveys of considerable thoroughness were prosecuted in many localities; and to establish more positively certain facts connected with the

different routes, and to remove all doubt, new parties were sent into the field after the original plan of work was concluded. This continued until several years had been occupied in the work, and until the government possessed at last absolute and indisputable data on which to base a decision. When thus confronted with the facts one decision was alone possible. The only practicable method of connecting the oceans was by means of a lock canal across Nicaragua, using the lake as a summit level. Other plans and lines were fully considered and discussed. By the Atrato and Napipi rivers the line included a great tunnel for ships. Some other routes had the same defect. The Isthmus of Panama, regarded as impossible for a sea-level canal, promised to develop serious difficulties in supplying with sufficient water the summit levels of any proposed lock canal in that vicinity, and this isthmus was therefore regarded as out of the count of practicable methods and lines. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in Mexico, was found to be impracticable for a canal of any kind, the mountain range which traverses that isthmus having nowhere less than seven hundred feet elevation to be overcome. Nicaragua, on the contrary, was found to be a route singularly well adapted for a canal, and possessing natural advantages in a remarkable degree. Lake Nicaragua, a great body of fresh water, one hundred and five feet above sea level, offers itself as a most convenient summit level, and the river San Juan, through which the lake drains into the Caribbean Sea, constitutes a natural line of approach from that sea to the lake. Between the lake and the Pacific there intervenes an isthmus fifteen miles in width, with an elevation of only forty feet above the former, and with several natural lines for a lock canal to connect the lake with the ocean.

It will always be one of the marvels of history that, after these thorough surveys had been made by our government, two routes, already pronounced impracticable, should have been seriously thought of, much less attempted. The work of cutting the isthmus at Panama, undertaken by the energetic but unwise De Lesseps, has now been nominally prosecuted for several years; and with a debt of three hundred millions of dollars, and about ten per cent. of the work completed, the world is

just beginning to realize that the task is an impracticable one, and that the failure of this scheme, the collapse of this greatest of all financial bubbles known to history, is now close at hand. The Tehuantepec Ship Railway scheme rivals the Panama Canal in its disregard of the insurmountable obstacles with which nature has barred its way; and by the abandonment of this project, which now happily appears probable, the country will be saved great financial loss and a bitter disappointment.

As to the political aspect of these two routes, it may be said that had nature permitted a canal at Tehuantepec, its nearness to us would have made our control of it an easy matter. Its eastern entrance being in the Gulf of Mexico, quite near our Gulf ports, would have made that body of water, even more than now, an American lake; and its position in Mexican territory would tend to strengthen the friendship between that republic and ourselves. A ship railway, however, lacking the interior basins of a canal, where fleets might await important events, would possess little of the political importance attaching to a canal. As to Panama, its distance from our borders is greater than either Nicaragua or Tehuantepec, and this isthmus belongs to a South American state, which is one of the political divisions of the United States of Colombia. That republic is even now fearing the aggressions of Venezuela, which state, under General Guzman Blanco, looks forward confidently to a consolidation of all the neighboring states under its own authority, and with the able and distinguished Blanco as permanent chief of the confederation. The commercial disadvantages are those of Suez. The calms which extend many hundred miles to the westward of Panama in the Pacific would interfere seriously with the use of the canal by sailing ships. The climate is proverbially bad, and the locality has few products upon which trade could be based. There could not grow up about the canal any great center of business; local circumstances forbid it. The canal would be, like the one at Suez, a passage-way, and nothing more. These difficulties, political and commercial, need not occupy us seriously, for M. de Lesseps has already convinced the world that nature does not contemplate a canal at Panama, and that man cannot in this case overcome nature's obsta-

cles. No one can see without regret the financial disaster now overhanging the French people. The debt of the Panama Canal Company amounts to about three hundred millions of dollars, and the interest upon this debt, plus the fixed charges of the administration, is sixteen million dollars annually. This sum must be paid, although not an hour's work should be done on the canal. The case is indeed desperate. Among the many sad consequences of this impending evil will be its effect upon the mind of the business world, which will be turned for the moment against all projects for connecting the oceans. This cannot last, of course. Commerce will not cease to demand a passage-way for its shipping; and it is most fortunate that America and Europe have at last begun to recognize that such a passage-way is simple and practicable by way of Nicaragua. Here we should be spared that ignorance of the situation which has cost the French so dear at Panama. The Nicaragua route has been so often surveyed, and with such care, that every detail of the river and lake, of weather and climate, of geological formation and character of people, is intimately known. Clear and reasonable estimates, based on these careful surveys, have been submitted to some of the most famous canal engineers of the present day for their criticism and revision, and have received their cordial approval.

A liberal allowance for the construction of this great work has thus been settled upon as fifty million dollars. To this, fifty per cent. has been added to allow for all possible contingencies, and seventy-five millions is announced as the final cost of the canal, completed, and open to shipping of the largest class, and capable of transferring from sea to sea thirty vessels per day. The demand upon the capacity of the canal when first opened would be an average of about six ships per day, of three thousand tons each, or eighteen thousand tons daily, amounting to about six and a half millions of tons per year. This tonnage, at the rates now charged at Suez, of two dollars and a half per ton, will produce an annual receipt from tolls amounting to sixteen and a quarter millions of dollars. A liberal allowance for the maintenance of the canal is half a million a year, and we may allow more than a million, and

still be well within the mark in saying that the canal when first opened will pay at once five per cent. annually on three hundred million dollars, from the tonnage then awaiting transit. At Panama the maintenance and preservation of a canal for traffic, against the land-slides and freshets of that isthmus, is believed by many able engineers to be impossible at any cost; while at Tehuantepec, the running expense of a ship railway, judging by other less costly railways, would not fall short of eighty per cent. of the gross receipts.

In considering the revenue of a canal, no account has been made of the business in those branches of trade that its presence would call into existence. This increase in tonnage would occur in the case of any possible line for a canal in Central America, and would soon compel the enlargement of its capacity; but it would be especially marked in the case of a Nicaragua canal, by the singularly fortunate circumstances of that location. Lake Nicaragua, the summit level, drains a water-shed of exceptional fertility and salubrity. The northeast trade winds, the lofty mountain peaks, the expanse of deep cold water in the lake, moderate the tropical temperature, and produce a climate most favorable to health and the enjoyment of life; the western half of this region having been long renowned as a sanitarium.

These trade winds in the Caribbean and the Atlantic favor the sailing craft and freight steamers in their approach to the eastern entrance of the canal, while the Yucatan Channel and the Gulf Stream offer favorable routes of departure for our eastern seaboard and for Europe. The winds about the western entrance, though not so regular, afford also easy approach to and exit from the canal. The summit level, the lake itself, ninety miles by forty-five in extent, is provided for us by nature, and this great water-power is at our service for the work of construction on the lower levels; and, when the canal is completed, it will furnish the motive force for extensive manufactories, established here at this great *entrepôt* of the products of all nations.

It is the lake that gives to this route a political and international importance unique and significant. The nation that controls this canal under terms of amity with Nicaragua will

here find rest and refreshment for its fleets. Here may the delays of warlike complications, so injurious in sea water to the iron-hulled frigates of our time, so fatal to their speed, be safely endured without loss of efficiency; the crews growing healthier, the ships more clean-limbed and speedier, in this great fresh-water sea. Hence may issue squadrons in the height of vigor and discipline, striking rapid and effective blows in both oceans, and returning to refit in this sheltered stronghold, and to draw from it nourishment and fresh strength for a renewal of hostilities. There cannot be imagined a more potent factor in deciding threatened difficulties or in securing an honorable peace with a powerful enemy than the presence in this healthy and capacious water-fortress of a strong fleet, prepared, at a telegraphic sign from the home government, to issue fully equipped from either entrance for instant service in the Atlantic or Pacific. So vast would be the power of the nation that controlled this transit, and so strong the international jealousies thus created, that it may be considered fortunate that this enterprise should now be moving forward as a purely commercial project, independent of the aid of any government; its only international feature being that London, Amsterdam, and Berlin are joined with New York, Chicago, and San Francisco in insuring its pecuniary success.

Thus, although the opening of a maritime canal through Nicaragua will give to the United States the control of the Pacific, it will be welcomed by the merchants of every country, creating for their commerce steady currents and a healthy circulation; and, by its existence alone, preventing those stagnations of trade so injurious to the financial prosperity of nations and to the happiness of their people.

H. C. TAYLOR.

## AN EVIL OF THE SCHOOLS.

IN his remarkable study of Napoleon, recently published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," M. Taine says:

"One result of his mental structure was that never did he work on nothing (*jamais il ne fonctionne à vide*). That is to-day our great danger. For three centuries we have been losing more and more the full and direct view of things. Under the constraint of an education stay-at-home, multiple, and prolonged, we study, in place of objects, signs ; instead of the land, a map ; in place of animals engaged in the struggle for life, nomenclatures, classifications, and, at best, the lifeless specimens of the museum ; instead of sentient and acting men, statistics, history, literature, philosophy ; in brief, printed words, and, what is worse, abstract words, becoming more abstract from one century to another ; more remote from experience, more difficult to understand, less manageable and more misleading, particularly as to man and society."

The United States, more than France, may be said to suffer from this plague of "printed words," and its ravages are worst in our common schools. I have no desire to deny the usefulness of these schools. It would be folly to do so. If their defects were far greater and more hopeless than they are, no one would, or should, be listened to who advocated their abolition. They are a part of our national life, and a very valuable part. But the more valuable they are, the more it is our duty to correct such errors as may be found in them. Errors there are, and the gravest is that they are constantly putting the means above the end, words above thought, books above the pupil's training.

Compare the debates in our public bodies with those of the period in which the Federal Constitution was framed and the work of the Federal Government begun. The comparison is not favorable to the present. The earlier discussions were far more to the point. Men knew better what they had to say, and knew much better how to say it. The public men of that day represented constituencies in which schooling was much less general and much less "advanced," but the public opinion to

which they addressed themselves, and by which they were judged, was more vigorous, active, direct, and sensible than that by which the public men of our day are governed. Many of the speeches of our day would then have been simply incomprehensible. The language in which they are couched is not the plain, terse, frank language of that time. Our sires might possibly have been amazed by it; they would certainly have been puzzled by it, and would probably have been disgusted, as the more rational of our people now are.

If, instead of the graver discussions of our public bodies, we compare the current political discussion of our time with that of the close of the last century, we shall find even more evidence of our relative incapacity for clear and effective thought. The most obvious characteristic of our speakers and writers on party politics is that they do not say what they mean, and do not mean what they say. They are vague, sometimes of purpose, oftener because of an incurable vagueness in their minds. In the former case, they imagine that the minds they are addressing can be caught by empty phrases, and too often they are right. In the latter case, the minds appealed to, and those by which the appeal is made, are involved in a common confusion and vacuity. It may be conceded that the motive force of parties is more apt to be feeling than opinion, and it happens just now that parties have largely survived the feelings that brought them into activity. But, with generous allowance for the peculiarity of our present situation, political leaders as a class show too plainly that they assume a want of common sense, of simple, direct thinking, in the "rank and file" of all parties. In the sharp French phrase, they "pay in words," and they have no doubt that these will be taken as legal tender. They are often enough base and hypocritical, and that is bad; but what is worse, as an indication of the condition of the popular mind, is that their pretensions are so insultingly hollow, their devices so shallow, their counterfeit coin so plainly bad and cheap. They would not follow their trade in the way they do if they were not, on the whole, successful. They could not be successful if there were not, in the minds of the people, a very considerable capacity to be taken in by the means employed.

The root of this evil is, of course, deep, and it has many branches. The American people are very different from what they were a hundred years ago. The few millions of land-tillers, occupying the narrow strip of territory from the eastern slope of the Appalachian range to the Atlantic, have become a mighty and mixed people, spreading across the continent; and the dwellers in cities to-day are more than twice as numerous as the whole American nation when the Constitution was adopted. But we may fairly trace a good part of the difference in the mode of our people's thought to the schools in which they now are taught, or ought to be taught, to think. There lies, at least, a definite source of a portion of the evil, and there we have, if we seek it rightly, a fair hope of an effective remedy. To think clearly is in most minds a faculty only latent. Whether it shall ever be brought out depends in a great degree upon the way the young are trained. Sometimes it is developed in later life, but then it is in the hard school of experience, the methods of which must be used in the schools we provide, if we hope to get anything like the same results. In our common schools we try to do too much, and we do not do well what we seek to do. We lose from view the aim that we ought to have, namely, the action of the children's minds. We hurry our boys and girls from one study to another, from one "grade" to the next, and we are not sufficiently careful as to whether, when they have "gone through" these, they can make any real use of the knowledge they have been pursuing. We smile in our superiority at the curriculum of the "Three R's," with which our forefathers were content, but it may be strongly argued that a boy or girl of fourteen may have been so taught reading, writing, and arithmetic that he or she will be better fitted for the work of life than one much older, who has been driven or dragged through a maze of so-called studies—geometry, two or three "philosophies," and a course of languages, dead or living. It is easy to forget that up to the age of leaving the common schools, and, indeed, much farther, about all we can do for the young is to give them the habit and the love of mental work, and that this, if it be well done, is of much higher value than the formal lessons. For this purpose the way in which they are

taught is of far greater importance than what they are taught, and the right method can be applied not only as well to the simpler studies that must precede the more complex, but better.

We should begin at the beginning. At present everything connected with the teaching of the younger children, with what are called "primary" schools, is, as a rule, inferior. The teachers are younger, less experienced, more poorly paid, have less consideration, and look forward to employment in the "higher" schools as their natural reward. The schoolrooms are more crowded, the classes are larger, less time is given to each scholar, there is less attention to the needs and capabilities of individual learners. The tendency is inevitable to routine work, uniform for all. The little ones are all subjected to one treatment as to instruction, discipline, guidance. They are marshaled in regiments, forced to keep step on a straight line, the eager ones held back, the dull ones pushed ahead. The overworked and under-trained teacher, feeling the imperative necessity of order and discipline, is compelled to enforce them at no matter what cost of repression. The lessons are in the nature of a day's march; and, so the ground be got over with decent regularity, he or she (usually she) is thankful, and does not and cannot take note of the failure in any real progress. I have no desire to blame these teachers. As a class, I have the greatest respect for them. In six years' service in the Board of Education of one of the largest cities of the Union, I found many more who succeeded beyond what could fairly be expected of them, under the system by which they were hampered, than I did of those who were negligent or selfishly idle. But the system is hopelessly wrong. So far from the instruction of children under twelve or fourteen years of age being of less importance, it is very much more important than that of older ones. Not only would what is to follow be done more easily and with richer results were the earlier teaching what it should be, but any given generation taught in the best way up to that age would be far better equipped than it could be if carried by the present method to the extreme limit of our public instruction.

There are many arguments, that I need not now go into, in

favor of confining schooling at the public expense to what is generally denominated "primary" instruction. Such a limitation, apart from all other considerations, would have this immense advantage, that it would concentrate effort and expenditure upon a period of instruction in which the best results can be got, and which fairly demands the best endeavor. It would enable us to give to our children ample rooms, well-lighted, aired, and arranged. It would abolish those prison pens that are now too common, in which the little ones are crowded, their lungs as well as their minds starved and poisoned. This, though a mere material result, would be of no small value. But it would be trifling compared to the others that could be brought about. For, with no more money than we now take from the tax-payers, we could provide a body of teachers numerous enough and qualified to do for each of their pupils all that could fairly be hoped for from any system. If it were determined and generally accepted that the career of a public-school teacher should be in this kind of teaching, and that the pay should be liberal for all, while all the honors and rewards of the profession should be open to those who earned them by the most effective work, there would be no lack of good teachers, and there would be constant progress and improvement. It would then become possible for each child to be trained healthily, naturally, and effectually, to the utmost of his or her personal capacity. The fatal temptation to haste would be removed. The aim of the teachers would come to be to make the most of each mind submitted to their guidance. And this would not involve cramming the mind with multifarious, complex, and ill-related matters. It would lead rather to training each mind to the full use of the powers it was found to possess. The reading of the English language would not be taught by exercises in classes like regiments, in which no one scholar can do more than go hastily over the few words that may fall to him, and in which all that can be hoped for is a fair knowledge of the conventional, and, to the scholar, arbitrary, rules or modes of spelling and pronouncing the words. It would be possible for each scholar to learn the language as an instrument of thought, and, in

the study of that instrument, to acquire the power and the habit of thought. Words could be made to be to them not dimly understood signs, the form and sound of which they must master, and no more; but signs of real significance, representing many and interesting things, capable of being used with clearness, precision, and force. This is but an example, a suggestion, of what might be done, and would be done, in a single study, under a system where time and force enough should be expended upon subjects limited in number, but practically unlimited in the range of possibility. The same principles would apply to the other studies. In all the great gain—a gain simply incalculable as compared with the present system—would be the possibility of fairly developing the powers of the child's mind by a continuous, orderly, and natural course of actual exercise.

Is it a far cry from the teaching of children under twelve to the condition of the popular mind that makes so many political and social evils possible? Not at all. The connection is direct and intimate. The indiscipline of the general mind, its gullibility, its shallowness, its thoughtlessness, are consequences, in no small degree and by no means remote, of the system of schooling which not only does not teach thinking, but enforces *not* thinking; which crowds the brains of our boys and girls with "printed words," only half understood or misunderstood; which distracts, benumbs, and enfeebles the faculties of observation and of reasoning; which paralyzes mental powers with vain exercises, until the mind, instead of gaining material for sane and fruitful action, with the habit and the power of using it, becomes simply a receptacle for notions that it does not assimilate to itself. We can do much to save the next generation from these evils by a reform of our common schools that shall make the object of their teaching not the storing or stuffing of the memories of the pupils, but the training of their minds. The motto of that reform may well be that wise saying of Hamlet:

"Sure, He that made us with such large discourse,  
Looking before and after, gave us not  
That capability and Godlike reason  
To fust in us unused."

EDWARD CARY.

## THE FORM AND SPEED OF YACHTS.

THE success of the yachts "Puritan" and "Mayflower," recently, in defending the "America's" cup, which had been held in this country against all comers for a generation, and in a competition which involved so much of interest aside from the mere question of the loss or retention of the trophy, and the later race of the "Coronet" and the "Dauntless" across the ocean from Sandy Hook to Roche's Point, three thousand miles of storm-swept sea, have attracted the attention of all classes of people to the larger problems which these events, in themselves comparatively insignificant, involve. The struggle over the famous cup was not simply a race between two nearly equally matched craft, of indisputably good form, and two commanders and crews of exceptionally admirable nerve and skill; but it was a crucial test of the relative merits of two very different forms of vessel.

While the principles which must control the determination of the best form of vessel for any specified purpose, and under any stated natural conditions, must be the same the world over, it is, nevertheless, the fact that the shapes of hull adopted for similar purposes on the opposite sides of the Atlantic have been, and remain to-day, very different—radically different. In virtue of the peculiar requirements of British regulations, the sailing yacht of Great Britain, in its latest and most successful form, has become a long, narrow, and very deep vessel, with a long forebody, a comparatively short afterbody, as prescribed by the "wave-line" theory, and with a keel raking in such manner as to give great depth aft and comparatively light draught forward. The lines have become fine, and beautifully curved, more or less trochoidal, or related to the cycloids; and, at full speed, the yacht parts the water, and allows it to close in behind, with hardly a break. Under the influences controlling yacht archi-

tecture in the United States, on the other hand, an entirely distinct type of vessel has been evolved. Subject to less stringent regulations, and, as a rule, working in shoaler harbors, and on a less precipitous coast, the water slowly deepening from the line of surf on the beach for miles out into the Gulf Stream, the American yacht has grown up from its cat-boat progenitor to the larger, deeper, and broader vessel now familiar to us. It exceeds the English yacht greatly in beam, is correspondingly less in depth, and depends upon a "centerboard" for its hold on the water when working with the wind well abeam. When, therefore, the two types of vessel—the one broad, shallow, and carrying its artificial arrangement for insurance against lateral drift, the other, on the contrary, deep and narrow—come into competition, the result, one would suppose, must necessarily decide some very important questions in naval architecture. Each has grown up to its existing perfection under conditions peculiar to its environment, and under the stimulus of the sharpest of competition within its own range, and with vessels of its own type; but, for the first time, the two distinct types are now brought into comparison under circumstances that should decide their relative merits. Each may be considered very nearly the perfection of its kind, and this competition should decide the relative value of the two types.

In reality, the contest for the "America's" cup did not yield any such decisive determination of the relative merits of these widely different forms of yacht as was confidently expected, on both sides of the Atlantic. In fact, it simply resulted in proving that the two constructions are substantially of equal merit; for, although the "Puritan" and the "Mayflower" gained their victories and preserved for us the prize, the "Genesta" and the "Gala-tea" showed themselves so nearly equal in speed, under such conditions as arose during the races, that it was evident that the advantage gained was too slight to settle the great question decisively, and that any small improvement in construction, in handling, or even in the streak of wind struck on the course, might reverse the result. The impression left on the minds of the majority of such disinterested spectators as were familiar with yachting matters was, probably, that the British yacht might

possibly do best work in heavy weather; while the American type should be expected always to excel in lighter winds. It became evident that a vessel may be built broad and shallow, or deep and narrow, and yet give substantially equal speed when pressed to its best performance under the most favorable conditions of wind and sea. The form of the cross-section is thus, apparently, not of serious importance where speed is the principal object. It will be interesting to inquire, then, what are the conditions of maximum speed, and what determines the best form.

The primary conditions are very readily determined and specified; but the working out of these conditions to a satisfactory result involves the application of principles which are the fruit of some of the most abstruse mathematical investigations, of the most ingenious and elaborate systems of experiment, and of the most extended and varied experience. In certain directions, we are to-day probably very near the limit of perfect construction; but the conditions controlling the problem are so different, where different ends are sought, and these differences lead to such apparently opposite lines of improvement, and to such varied forms of vessel, that it has been, and still is, to a certain extent, very difficult to reach correct formulas of application; and probably few naval architects have been able to acquire very distinct views of the best principles of design of yachts for specified purposes and of defined classes.

The obvious conditions of maximum speed, irrespective of other desiderata, as comfort, handiness, ease in a seaway, stability, all of which must be considered to a greater or less extent by the naval architect in designing a vessel, are:

- (1) Maximum power in a given weight and space.
- (2) Minimum weight and volume of vessel.
- (3) Minimum frictional and other resistance of wetted surfaces.
- (4) Maximum perfection of form, having reference to the resistances to forward motion, to lateral drift, and to power—in the sailing yacht—of carrying canvas.

In the steam yacht the latter point is unimportant; and stability becomes essential only as affecting the motion of the vessel in a seaway, and in giving safety against excessive rolling or against overturn. In all yachts, practically, there must be a

compromise between the form and proportions giving the best result as to speed, and the demands of the living freight for comfort and safety. In each yacht, the best form can only be determined after studying intelligently the modifying circumstances affecting the general principles just enunciated, in their application to the peculiar conditions met with in that example of naval construction. Thus, although these general principles are precisely the same, as above stated, for the steamer and the sailing vessel, they are so modified in their application by the special mode of propulsion that, as will be presently seen, they give rise to radically different forms of hull and proportions of leading dimensions. The sailing yacht and the steam yacht are almost as different in form and proportions for best effect as are the ocean "liner" and the Hudson or Ohio river steamboat. It is the non-recognition, very possibly, of these points of difference and of their causes that has so long and so seriously interfered with the intelligent development of either type. But experience, continual trial, even error, with steady gain on the whole, have led the modern naval architect to the production of vessels of each type which have shown themselves so closely matched and so nearly ideal in their qualities as to indicate that the very best of these craft are not far from perfection in shape and proportions. The time of uncertain performance, and of blind feeling about for approximations to the results which a correct theory may, in time, produce with exactness, has fairly passed, and we are now only waiting for the establishment of such a science of construction to secure the practically perfect craft of whatever kind. The best modern sailing yachts have to-day reached precisely that general proportion which had been felt out by our Scandinavian progenitors a thousand years ago; and the wave-line and wave-form theories of John Scott Russell and of Colin Archer give forms that are substantially represented by the best of recent, as by the finest of ancient, sailing vessels. The "Mayflower" and the "Puritan," the "Galatea" and the "Genesta," all embody, widely different as they seem at first sight to be, the science and the art illustrated by modern theories, and by the old war-galley disinterred on the beach at Christianford, a few years ago, after centuries of concealment.

To state these principles more in detail: maximum power is secured in the sailing vessel by maximum extent of well proportioned and distributed sail, so arranged that it may receive all the energy of the wind, may absorb the largest possible proportion of it, and may apply it to the vessel in such manner as will give best effect in forward propulsion, and least loss by side drift or by throwing the helm out of the line of the keel, or by elevating or depressing either extremity of the hull. In the steamer, maximum power is obtained by designing light, powerful, and efficient engines and boilers, and by applying their energy to the instrument of propulsion in such manner as to lose the least possible proportion in friction and wasteful agitation of the water. The sail must be of the greatest area compatible with safety, and the machinery must be as light as is consistent with strength and safety, and must be driven at as high speed, and under as high pressure, as is practicable; while economy in the use of steam and fuel is a hardly less important condition of excellence. Minimum weight and volume of vessel are secured by giving the hull, in the case of the sailing vessel, such form and size as will permit the safe use of great sail area, and will give, at the same time, the needed stiffness under sail, and stability when heeled over under the pressure of canvas; in the steamer, these qualities come mainly by reduction to a minimum of weights carried, and by the surrender of the space which is ordinarily claimed for comforts and conveniences. In both forms of vessel, the material used in construction determines, to a great extent, what can be accomplished in this direction. The increased use of iron and steel is bringing in much lighter hulls than could possibly have been made in wood, and has given a degree of strength and safety which the wooden hull, however heavy, never possessed. The distribution of ballast in the sailing vessel, mainly its being carried below the keel at considerable depths and in enormous amount, has done most to bring about the tremendous sail-carrying power of the modern yacht. The iron or lead so carried often weighs half as much, and sometimes nearly as much, as the vessel itself; it sometimes amounts to seventy-five or one hundred tons, in the larger yachts, and is carried several feet below the bottom of the hull. A light hull,

and heavy ballast carried at great depth, are the conditions sought to be safely attained in highest degree. Seventy and eighty tons of metal were so carried in the great international races of the last two seasons.

Minimum friction of hull and water is secured by reducing the area of the wetted surface as much as regard for the other essential points will allow, and by giving the surface such character, and so covering it with lubricating or other friction-reducing substances, as to make the friction on the unit of area a minimum. Various paints, oil, blacklead, and other materials are thus applied. None of them have any really great importance, however, compared with the securing of absolute smoothness of surface by properly polishing it, and by keeping it free from all forms of marine growth.

The last of the four great essentials to the securing of high speed—perfection of form—is the one in regard to which most uncertainty has been felt, and about which disputes have constantly arisen, from the earliest days of ocean navigation. It is to this point, in fact, that all questions are related at the present time. The other conditions are as easily met as they are defined, and no hesitation or embarrassment is ever felt in regard to them; but the form of least resistance and the shape of best total excellence—two distinct problems—are still matters of serious disagreement among the best authorities, and may be considered as to a certain degree still unsettled, despite the facts that the wave-line forms are approved, and that the most successful yachts have some points of close resemblance, however much they may appear, at first sight, to differ. The question whether the broad and shallow American, or the narrow and deep British, yacht is the better sailer has been shown, by the results of the contests of the "Puritan" and the "Mayflower" with the "Galatea" and the "Genesta," to be of comparatively little importance; both forms may illustrate the Scott Russell type, and both have been found capable of developing great speed; the merits of both in that respect are substantially equal. The question, which is the better form for sea-going craft, is less definitely determined. The ocean races of the "Dauntless" and other American yachts, and especially that just concluded with

the "Coronet," in extraordinarily rough weather, may be considered as having fairly well settled the matter, however, and as having shown that the wider hull is about as safe in a heavy sea and driving gale as is the deeper vessel; or, at least, as having proved that it is capable of safely riding out the heaviest winter gales that rage on the Atlantic.

One of the important unsettled problems of yacht construction is that relating to proportion of length to midship dimensions. Taking the product of the breadth by the depth, and extracting the square root, we have a measure of the midship section which can be applied to either of the two extreme types. The usual method of taking the length as so many times the beam is evidently not capable of affording a comparison of the wide with the narrow ship. An investigation made recently, at the request of the writer, by Mr. H. DeB. Parsons, and reported by the writer to the British Association of Naval Architects for the recent meeting, has shown that the fast-swimming fishes have all about the same proportion, thus measured, as the best modern steamships, and about the same as the fastest of the sailing yachts, *i. e.*, a proportion of eight to one, nearly. Professor Rankine supposed the best proportion to be about seven to one. The fact that the trout of six inches length, the blue-fish and the striped bass, the mackerel and the shark, and the modern transatlantic "liner" of a hundred times the length of the last-named, or a thousand times the length, and a thousand million times the weight, of the first-mentioned of these natural forms—which have been evolved by millions of years of steady feeling out of the perfect form—should have so nearly the same proportions, would seem to indicate that the naval architect has reached very nearly the perfection at which he aims.

Another problem seems to have received at least an approximate solution in the investigation just referred to, the question where should the greatest transverse section be located in the length of the vessel? It was found that, in all the fishes studied, whether fast or slow swimming, in the trout and the mackerel, the blue-fish and the shark, as well as in the haddock and the slower fishes, the "midship section," as this maximum section is technically called, is placed at the distance of forty per cent. of

the length of the fish from the one end and sixty per cent. from the other, the length being taken as measured from the tip of the nose to the root of the tail, the length of the body of the fish. The interesting and curious, and exceedingly important, observation was also made that the proportion so determined is that which distinguishes certain successful and very fast steam yachts; although the most common construction places the midship section at about the half length. But it was also found, strangely, as it at first seemed, that while both these fast steam yachts and fast sailing yachts exhibited this same proportion of length to location of the midship section, the former were propelled like a fish swimming naturally, the latter like the fish driven tail first. In both classes of vessel, the greatest transverse section was found, in the best examples, to be distant sixty per cent. of the length from one end; but, in the steamer, it is that distance from the stern-post; in the sailing craft, it is sixty per cent. from the bow. The "cod's head and mackerel's tail" proportions have been beaten in the sailing yacht by the later form, while they are retained in some of the very best steam yachts. In the four famous contestants for the "America's" cup, recently, the proportions just indicated as best are almost exactly followed, the percentages running sixty, sixty-one, fifty-seven, sixty, in the "Puritan," the "Mayflower," the "Genesta," and the "Galatea," as reported to the writer by a yachting friend in a position to obtain them. These proportions are also very closely followed by other well-known American yachts, and presumably by British builders of successful "flyers," and are precisely such as are dictated by the wave-line theory.

Thus, the results of study of the forms of fishes, as developed by the Great Architect of Nature, with perfect adaptation to his purposes, and the comparison of the forms of the best yachts yet produced by human ingenuity and skill, seem to the writer to indicate that we have attained such perfection of form and proportion that no very great or rapid advance is reasonably to be expected in the near future, and that the problem of the fast yacht is substantially solved; while further advances in speed must be expected mainly to come of devices for enlarging the spread of sail, and other means of increasing propelling power,

of new methods of securing lightness combined with stability, and perhaps, most of all, by increasing size of ship, as we have seen the size of ocean steamers increased. The limit of speed for vessels of usual sizes, whether using sail or steam, would seem to be already very nearly reached. We have maximum propelling power, minimum weight, perfection of form and of proportions so nearly settled and so nearly attained, apparently, that, with the last step just taken, the lightening of the vessel by constructing in iron or steel, further great improvement in any direction now known to the naval architect is hardly to be expected. Every gain now made must probably be made only by the application of extraordinary care and skill, under the guidance of sound judgment and large experience.

Occasional experiments, made to test some radically new idea, are still made, but none have shown much promise. Possibly, should the time ever come when speeds can be increased to several times those now found to be attainable, the idea of M. Raoul Pictet, as tried recently on the Lake of Geneva, of so forming the hull that its motion through the water shall lift it toward the surface and thus reduce its immersed section, may yield some useful result; but nothing has yet come of it. The sailing yacht has attained a speed of fifteen or sixteen knots, and the old "clippers," and notably the "Idaho," a naval vessel which, some years ago, made seventeen knots an hour for hours together, on a voyage to Brazil, represent the best work of the present day. Among steamers, the smaller craft, as illustrated by the torpedo boats of Thorneycroft and of Yarrow, and the yachts of Herreshoff, exhibit best the most recent successes in the attempt to combine enormous power with small weight and volume. The weights of machinery have been brought down to less than fifty pounds per horse-power, and the speeds have risen to above twenty knots (twenty-three miles) an hour, a speed which the fastest of the great ocean steamers have also barely attained. The use of steel has decreased weights a third or more. Further gain must probably be very slow, and can be secured only by the most perfect adaptation of scientific principles to the purposes sought to be accomplished.

R. H. THURSTON.



# The Forum.

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JULY, 1887.

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## HENRY GEORGE'S MISTAKE ABOUT LAND.

ACCORDING to Mr. Henry George, the tendency of what we call material progress is in nowise to improve the condition of the lowest class in the essentials of healthy and happy human life. On the contrary,

"It is still further to depress the condition of the lowest class. The new forces, elevating in their nature though they be, do not act upon the social fabric from underneath, as was for a long time hoped and believed, but strike it at a point intermediate between top and bottom. It is as though an immense wedge were being forced not underneath society but through society. Those who are above the point of separation are elevated and those who are below are crushed down."

This is the phenomenon that he attempts to explain in his book on "Progress and Poverty," by the discovery that

"The great cause of inequality in the distribution of wealth is inequality in the ownership of land" (1st edition, p. 266). "The reason why, in spite of the increase of productive power, wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living, is that, with increase in productive power, rent tends to even greater increase, thus producing a constant tendency to the forcing down of wages" (p. 254).

Once convinced that private property in land produces an unequal distribution of wealth that is a curse and a menace to modern civilization, the only true remedy suggests itself:

"There is but one way to remove an evil, and that is to remove its cause. Poverty deepens as wealth increases, and wages are forced down while productive power grows, because land, which is the source of all wealth and the field of all labor, is monopolized. To extirpate poverty, to make wages what justice demands they should be, the full earnings of the laborer, we must, therefore, substitute for the individual ownership of land a common ownership. Nothing else will go to the cause of the evil : in nothing else is there the slightest hope. This, then, is the remedy . . . we must make land common property" (p. 293).

Seeing the necessity of this remedy, Mr. George looks forward to the certain event of its application, by force, if necessary :

"By the time the people of the United States are sufficiently aroused to the injustice and disadvantages of individual ownership of land to induce them to attempt its nationalization, they will be sufficiently aroused to nationalize it in a much more direct and easy way than by purchase. They will not trouble themselves about compensating the proprietors of land" (p. 326).

But Mr. George does not favor this violent measure. He proposes "to accomplish the same thing in a simpler, easier, and quieter way than that of formally confiscating all the land, and formally letting it out to the highest bidders" (p. 363). "It is not necessary to confiscate land ; it is only necessary to confiscate rent. . . . We already take some rent in taxation. We have only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all" (p. 364). He would "abolish all taxation save that upon land values" (p. 365). "The simple and sovereign remedy which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whosoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals and taste and intelligence, purify government, and carry civilization to yet nobler heights, is to appropriate rent by taxation" (p. 364). Mr. George evidently supposes that a revenue equal to the total land-rent of the country would constitute a vast fund, for he says :

"There would be a great and increasing surplus revenue from the taxation of land values, for material progress, which would go on with greatly accelerated rapidity, would tend constantly to increase rent. This revenue arising from the common property could be applied to the common benefit, as were the revenues of Sparta. . . . We could establish public baths, museums, libraries, gardens, lecture-rooms, music and dancing halls, theaters, universities, technical schools, shooting-galleries, play-grounds, gymnasiums, etc.

Heat, light, and motive power, as well as water, might be conducted through our streets at public expense, our roads lined with fruit-trees, discoverers and inventors rewarded, scientific investigations supported, and in a thousand ways the public revenues made to foster efforts for the public benefit" (p. 410). "The rise of wages, the opening of opportunities for all to make an easy and comfortable living, would at once lessen and would soon eliminate from society the thieves, swindlers, and other classes of criminals who spring from the unequal distribution of wealth."

Mr. George is bound to suppose that the aggregate amount of ground-rent is a very large sum, because he has come to the conclusion that land absorbs, in the form of rent, all the increased production of labor, aided by capital in the shape of labor-saving inventions. If ground-rent produces poverty, by robbing capital and labor, its confiscation would restore enough to labor and capital to remedy the evil. What is the actual amount of this item of rent in the United States?

The reader of "Progress and Poverty" is struck with the fact that the book contains no statements derived from painstaking inquiries into the statistics of land values and rents. The book is eloquent and effective, its author evidently an earnest and disinterested philanthropist. But his theories all relate to numbers of population, rates of wages, prices of food, amounts of rent, and the ratios of these numbers to one another. These are not *a priori* questions, but matters of statistics. There is not only no investigation of statistics in "Progress and Poverty," but there is not even an attempt to make definite estimates, although there are occasional references to isolated data. If it should be found that the total ground-rent is an insignificant item compared with the total income of the nation, it would be necessary to conclude that Mr. George is mistaken in supposing that private property in land exercises a power to rob capital and labor. And such, indeed, must be our conclusion in whatever way we approach the study of the actual statistics.

The United States Census for 1880 gives the total assessment of real estate and personal property, as determined in the several States of the Union, at \$16,902,993,543, of which \$13,036,766,925 stands for real estate, distributed in such a manner that more than one-half of the amount is assessed in

New England and the Middle States (about \$6,714,000,000). "Real estate," of course, includes land and improvements. The United States Census does not give the items for land alone, but the State of Massachusetts publishes an aggregate of property and taxes showing the separate items: "land exclusive of buildings" and "buildings exclusive of land." The former item (land) is \$587,824,672; the latter (buildings) is \$752,669,001, land being to buildings nearly as 44 to 56. This ratio may be assumed to hold good for the entire eastern and middle sections of the country, giving \$3,766,000,000 for buildings and \$2,948,000,000 for ground. In the southern section it may be assumed that the ratio is reversed, and that the \$1,671,000,000 of real estate assessed there represents \$671,000,000 as value of buildings, and \$1,000,000,000 as value of land. In the western States and Territories likewise, the total of \$4,644,000,000 of real estate may represent at least \$2,000,000,000 as value of buildings, and not more than \$2,644,000,000 as value of land. This will give a total of \$6,437,000,000 for buildings and \$6,592,000,000 for building sites and agricultural land. The rate of assessment for taxes is usually fixed at two-thirds of the market value. Allowing for this, the actual value of all land in the United States owned as private property must have been somewhat less than \$10,000,000,000 for the year 1880. Counting the rent on this land at 4 per cent., we have less than \$400,000,000 per annum, making an average of nearly \$8 for each inhabitant, or a little more than 2 cents per day.

The result surprises us. Two cents per day, or \$8 per year, added to their income, would not bring ease and luxury to those who are struggling with poverty. Nor would it amount to a vast revenue in the aggregate as a tax. Four per cent.—and it is fair to estimate the return in rent as under this figure, because, when land yields more than this amount in rent the valuation is at once raised—would give the government only \$400,000,000, a sum only slightly in excess of the amount annually paid for local taxes (State, county, township, and district), while the total of taxation, national and local, amounts to nearly \$800,000,000. To pay all taxes, both national and local, ground-rent would have to be increased to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

To understand the bearings of this, it is necessary to consider the actual annual income of the total population. This income is estimated by Mr. Edward Atkinson, in his "Distribution of Products,"\* at the round sum of \$10,000,000,000. Mr. Mulhall † estimates the total productions of the United States at £1,420,-000,000 sterling, or about \$7,100,000,000. The items used for these estimates are given by Mr. Joseph Nimmo, chief of the National Bureau of Statistics for the year 1884, in a letter to Mr. Atkinson, as follows:

Agriculture.....	\$3,600,000,000
Manufactures .....	5,369,579,191
Illuminating gas.....	30,000,000
Mining.....	236,275,408
Forestry.....	455,000,000
Fisheries .....	43,046,053
Meat, and wool clip on ranches.....	40,000,000
Petroleum .....	44,000,000
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$9,817,900,652

But in the above estimate the manufactures are given at the gross annual value of manufactured goods for 1880, and of course there are repetitions of the same item under different heads. ‡

Deducting the materials used from the aggregate of manufactures, as given in the Census Report, the net total is \$1,972,755,-542. Moreover, in Mr. Nimmo's statement the agricultural product is increased by the total of live stock, which is rather a product of three years than of one—an overestimate of \$1,000,-000,000. Besides this, all the hay crop and three-fourths of the Indian-corn crop go to the raising of live stock, and are already reckoned in the increase of the live stock. Deduct for these items, and the total annual product appears as about \$6,000,000,-000. But there is a large amount of produce consumed on the

\* New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885.

† "History of Prices since the year 1850," by Michael G. Mulhall. London : 1885.

‡ For example, lumber appears as product of saw-mills, and again in the items of wood manufactures and buildings, as well as in the inventory of products of forestry ; wool and cotton appear first among the agricultural items, next in the textile productions, and lastly as items in the value of manufactured clothing.

farms \* that does not get reported in the census schedules. Add to this the manufactures done at the homes, a considerable item, and the earnings of the railroads in so far as they enhance prices by bringing productions to the place of consumption, and the actual annual income may be safely placed at a little over seven and a quarter billions—say \$7,300,000,000. This would give 40 cents per day, or \$146 per year, for each inhabitant. The total taxation, national and local, takes  $4\frac{1}{5}$  cents per day, one-tenth of the average income. The ground-rent amounts to only one-eighteenth of the total average earnings. If this would make any great difference in the wages of the poor, it is certain that a small grain of economy would go much further.

Even in Great Britain † land does not increase in value so fast as to absorb any very large proportion of the increased production. Its relative increase in price has been 23 per cent. in thirty years :

1850	1860	1870	1880
109	104	116	123

Meanwhile the houses have increased in valuation 138 per cent. :

1850	1860	1870	1880
100	130	164	238

The aggregate incomes from manufacturing, mercantile employments, and professions have increased nearly as much as the houses :

1850	1860	1870	1880
100	125	174	228

\* Mr. Atkinson estimates the consumption on the farms at the very large sum of \$1,000,000,000. This would give \$40 per annum to each member of the farmers' families. Adding to what is consumed on the farms the clothing made at home, and similar items of manufacture, perhaps \$1,000,000,000 is not too much.

† It would be supposed that a country that has such enormous inequalities of land ownership as Great Britain—and these are survivals of the evil effect of the old system of land tenure that grew out of the village community when the latter passed over into the manorial system on the way toward free private ownership, arresting its development at the point of primogeniture and entail—it would be supposed that here, if anywhere, land would show some of the power that Mr. George attributes to it. But, thanks to English commerce and manufactures, land even here is a constantly diminishing factor in economic, social, and political power.

In fact, land in 1801 was assessed at £990,000,000 sterling, and in 1882 at only £1,880,000,000 sterling, having scarcely doubled in eighty years, while the value of houses had increased from £306,000,000 to £2,280,000,000 sterling, or to more than seven times the amount at the beginning. The miscellaneous items of wealth, in the same eighty years, had increased from £734,000,000 to £4,560,000,000.\* Land in Great Britain, it would seem, grows relatively less important as an item in the national wealth; this proves again that Mr. George has been mistaken in his solution of the problem of progress and poverty. This would be our conclusion were land twice the item it is in national wealth; were it, for example, 4 cents a day instead of 2 cents, it would be no insupportable burden to us, with our 40 cents per day of income.

If one looks for the fallacy in Mr. George's arguments, he discovers that there is no account made of the difference between land used for agriculture and land for building sites. Land for building purposes is prevented from demanding high prices by competition with rural lands. Rapid transit of the railroad produces this competition, offering to the laborer in the city a cheap building lot carved out of a country farm somewhere within a radius of twenty miles. On the other hand, capital, in the form of cheap transportation, keeps down the price of farming land near cities by bringing into competition the productions of the distant border lands.†

Capital has its hand at the throat of land property, contrary to the theory of Mr. George, who supposes that land is throttling capital and labor. Capital frees labor from the tyranny of land, and the present ratio of land to the total wealth of the United States is less than 1 to 4. In the United Kingdom it forms only one-fifth of the total wealth, being only £1,737,000,000

\* Mulhall, "Hist. Prices," p. 111. This work by Mr. Mulhall, and the work above referred to by Mr. Atkinson, are commended to the general reader as the most useful books on this subject.

† Mr. Atkinson has shown that one day's work of the eastern laborer will pay for the transportation from the far West of all the meat and bread he consumes in one year. Under this competition, we find a general decline in the value of farms in New England that are removed a distance of three miles or more from railroad stations.

sterling, with an annual rental of £65,442,000, while the total wealth is £8,720,000,000.\*

These considerations convince us that private property in land is not dangerous to capital nor to labor, being able to levy daily in ground-rent from each inhabitant of the United Kingdom on an average only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents, and only  $2\frac{1}{4}$  cents in our country.

Karl Marx announced the pessimistic doctrine that under the existing conditions the rich are growing richer and fewer, the middle class fewer and poorer, the poor poorer and more numerous. It was this view, apparently, that led Mr. George to devote his attention to the subject of progress and poverty. The *a priori* statement of Marx is easily refuted by statistics. Take as the extreme example British wealth. The income-tax returns show that since 1850 the number in the lowest rank of the middle classes (incomes \$750 to \$1,500) has increased to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times what it was; the next rank (incomes \$1,500 to \$2,500) is 3 times as large; the highest rank of the middle classes (incomes \$2,500 to \$5,000) is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as large; the lowest rank of the wealthy classes (incomes \$5,000 to \$10,000) is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as large; the next rank of the wealthy (incomes \$10,000 to \$15,000) is  $2\frac{3}{4}$  times as large. In other words, the middle class has trebled in numbers—from 102,489 to 333,022; the wealthy class (incomes \$5,000 to \$15,000) have more than doubled—from 6,050 to 14,969. At the same time the number of persons whose incomes are below \$750 per annum has relatively decreased, and the average income risen from \$265, in 1850, to \$415.†

The price levels are always to be considered in comparing the purchasing power of wages at one period with that at another. The purchasing power of one dollar in 1881–1884 is five per cent. greater than it was in 1841–1850. ‡

\* See Mulhall's "Dict. of Statistics," pp. 266, 267, and 469. See also the cautious estimates of Robert Giffen, head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, in an address before the London Statistical Society, Jan. 15, 1878, published in the "Jour. Stat. Soc.," 1878.

† See Leone Levi, "Wages and Earnings," pp. 53, 58. Note carefully his explanations in note †. Compare Mulhall, "Dict. Stat.," p. 28, where the figures give the incomes from all schedules. In America all statistics seem to point in the same direction. See Atkinson's work above cited, pp. 355–360.

‡ See pp. 8, 9, 79, 117, 122, 177, 178 of Mulhall, "Hist. Prices," for the im-

Wages seem to be fast receding from that "minimum that will give but a bare living." But it is the wages of the skilled mechanics and manufacturers that have increased most. The wages of farm hands are much below the wages of those engaged in manufacturing industries. The average income of the whole country is, as we have seen, 40 cents per day. As there is one wage earner to three persons, or, more accurately, to 2.9 persons, it is clear that all laborers who get over \$1.35 per day, or \$34.80 per month, get more than they would get if the total annual production were divided evenly among the wage earners, without allowing anything to capital or land.

By this it will be seen that all our skilled laborers, and a considerable number of common laborers, are paid now at higher rates than a socialistic division would give them. All who are receiving over \$34.80 per month in wages are on the side of the "bloated bondholder" already, and cannot complain of land or capital as robbing them of the products of their labor. Skilled labor in the mechanic industries gets from 20 to 80 per cent. more than this average. But the farming population of the country get from 20 to 80 per cent. less. And it is on the farming population that the burden of a high land tax would fall with the utmost severity. A seven per cent. tax on land would destroy our agricultural interests, all except the market gardening. No grain could be exported, and without a protective tariff none could be raised for the home market.

In Russia the total annual product is 14 cents per day for each inhabitant. In some of the agricultural regions north of the Black Earth district the Russian peasant produces only 4 cents a day on an average for each member of his family. Our own income has increased to 40 cents, from 25 cents in 1850. It is still on the increase, as fast as labor-saving inventions can be

portant method of ascertaining price levels by the total volume of trade instead of by index numbers. On the important matter of wages of the laboring class, Thorold Rogers has given us a storehouse of information in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages." But see the reports of the "Bureau of Statistics of Labor" of Massachusetts, 1884, pp. 432, 469; also the report for Illinois for same year. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, now U. S. Commissioner of Labor, discusses the cost of living and the amount of wages in his "Report" for 1886. See pp. 411-466.

brought into use, and it is to be hoped that we may produce \$1 per head before the century is out. As it is, land has increased in value so slowly during the past thirty years that the amount of rent per inhabitant has increased only from  $1\frac{4}{10}$  cents per day to  $2\frac{1}{5}$  cents, showing that land has absorbed only  $\frac{1}{18}$  of the increase in production through the use of machinery.

W. T. HARRIS.

## THE POSITION OF CANADA.

THE Dominion of Canada, that semi-independent state which twenty years ago was formed by the confederation of the British Colonies of North America, is, at the present time, owing to certain internal complications arising out of the conditions of compromise under which it was formed, and the effect of its environment, natural, social, and political, in a position which justifies the belief that important changes in its political status are pending. As the country is fairly entitled, by virtue both of its population and its territorial possessions, to the third place amongst Anglo-Saxon communities, and as it is so closely united to both the great Anglo-Saxon nations, Great Britain and the United States—in the case of the first by direct political ties, and of the second by propinquity and the closest social relations—that no such change can take place without materially affecting the relations of these states the one to the other, the present position of Canada is a matter that directly concerns not only Canadians and Americans, but the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world.

In spite of the fact that the relations at present subsisting between Great Britain and her colonies are admittedly not such as can continue, and that it is impossible that the environment of Canada can fail to influence her future, the Canadian people are, or rather were, the arbiters of their own fate. That their power in this direction is now limited is due not to external but to internal influences, which have arisen as a consequence of their own political actions. The circumstances which co-operated to bring about confederation, and the subsequent erection of the Dominion, were not such as to presage well for its future. The prime cause of the movement which resulted in confederation was the desire on the part of the people of old Canada—now the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario—to put an

end to an unbearable condition of public affairs, brought about directly by the race differences between the English-speaking people and the French Canadians. The maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were brought to consent to the union only by the adroit use of fraud and force; and in order to temper popular discontent, what was nothing less than a bribe, in the shape of public works, was promised to them on the part of Canada. In fact, from the first, the policy of building up a new state by means of public works, executed at the expense of the whole, was adopted, and the Constitution of the country—the British North America Act—was the result not of wise design, but of a series of compromises.

Since confederation, the principal function of the Canadian state has been the carrying out of the promises made to the provinces at that time. The completion of the Canadian-Pacific Railway marks the close of this period of construction, and the result of the last general election in Canada may be called the culmination of the political system brought into existence during that period. The process has been most costly, and among its results not the least important one has been a marked development of the science of partisan politics. The gross debt of Canada in 1868 was ninety-four millions of dollars; it has increased until it now amounts to about two hundred and ninety millions. The yearly expenditure has risen from thirteen millions in 1868 to thirty-nine millions in 1886. In 1867 the total population was 3,375,000; it is now not more than four and a half millions. While, therefore, the population has increased by only thirty-three per cent., the gross debt has increased by two hundred and thirty per cent., and the annual expenditure by two hundred and ninety per cent. The ostensible object of this profuse expenditure was not only to develop the natural resources of the country by the construction of profitable public works, but to weld the disunited and even warring provinces into a harmonious whole. It was in theory an investment in patriotism, and clearly, if the public works, which are the only tangible results of the expenditure, are not profitable, directly as well as indirectly, the pressure of the public debt, amounting to about three hundred dollars per family, upon a population the

realized wealth of which is only about two thousand dollars per family, will go far to defeat the purpose for which it was incurred. Unfortunately for Canada and for her investments in patriotism, the immense public expenditure has, as a matter not of theory but of fact, been diverted from profitable investment, in accordance with political exigencies. Not only was the profuse expenditure a bribe, to induce the provinces to consent to union, the money has actually been spent in purchasing the popular support for the central Executive, and in promoting the interests of a political party.

The inception of the democratic principle in any community is almost invariably followed by a period of political corruption; this is specially true of new countries, where the struggle, first for existence, and later for wealth, is so intense that men have but little time to devote to the affairs of the state. The people's natural leaders and the political thinkers become the captains of industry, the generals of commerce; and "practical politicians," the men who look upon the state as their oyster, become the leaders of men and holders of office. In Canada these circumstances affect political methods very strongly, and the resulting corruption of the state is augmented by the difference of race and language existing among her people, and by the dissensions between the provinces.

During the century which has elapsed since the taking of Quebec, the French-Canadian race, secured in the exercise of their religion, language, and laws by treaty, have not become to any appreciable extent Anglicized, and any social growth that has taken place among them has been in the direction of uniting them closely together as a distinct community. As a result of the execution of Louis Riel, the ostensible leader of the French half-breeds of the Saskatchewan in the rebellion of 1885, a French-Canadian political party has been formed, which delights to call itself the *Parti National*. The avowed object of this movement is to unite the French-Canadian race in one mass, to protect its special interest in the state; and at the last general elections, both for the provincial legislature and for the Parliament of Canada, this party was victorious at the polls. The English-speaking Canadians, like all other Anglo-Saxon com-

munities, are divided into two great political parties, and the French-Canadians have in great measure held the balance of power. In the past no administration has been able to secure the support of the French-Canadian members of the House of Commons, save by yielding to their prejudices and granting concessions, in money, to their province. A few years ago the French-Canadian supporters of the existing ministry in the House of Commons deliberately locked themselves up in a committee-room of the House, and refused to come out and support an extremely important measure until a bribe, in the pleasing shape of a grant of millions to their province, had been promised them.

Instead of uniting to oppose the granting of special favors of moneys and privileges to Quebec, the people of the English-speaking provinces have followed the bad example set by her representatives, and have demanded concession for concession, grant for grant. So deeply has this principle of the plunder of the state for the benefit of the province become implanted in the political affairs of Canada, that, judging by the result at the polls, it is a virtue in the politician to secure the advantage of his province, his constituency, and his own personal and political friends. The direct bribery of the venal class of voters is unblushingly practiced; but this evil, striking as it does at the very root and life of representative government, becomes relatively of little importance in comparison with the fact that the entire resources of the state are devoted to the strengthening of a partisan organization, and that the only merits which entitle men to state reward are those of the partisan. Not only has the civil service become the nucleus of the political machine, but the moneys voted for public works have been used to bribe whole provinces, and to build up privileged corporations, depending upon the government, and depended upon by it to supply campaign funds. The assets of the country, its land, minerals, and timber, have been scattered with a lavish hand amongst the politicians, particularly amongst those who are the pledged representatives of the people. The general elections which took place throughout Canada on the 22d of February, 1887, marked the culmination of this system of wholesale bribery. The gov-

ernment secured its return to power by the aid of a privileged class, who not only subscribed to a campaign fund, but exercised their power as employers of labor to intimidate their workmen, by the adroit use of that method of procuring a favorable verdict from the electors commonly called a "gerrymander," by the assistance of partisan returning officers, and by direct and indirect bribery.

The public works, those investments in patriotism which were such an important part of the terms of confederation, have been, as a matter of course, most injuriously affected by this widespread political corruption. The Inter-colonial Railway system, the bribe offered to the maritime provinces to induce them to consent to confederation, has been built, at a cost to Canada of between thirty and forty millions of dollars, in accordance with both political and military exigencies, and has never earned its fair working expenses. Its value to the community as a whole can be judged by the fact that the Canadian Government has recently granted a subsidy to a competing line, the International, which is to connect the railway systems of the maritime provinces with that of old Canada by a short line through the State of Maine. Since 1867 thirty-three millions of money have been spent, most unprofitably, in enlarging the St. Lawrence canals, this being the largest share of the Province of Ontario in the general plunder; but as these canals serve as a wholesome check to excessive railway rates during the season of navigation, they are, probably, the most valuable of the Canadian public works. In this respect they are, however, possibly of more value to the people of the American North-west than to Canada. The Canadian-Pacific Railway, the greatest public work undertaken by Canada, and perhaps the greatest public work ever undertaken by a people numbering only four and a half millions, has been completed at a cost of eighty-seven millions of money and many millions of acres of the finest land in the North-west. Not one mile of this vast system is the property of the people who paid for it, and the corporation which owns it is naturally, and by virtue of the privileges granted to it by Parliament, the most complete monopoly in existence. It has the power, and it exercises it, of charging in freight rates all the

traffic will bear, and the very existence of every settler in the North-west Territories is in its hands. The Parliament of Canada has, in fact, deliberately established, at a tremendous cost to the state, an incubus upon its future growth, which must be destroyed, or it will destroy the prosperity of the state. There is not room enough, even in a country three thousand miles long, for four millions of people and such a corporation as the Canadian-Pacific Railway Company. It is evident, therefore, that the people of Canada cannot receive from the sole tangible result of their public debt any direct return sufficiently large to compensate them for the burden imposed upon them thereby.

It is, however, not merely as commercial enterprises, but as investments in patriotism, that the public works of Canada are fairly entitled to consideration; and if, as the result of their construction, the differences between the provinces have been removed, the great end and object of the expenditure upon them has been realized. The relations which at present subsist, not only between the provinces and the Dominion, but between province and province, and the feelings of the people toward Canada, as expressed by their political actions, are hardly such as to justify the belief that what is rather grandiloquently termed "a Canadian national spirit" has been greatly fostered during the last twenty years. At confederation it was found to be impossible to arrange the financial relations of the provinces with one another, and with the federation, on a fair and equitable basis, without wrecking the entire scheme, and a compromise, which it was hoped would be a final settlement of the question, was agreed to. By this compromise the revenues of the Dominion were to be derived principally from customs and excise duties, and the provinces, instead of raising their own revenue, were granted subsidies from the general treasury. The French-Canadians, as they consume, owing to their peculiar social conditions, but a small quantity of imported goods, pay but a small proportion of the general taxation, but the Province of Quebec receives an annual subsidy larger in proportion to her population than that paid to any of the older provinces.

This in itself would be sufficient to cause friction, as time went on; but this is not all. The compromise has not by any

means proved a final settlement of the matter. In 1869 the Province of Nova Scotia demanded and obtained an increase of her subsidy, and the Province of Quebec has twice forced a partisan Executive to grant her "better terms." Unfortunately for Quebec, a provincial debt of twenty-two millions of dollars, for which there is little or nothing to show in the shape of realizable assets, has been piled up since confederation, and the yearly expenditure of the province is much in excess of its annual revenue. Under the British North America Act, the only resource of the province, under these circumstances, should be in direct taxation, but as the French-Canadians already pay to a state church as large a sum in direct taxation as they can well afford, they will not submit to anything of the kind. They are quite prepared to demand an increase of the provincial subsidy from the Dominion government, however, and such a raid, for it is nothing else, is now being organized. If the English-speaking Canadians were a united mass, undivided by provincial jealousies and animated by a desire for the well-being of Canada, they could and would unite to oppose Quebec in this. They are, however, much more likely to demand that for every dollar given to Quebec their own several provinces shall receive adequate compensation, than that nothing at all shall be given. This has been their policy in the past, and there is no good reason for believing that it will be otherwise in the future.

Not only is the financial equilibrium of the confederation disturbed, but the political relations between the provinces and the Dominion are sadly strained. An unwise use of the veto power over provincial legislation, vested by the British North America Act in the central government, and several attempts on the part of that government to invade the rights of the provinces, have involved several of them in bitter disputes with the Executive of the Dominion. Were it not that these legal civil wars have resulted, in almost every instance, in the complete victory of the provinces, the agitation for the due recognition of provincial rights might have developed into agitation for secession. At the present time there is not a provincial government whose policy is not one of direct opposition and antagonism to the government of the Dominion and to the federal Constitution as administered

by it. At the late provincial elections in Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario, ministries were returned to power, with large popular majorities, directly pledged to uphold the interests of those provinces, as against the present administration of the Dominion. and in Nova Scotia the successful party was directly pledged to secession. At the last general election for the House of Commons of Canada, in the provinces of Nova Scotia and Ontario, this verdict of the people was reversed, as the present administration of the Dominion was sustained at the polls; but this does not prove that the people have become satisfied with the present condition of affairs, but rather the reverse.

It is a remarkable fact that while the government of the Dominion has been, and is, shamefully corrupt and venal, the governments of the various provinces, always excepting Quebec, have been both pure and able. In particular, the Province of Ontario has a constitution as broadly liberal and democratic as any in existence, and presents a model of representative and responsible government. Had the English-speaking Canadians desired that the affairs of Canada as a whole should be conducted as purely and wisely as the affairs of these provinces have been, in spite of the malign influences of Quebec they could have achieved their object. What they did desire was, that their province, and they themselves, should get as much out of the confederation as possible, and therefore it is that they sanction corruption in the political affairs of the latter. The people of Nova Scotia, in the provincial elections of June, 1886, returned thirty-one out of thirty-eight members to the legislature, distinctly pledged to procure the repeal of confederation. In February of 1887 they returned to the Parliament of Canada fourteen out of a total representation of twenty-one, pledged to support the administration whose acts had occasioned the demand for repeal; but then, they had been promised public works to the value of millions in the interval. It is not to be denied that there is in Canada a large class who on every occasion proclaim their loyalty to the Dominion and their belief in its present prosperity and future prospects, but as it is for the benefit of this class that Canada is misgoverned, they do not greatly strengthen the cause they champion.

Up to the present time the growing discontent of the people as a mass, their irritation at the continued maladministration of their affairs, and their dissatisfaction with the treatment of their provinces, have been kept somewhat in check by the immense expenditure of public moneys by the Dominion, and the adroit use of corrupting influences. As every cent of the two hundred millions of borrowed money expended since confederation, and nearly all the money spent yearly in meeting the expenses of government, have been used with the object of accomplishing this laudable end, this is not remarkable. What is remarkable is, that the Canadian people should express as plainly as they do their dissatisfaction, irritation, and discontent with the present order of things, through their provincial governments. Nova Scotia has taken the lead in this, her people having at the polls demanded nothing short of the repeal of confederation, by an overwhelming majority. In New Brunswick the radical element is at present striving to secure an important constitutional reform in their provincial government; but there is little doubt that the majority of the electors of that province would follow the example of Nova Scotia, if an opportunity were offered them. The Province of Prince Edward Island is very much dissatisfied with the manner in which the terms agreed upon at confederation have been carried out, and has gone so far as to appeal to the British Government for justice. She would be extremely likely to join Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in a repeal movement.

The policy of Quebec is, and always has been, to obtain as much from Canada as possible, and the victory of the nationalists has only accentuated this peculiar course of political conduct. The people of Ontario have supported their provincial government in its bitter struggle with the Dominion Executive, and the Dominion Government in its acts of corruption. That portion of her people who are avowedly dissatisfied with the results of confederation are as yet content to denounce the present administration of the affairs of the confederation, and not the confederation itself; but the necessity for radical reforms in the constitution of Canada is becoming evident, and is discussed very largely in the public prints. In Manitoba, the new province in the West,

the people have banded themselves together to procure instant relief from all the burdens imposed on them by the confederation, and are almost a unit in opposing the policy pursued by the Executive of the Dominion toward their province. The Province of British Columbia has threatened to secede at least half a dozen times, but as every white man in that community is at present enjoying the benefits of a profuse expenditure of public money, it is not now dissatisfied, and will not be until the public works are completed. This condition of public feeling is certainly a magnificent return in patriotism for an expenditure of two hundred millions of borrowed money.

The completion of the public works promised at confederation destroys the excuse for, as the great size of the debt should preclude the idea of, the continuance of the corrupt and profuse expenditure which up to the present time has been the principal factor in Canadian politics. If this expenditure is stopped, unless the remaining evils and abuses of the state are radically reformed, and a new and pure administration of public affairs can be established, the natural dissatisfaction of the people must come to a head, and instant relief will be demanded. If the expenditure is not stopped—and there are no signs of the inauguration of a policy of economy—the end must be either the financial ruin of the country, or that the people will no longer consent to be bribed at their own expense, and will demand redress. Unfortunately for Canada, the same causes that have kept in check the feelings tending toward dissolution have also checked the only true remedy therefor, the growth of a party of reform. The present liberal, or reform, party of Canada is virtually a Whig party, the principles it was formed to carry at the polls having been long since embodied in laws. Had this party been victorious in the last general election, and had it been enabled to carry out the reforms in executive methods it was pledged to effect, the reactionary movement in public affairs would have been checked, and an opportunity would have been offered for the growth of a radical party of reform. At the best its influence for good would have been limited, and its defeat has deprived it of what will probably prove to have been its last opportunity of undoing what has contributed so much to make

confederation a failure. Even under normal circumstances, the great and glorious British Constitution is such an admirable machine for preserving class interests and perpetuating abuses, that the labors of the true reformers under it are as arduous as those of Atlas and about as unending, and the position of Canada in this respect is a most abnormal one. Not only must the Canadian reformer contend with the inertia of the mass, and the corrupt influence of the privileged castes, but with the French-Canadians as a community. It would be too much to expect that any considerable number of these people would consent to any change in the existing order of things that would place a greater share of the financial burdens of the confederation upon their shoulders, and which would at the same time deprive their province of the perquisites it now draws from the treasury of Canada. The financial dangers of the country have no terrors for them, as they pay so small a proportion of the general taxation ; and there is nothing Utopian in their views as to what their duty is to the community as a whole.

Owing to the extremely close connections, social and intellectual, which exist between the English-speaking Canadians and the people of Great Britain and the United States, the people of Canada have in the past been prone to imitate instead of initiate ; and this applies in particular to political movements. As the difficulties, evils, and abuses with which they have to contend have no existence in either the United States or Great Britain, they are now compelled to depend for relief upon their own slender resources. To all appearances, these have proved inadequate, and instead of endeavoring to find a specific remedy for a specific evil, that which in other countries would be the radical reforming element has adopted half a dozen imported specific preparations, which they assert will cure all public ills. One section, which can hardly be called radical, is now agitating in a mild way for the federation of the British Empire on an "imperial" basis. Another declares itself in favor of a declaration of independence and a semi-continental congress, probably because the population of Canada is now about the same as was that of the thirteen colonies when they created the precedent. Then there is the national party, the Manitoba

party, the repeal party, the labor party, and half a dozen others, so that if there is wisdom in a multitude of parties, Canada should have plenty of it. In spite of corruption, inertia, the hostility of the French-Canadians, as a race, to reforms, and the lack of initiative power, the Canadian people would in the end be compelled to secure a good and just government by radical reforms, or cease to be free men, were it not that the people, through their provinces, can obtain all that they require in a much easier manner, by securing their admission as sovereign states into the American Union. By this step they would, at one blow, secure those powers of self-government which they lost at confederation, relief from the financial burdens which now, through the Dominion, oppress them, and the reduction, if not the complete extinction, of the malign influence of a divided nationality. The French-Canadian element, however desirous it might be of checking such a movement, would be powerless to do so, as far as any other province than Quebec is concerned ; and there is no evidence that they would desire to check it. There is at present a very large French-Canadian colony in the United States, and these people have not been without influence upon the thoughts and ideas of their Canadian relatives. The result of this and other influences has been to create a feeling of unbounded admiration for the great republic in a large class of the French-Canadians, and this class, at least, would welcome a union with the United States, because, among other reasons, they believe that, as American citizens, they could obtain certain reforms in the affairs of their province, which, under existing circumstances, they can hardly even hope for.

Not only would the union of the Canadian provinces with the United States solve all the more important political questions now affecting the former, but it would be of great advantage to their commercial interests. The removal of a double line of customs-houses, three thousand miles in length, would be a boon of inestimable advantage to a north land, such as Canada, now divided by this artificial barrier from its natural market in the south. The Canadian provinces can have but little natural trade with one another, but, under natural conditions, they could find in the States to the south of them a

ready and a profitable market for all of their productions which do not naturally flow to the markets of the world. In 1879 a so-called national policy, consisting of a protective tariff, was inaugurated in Canada, principally because the United States had adopted and still maintained such a system. The experiment of shutting up less than five millions of people within a commercial Chinese wall has not proved to be a pronounced success, but so thoroughly does the example of the great republic dominate Canadian public opinion in this matter, that so long as the Morrill war tariff exists, so long will the national policy endure. As a union of the United States and Canada would give the latter free trade with fifty millions of people, it would greatly mitigate the over-production of certain classes of manufactured articles, and do much to restore the commercial equilibrium, now disturbed by a too large investment of capital in certain industrial channels, and would induce great commercial prosperity.

The only reasonable justification for the continued existence of two Anglo-Saxon states upon this continent is, that the political institutions of the one are so much superior to those of the other, that the advantages accruing to the citizens of the former thereby more than compensate them for the loss of the benefits which would be bestowed upon all by a union of the two. At one time it could be argued with some truth that this was the case, as Canada then had a moderately pure Executive, a low customs tariff, and a moderately light taxation, while in the United States these conditions were reversed. Since that time, however, while in the United States there has been a strong movement toward reform, and the executive has been purified, in Canada there has been a steady reaction; and to-day political morality is, in the United States, on a much higher level than it is in Canada. The increase in the Canadian tariff has put the two countries on an equality in that respect, and if the annual surplus of the United States is taken into the account, the rate of taxation is higher in Canada than in that country. While, in the end, nations, like individuals, take the course dictated by their natural environment, and that which is reasonable, their present acts are mainly controlled by sentiment and prejudice. Up to

the present time, pride in their close connection with the British Empire, and the antipathy caused in a weak community by a suspicious fear that a stronger one has designs upon its continued existence, have so powerfully affected the vast majority of Canadians that the word "annexation" is under a ban, and no Canadian statesman dares to avow himself in favor of Canada casting in her lot with the United States. The community of race, language, laws, religion, historical traditions, literature, conditions of life, and ideas that exists between these artificially divided peoples must in the end destroy this antipathy, which is not now strong enough to affect their social and commercial intercourse. The political, financial, and commercial difficulties of Canada, acting with and not against these influences, constitute a well-nigh irresistible force, tending toward political union, and that not in the dim future, but in the present.

It is extremely unfortunate that at the present time a misunderstanding should have arisen between the two countries over such a minor matter as the purport of an outworn fishing treaty. The influence of one speech such as that delivered by Senator Ingalls during the discussion of the Retaliation Bill in the United States Senate, upon the mass of Canadians, is to undo the work of years of friendly intercourse, and to force Canadians to adopt a hostile attitude toward the United States. Every American statesman who indulges in the pleasing pastime of "twisting the British lion's tail" can rest assured that he has erected one more barrier between Canada and the United States; and the propagation and assiduous cultivation of an anti-British feeling in the great republic will render that union impossible. I do not believe that anything but continued hostility on the part of the Government of the United States toward Canada could make the latter a united country.

The Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world, linked together as it is by the ocean that is its possession, and by the thought, the purpose, and the courage to endure and to do, that is its inheritance, is, although politically severed, and by formula and convention divided, still one. Unless that race has lost the virile force that has carried it on from isle to continent and made it the dominant race of the world, the old wounds will, in the full-

ness of time, be healed, and it will again become united, not for empire or for aggrandizement, but for the common weal of all. In the past, the Anglo-Saxon race has triumphed gloriously over domestic tyrants, foreign foes, and natural obstacles, because it, above all other races on this earth, possessed the power of uniting man to man to secure common ends; and it is by union in disseverance, not by disunion, that it will fulfill its destinies. It may be that the miserable internal complications of Canada—the last link that bound the Anglo-Saxon of Great Britain to the second home of the race, the continent of North America—by forcing her, forgetting the difference in flags, remembering only the community of race, to join herself to the United States, may give rise to a movement having for its object the reunion of the whole Anglo-Saxon race. Should this be the outcome, Canada may be content to pass away, having more than justified her short existence, for from that movement will come in due time that Anglo-Saxon Bund which will bring peace upon earth, justice among the nations, and the growth of that true wealth whose virtue is most excellent—true and wise men.

DAVID A. POE.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

EGOTISM is not to my taste, and, if I know myself, is not my habit; but the series of articles to which I am asked to contribute owes whatever worth it may have wholly to egotism, and I shall therefore speak of myself as freely as if I were some one else.

I learned to read before I was three years old, and foremost among the books that have helped me I must put Webster's "Spelling-book." I knew the old lexicographer. He was a good man, but hard, dry, unsentimental. I do not suppose that in his earliest reading-lessons for children he had any ulterior purpose beyond shaping sentences composed of words consisting of three letters or less. But while I believe in the inspiration of prophets and apostles, I agree with the Christian fathers of the Alexandrian school in extending my theory of inspiration far beyond the (so-called) canon of Scripture, and I cannot but think that a divine afflatus breathed upon the soul of Noah Webster when he framed, as the first sentence on which the infant mind should concentrate its nascent capacity of combining letters into words, and which thus by long study and endless repetition must needs deposit itself in undying memory, "No man can put off the law of God." When I toiled day after day on this sentence I probably had no idea of its meaning; but there is nothing better for a child than to learn by rote and to fix in enduring remembrance words which, thus sown deep, will blossom into fruitful meaning with growing years. Since I began to think and feel on subjects within the province of ethics, this maxim has never been out of my mind. I have employed it as a test for my experience and observation. It is a fundamental truth in my theology. It underlies my moral philosophy. It has molded my ethical teaching in the pulpit and the classroom, in utterance and in print. In my intercourse with young

persons it has given shape to my advice, rebuke, and expostulation. I have quoted it, in its express words, scores, if not hundreds, of times, and still oftener have I translated it into more copious, but not more significant, forms of my own device.

In my childhood and early youth my chief recreation was reading, and I am thankful that I lived before the world was flooded with juvenile books and cheap popular literature. Children who read were then obliged to read such books as no young person now would be willing to look at. Dr. Aikin's "Evenings at Home," Berquin's "Children's Friend," Hannah More's "Cheap Repository Tracts," and Miss Edgeworth's stories—all of them more didactic than amusing—were my earliest books. I, of course, committed to memory, as children are wont to do, numberless hymns and poems, and I trust that they did me good; but there is nothing of this kind to which I can ascribe any specific benefit, with the exception of Mrs. Barbauld's "Hymns in Prose," which, I think, made me permanently appreciative of euphony as distinguished from poetic rhythm, and gave rise to my lifelong habit of testing by the ear the sentences that I read and write.

From my sixth year till I entered college I supplied myself with books from a library the proprietors of which were assessed fifty cents a year. How the several hundred very good books that it contained came there I never knew, nor did I ever know of an addition to it. I read indiscriminately essays, biography, travels, history; Hume's "History of England," in which any boy might be interested; Mosheim's "Ecclesiastical History," which I enjoyed; Rollin's "Ancient History," my having read which is to me inconceivable, yet an authentic fact. In this library were the then old volumes of the "Columbian Magazine," published in Philadelphia when that city was the literary and scientific metropolis of the country—made so by Franklin, Bartram, Hopkinson, and other kindred spirits. These volumes I found rich equally in wit and in wisdom. From such desultory reading I must have harvested a great deal of chaff, but, I am sure, no small amount of wheat; and my belief is that, at a later time and with books specially designed for young people, I should not have gathered a tenth part of the wheat which I

actually did garner for future use. I learned, to be sure, much of science that has become obsolete, yet is still of historical value, but at the same time many things that are obsolete, yet ought not to be so, and some things now reputedly new, simply because they were then premature and were laid away for a second birth.

It is surprising how often this early reading has furnished me with materials for not unimportant uses in later years. Two or three cases in point recur to my memory as I write. Shortly after the great Boston fire I prepared for the "International Review" an article on "Fires in American Cities," which was reprinted and put into extensive circulation by the directors of the oldest insurance company in Philadelphia. The chief merit of the paper consisted in its discussion of the importance and feasibility of fireproof buildings, a subject which a century ago received great attention on both sides of the Atlantic, but which has ceased to be of general interest, since the reckless and often profligate administration of the insurance system has made it easy for any man to insure his property for its full value, and for as much more as he chooses, and thus has given such license to carelessness and offered such a premium upon crime that we are burning buildings and their contents at the rate of a million dollars' worth a day. My knowledge of methods, experiments, and results in fireproof building was all derived from that old Philadelphia magazine, and I have reason to believe that I was then better informed on this subject than any architect of my acquaintance. Another instance. How induced, or why, I know not, I read when I was a boy Miss Edgeworth's treatise on "Practical Education." During many years, while I was officially connected with public schools, I was constantly giving to the teachers under my charge hints and maxims derived from that book, till I found that primary and infant schools in general were adopting as the fresh growth of recent times modes of instruction like those which Miss Edgeworth propounded to a non-receptive public almost a century ago. Still another instance. In lecturing and writing on the question of the innateness of conscience or the moral sense in man, I have found no testimony as to the moral condition of the lower strata of humanity more explicit, instructive, and evidential than that given in the rec-

ords of Mungo Park's "Travels in Africa," which I have not seen for more than sixty years, but which in my childhood I read with delight and wonder.

During the period of which I am writing, I read the poetry which it was then considered every one's duty to read, and much of which I could have read only from a sense of duty; for from Thomson I brought away nothing, from Young only a few quotable lines, from Cowper more, in point of salutary impression, not of mental enrichment. Milton alone seemed to me to combine the maximum of strength and of beauty. Under too intelligent religious culture to regard his demonology as otherwise than purely mythical, I thoroughly enjoyed the "Paradise Lost," treasured up its words and its imagery, reproduced for the inward eye and ear its scenery, incidents, and communings, and made real to my fancy what, as I well knew, had no counterpart in the realm of actual being. "Paradise Lost," "Lycidas," and some of Milton's sonnets and smaller pieces have molded such poetic taste as I have, and have created in me a love for solemn and majestic rhythm, for verse perspicuous while grand, and for diction adapted to enoble and intensify thought, not to conceal it. Milton has made me unappreciative of the poetry which depends for much of its charm on involved sentences, tortuous phraseology, and sentiment that can be enucleated only by profound study, and sometimes not without the aid of a Pythoness as interpreter. The poetic aroma is for me exhaled before I can get at the meaning. I like both metaphysics and poetry; but I want them each by itself. In my judgment they do not mix well.

As for novels, I read all of Scott's, the earlier in my early boyhood, the later as they appeared; and I have read them all twice over, some of them three or four times. They seem to me now as transcendent in their character-painting, in their dramatic power, and in the lifelikeness of their narrative, as when they were alone and unapproached. So far as they cover passages of Scotch and English history, they made indelible the impressions derived from Hume, so that there are not a few personages, classes of persons, and transactions which always have to my mind a double aspect, one in my belief, the other in my imagination;

the latter by far the more realistic in my consciousness, though I have learned to regard it as false. The only other writer of fiction who has had an enduring influence on my ways of thinking and feeling is Dickens, who moved me very strongly in the several directions in which his best stories were designed to move the English mind. I am sure that I derived from him a healthful stimulus to various sympathies and activities. I subsequently was disposed to think that I had overestimated him; but within the last two years I have reperused all his works, and the result has been the renewal and justification of my first impressions, though with a clear recognition of certain defects in conception, in plot, and in the drawing of his best, especially his female, characters, which had struck me less forcibly as I read the stories in monthly installments.

As regards the more solid reading of maturer years, I have always been the most strongly drawn to, and have derived the greatest benefit from, authors whose position or opinion differed the most widely from my own. This has been especially the case in theology and moral philosophy, the departments peculiarly belonging to me equally by choice and by profession. As for Christianity, it is, of course, its own best evidence; but so far as external and historical testimony is concerned, I have had my faith strengthened much more by the false reasoning, the mutual contradictions, and the self-contradictions of its non-believers and opponents than by the often ill-constructed and poorly manned defenses of its advocates. Hobbes, Mill, Bain, and Spencer have done more than all other writers in confirming and defining my convictions—intuitions, I should call them, if I could legitimately appropriate this term—as to the ground of right, the source, seat, and province of conscience, and the imperativeness of moral obligation.

The most stimulating *quasi-philosophical* book that I ever read is “*Sartor Resartus*.” It came into my hands before I knew much about its author, and it made me greedy for several of his subsequent works, though, after the Carlylese dialect became current among the horde of imitative sciolists, I ceased to enjoy it in its source. I must have imbibed and assimilated all that is best in “*Sartor Resartus*,” for when I took it up anew

a year or two ago, I found in it for the most part but the reflection of my own familiar thought and sentiment, and the very portions of it that I had most admired seemed to me, though true, trite and stale. This must be the fate of every book in advance of its time in the legitimate line of progress, and the surest test of the actual worth of the ethical and philosophical works that flashed fresh surprises on the last generation is that they now appear commonplace and superfluous, because their contents have become the property of the general mind. Thus the most efficient instructors of the fathers may have no teaching power for the children. A man many years my junior, who is himself winning a foremost place among the pioneer minds of our time, asked me a few days ago if Channing had not been greatly overrated. In blended surprise and indignation I was hardly able to reply by a civil negative. Yet when I pondered on the question it no longer surprised me; for it was in the enunciation and defense of principles now regarded as axioms by men of all sects and parties, classes and conditions, that Channing, more than half a century ago, encountered the bitter repugnancy of the many and gained the superlative admiration of the few.

Biography has always been my favorite reading, and my appetency for it has been indiscriminate, so far as its subjects have any claim on the regard or interest of mankind. I can understand and appreciate a man's life-work to my own satisfaction only when I know something of his history. This is the case even with regard to the men whose work seems to have had the least of the personal element. Thus, for instance, Leibnitz, Spinoza, and Berkeley furnish me in their lives the *raison d'être* of their respective philosophies, and supply instructive commentaries on their writings. Still more do I find the best interpretation of poetry in the lives that have given it birth. Whatever is to be said or sung to me, of wit or wisdom, in prose or verse, I want to see the man who says or sings it. I want also to know all that I can about the men and women who have left not speech or song, but the memory of their doings. In devotional literature, I have little taste for the common run, or even for the better sort, of edifying books; and as for sermons, while I de-

light in hearing them, because I have the preacher and the sermon together, I read fewer of them than I publish. But the lives of saintly men and women, high and low, great and humble, of missionaries, philanthropists, reformers, I can read without weariness, and with uninterrupted enjoyment. I have read even the three huge, clumsy, ill-made volumes of the "Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury," which I intended to skim, but discovered no portions which I was willing to lose.

I think that such reading does me good. I find myself translating a life unlike what mine can ever be into terms of my own life, shaping from it analogies, equivalents, and parallels for my own aims and endeavors, studying modes of embodying its underlying principles in forms, it may be, of which he whose experience suggests them could never have dreamed.

There are three biographies to which I have been specially indebted. The first is that of Niebuhr, in which the inception and development of his methods and canons of historical criticism are distinctly traced. If I have been able, in things secular and sacred, as to reports of current and records of past events, to steer a safe way between credulity and skepticism, I owe it in great part not to Niebuhr's "History of Rome," but to the virtual autobiography that gives shape and vividness to his "Memoir." If I remember aright, he expressed his confidence in the substantial authenticity of our canonical Gospels, and, however this may be, I owe largely to him my firm faith and trust in them. If Colenso had studied him, and had possessed mind enough to employ his methods, he might, without losing caste among intelligent churchmen, have done excellent service in rationalizing traditional beliefs concerning the Hebrew Scriptures.

I would next name the "Life of Thomas Arnold," which has a wider scope in its power of example than any other memoir which I can now recall to mind. Price, the candle manufacturer, was led by what he read about Rugby and its master to make his factory and the homes of his operatives an outlying, and hardly an outlying, province of the kingdom of heaven. With me the process of translation was more direct than with him; for when I read the memoir I was pastor of a large parish, with

many young persons under my charge and influence, and I was at the same time chairman of a school board. I had no need of Arnold to awaken my sympathy with young life; but he has helped me to understand it better, and to minister more intelligently and efficiently to its needs and cravings. His "Rugby Sermons" have a great charm for me; for, as is hardly ever the case with printed sermons, I seem to hear them as I read them; and while I have not been guilty of the absurd and vain attempt to imitate them, I have felt their inspiration both in the pulpit and in the lecture-room. I have also, in a large and diversified experience in educational trusts and offices, felt myself constantly instructed, energized, and encouraged by Arnold.

My third biography is that of Dr. Chalmers, fruitful of beneficent example in more directions than could be easily specified, but to me of peculiar service in his relation to poverty in Glasgow, with its attendant evils and vices. In his modes of averting pauperism, of relieving want in person and in kind, of bringing preventive measures to bear on the potential nurseries of crime, and of enlisting the stronger in the aid and comfort of the feebler members of the community, I found many valuable suggestions for the local charities which came under my direction or influence while I was a parish minister; and in the fewer trusts of that kind which I still retain, and in my present limited intercourse with the poor and suffering, I see his insight and foresight continually verified.

In conclusion I would say that I have very little faith in the serviceableness of such books as one forces himself to read for the good that they may do him, but unbounded faith in the worth of the books which one spontaneously chooses as aids to his growth in strength, knowledge, and character.

A. P. PEABODY.

## WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF LIFE?

FROM the modern evolutionary point of view, the very question "What do we live for?" becomes, when abstractly regarded, in itself superfluous and meaningless. For it implies that everything has an object or purpose; implies, in fact, the old, exploded dogmatic fallacy that the cosmos has been constructed upon a definite plan and with a deliberate design, instead of being merely, as we now know it to be, the inevitable outcome of unconscious energies. In order to see the true futility of the naked question we need only ask ourselves the exactly analogous and parallel question, "What is the object of the nebula in Orion?" or "What do the satellites of Saturn revolve for?" The obvious answer is, that Orion's nebula and Saturn's moons exist where they are, and act as they do act, not for any profound and hidden cosmical purpose, but simply because, in the ceaseless redistribution of matter and motion which constitutes the process of evolution, those particular masses of cosmic material were so conditioned as regards environing forces and energies that they had to move in such or such particular curves or orbits, and in no other. There is no *why* in the case at all: there is merely the fact, with nothing else behind it.

To suppose otherwise is to fall implicitly into anthropomorphic and anthropocentric error. It is to figure to one's self the universe as an objective totality, worked upon from without by a vast and idealized quasi-human artificer and designer, who molds and models every part and detail of his work with special reference to its preordained place in his projected scheme of a cosmical system. Those who think in this manner think anthropomorphically; they accept that conception of the outer world which Herbert Spencer well describes as the "carpenter theory of creation." More than that: they think anthropocentrically as well. For this whole idea of an object for everything

in the universe has been imported into the wider fields of thought—into astronomy, for example, and into ontology—from the theological explanations usually given of small difficulties in the practical life of human beings. “What is the use of earwigs?” people ask; taking for granted that earwigs and everything else must have a use; and by a use implicitly meaning to say, a definite purpose of good for the human species. Darwinism, however, has conclusively taught us that in this sense nothing is useful: the earwig exists for itself alone; every species of plant or animal is adapted solely for its own good, and fills no place or subserves no purpose (save incidentally) in the life of any other species whatever, the human included. The seeds of wheat are not for us to feed upon, but to perpetuate the kind of the parent wheat plant. The fur of the ermine is not for us to make judges’ robes of, but to keep the ermine himself snug and warm, and to enable him to steal unperceived upon his prey in the white snowfields of a northern winter. We know now that every part of every plant and every animal is designed, not to subserve any function “in the wider economy of nature” (which always means, on human lips, with ultimate reference to some purely human want), but to subserve the needs and functions of the species itself to which it belongs, and no other.

Life, as a whole, therefore, has no object, any more than the revolution of the planets has an object, or the double refraction of Iceland spar, or the particular flow of the back currents that swirl and eddy below the spray of Niagara. All these things are the necessary outcome of pre-existent conditions; their laws of sequence and causation can be investigated and proved: but the idea of an object as applied to them is philosophically inadmissible; for an object implies a person who designs, a person who overcomes particular difficulties in the raw material on which he works, by some particular and cunning arrangement of its parts and organs. But the Power which underlies the universe works on very different lines, indeed, from these. We only degrade it to our own puny level of handicraft by conceiving of it (to use Paley’s famous analogy) as we conceive of a watchmaker making a watch. Life is merely one particular set of correlated movements, occurring, under the influence of solar

radiation, in a certain peculiar group of material bodies on the surface of one small and unimportant planet, in a minor solar system, hidden away on the skirts of a galaxy in some lost corner of a boundless cosmos. Why on earth should it have a purpose to subserve any more than the bubbles that rise and fall aimlessly on the wave or the terrific commotions that rend and revolutionize the sun's photosphere?

Nor does human life, so far as science can tell us, fall under any different category. The human race is one of the most advanced groups of terrestrial mammals, and, therefore, a highly evolved final outcome of kinetic energy, falling upon the aqueous and gaseous envelopes of this particular earth's surface. But, viewed abstractly, it cannot have any special purpose to subserve in the scheme of the universe, any more than the fungus of the vine-disease, or the maidenhair fern, or the little green aphides that feed upon our rose-bushes; because, first of all, the universe has no scheme; and further, man is only a result of just the same local causes in a petty satellite as all the rest of the living creatures yet known to us. Pushed to its very furthest term, the idea of a purpose necessarily implies that the cosmos was made by a sort of glorified great Man, and that he made it all for the ultimate benefit of the lesser men, created in his own image, who occupy a fragment of dry land in one of the tiniest and most insignificant of its component bodies. The question of the object of life really descends to us from a time when men did not in the least realize their own absolute and utter smallness in the hierarchy of nature. They thought the universe was made for them, as implicitly as the London cockroach still believes that London was built in order to afford a convenient home, in its well-warmed kitchens, for myriads of sleek and well-fed cockroaches.

So much for the abstract view of the question. Life, as a whole, and human life in particular, can have no object at all, looked at from outside, as component factors in that vast assemblage of atoms and energies that we call the cosmos. No more has the sun; no more has the milky way; no more has the little wingless parasite that lives between the close and jointed armor of the honey-bee. But, looked at from inside, as a question of mere personal conduct, life has, of course, an object of some sort

for each individual person ; and in so far as the race is made up of individuals, the average object of all put together may be looked upon as the object of the entire aggregate.

Can we find any such objects common to the vast mass of individuals ? Perhaps not. Two only seem to be fairly universal, and those two are to a large extent unconscious. They are, first, self-preservation ; and secondly, race-preservation, as shown in the production and care of children.

I know this is an unfamiliar view, but it is one forced upon us by biological considerations. Every species of plant or animal knows, as a species, but one main desire—specific continuation. This desire produces two effects : devices for the preservation of the individual ; and devices for the due production and culture of new generations. The sole purpose of humanity, as such, therefore, seems to be its own continuous perpetuation. And, in effect, who can doubt that such is really the main central object of our race ? If we view humanity from outside, as objectively given to us in the street, the shop, the house, the factory, do we not see it forever striving simply, through its millionfold embodiments, for daily bread for itself and its children ? Is not hunger the most imperative stimulus of the species, and after hunger, the need for warmth, for fuel, for clothing ? Supply these needs, and what comes next ? The instinctive impulse to take to one's self a wife and family. Every man's first want in life is self-maintenance ; that attained, his next want is marriage and children. The profoundest ingrained feelings of the race are the feelings that prompt, first, to the preservation of the individual life, next, to the perpetuation and propagation of the species. To some extent, indeed, the last aim, which is the most important for the race as a whole, outweighs the first one ; for parents are frequently ready to sacrifice themselves on behalf of their children ; and in our existing industrial state a vast number of parents do, more or less completely, so sacrifice themselves, by working harder, longer, and more continuously than is at all desirable from the point of view of individual preservation alone.

" But these two aims, the main central aims of the human species, are not for the most part consciously present to men at all, as an integral portion of their object in life." No, certainly

not. They are innate and inherent, not reasoned and deliberate : physiological, not psychological. The question whether life is worth living is a question which nature, blind, dumb nature, never posits definitely to herself. If she did, it could have no effect upon her. Suppose a certain number of living beings (say the whole human race) to have thoroughly convinced themselves of the pessimistic position ; to be quite certain of the undesirability of existence ; and in pursuance of that conscious bit of ratiocination to set aside all the instinctive love of life, and to commit one great, unanimous holocaust of universal suicide—what would be the consequence ? Why, simply that the next highest remaining animals would go on, under stress of circumstances, evolving to something much like the human condition, and that history would on the whole pretty well repeat itself, barring the minor details of special incidents. The creatures that were not rational enough to kill themselves out and extinguish their race would go on living, and would do so just in virtue of these instinctive "objects of life" which underlie all our conscious wishes and preferences. Men live, in the main, not for the objects that make life "worth living," but for the blind instincts and innate impulses they can never get rid of.

Nevertheless, there are purposes in life which seem (fallaciously enough) to the reasoning minority among us to constitute the sufficient ground (if any) for continued existence. Why do we not all commit suicide ? That is, in fact, the real inquiry which veils itself under all the nebulous current pessimistic questioning as to the use and value and import of life. The answers are various—various in the degree of human idiosyncrasy. The vast majority don't commit suicide because they are restrained from it by pure instinct. The natural clinging to life is far too strong for them. And, indeed, if it comes to that, they have never even asked themselves the question "What do I live for ?" Furthermore, they are mostly of opinion that suicide (or death generally, for that matter) does not really terminate existence. They believe they would be jumping, only too literally, out of the frying-pan into the fire. Of the remainder, the cultivated and educated minority, some are, no doubt, more or less optimistic by nature; admitting the world to be (for us) far from

perfect, they are prepared, at any rate, to make the best of it. That is, perhaps, all things considered, about the sanest and wisest philosophy left us. The final residuum, the pessimists pure and simple, remain alive because it is so very troublesome and difficult to commit suicide. Besides, they always want to do something or other special to-morrow. The plot-interest of life is sufficient to deter them: usually it takes the form of wife and children, acquired, no doubt, before the duty of checking the multiplication of the human race became quite apparent to their emancipated understandings.

But if human life has in this very restricted sense any general object at all—any conscious object present as a rule to the mind of the individual—that object is undoubtedly happiness; and happiness may be approximately defined as a decided surplus of personal pleasure over personal pain. In the species as a whole, no such object is primarily inherent; race-preservation is its sole generic aim and purpose. But inasmuch as pleasure, on the whole, roughly coincides with race-preservative activities, and pain, on the whole, roughly coincides with race-destructive activities (as I have endeavored to show in "*Physiological Aæsthetics*"), it follows that these two apparently distinct objects, the unconscious generic aim, and the conscious individual aim, are at bottom practically almost identical. In other words, what to the race is preservative instinct is to the individual, in nine cases out of ten, the conscious pursuit of his own happiness.

His own happiness, I say advisedly; but not necessarily to the exclusion of the happiness of others. Quite the contrary: even in the lowest races, some regard for the happiness of wives and offspring enters into the concept of happiness for the individual; and among the higher outcomes of the highest races pleasure for others has become a necessary element in pleasure for self. One cannot yet say that in humanity as a whole the object of life, as consciously apprehended, includes the idea of equal happiness for all; but an approximation is ever being made in that direction. Misery for others, especially when brought home to us, suffices to make most members of the higher races thoroughly miserable; and the tendency is always to minimize as far as possible such misery, and to equalize as far as

possible all available means of pleasure. Such a consummation—the socialistic and Christian ideal—is continually retarded by the as yet unconquered selfishness of the mass of men; and it is also at least equally retarded by the existing bad social arrangements and the blind conservatism of even well-meaning and philanthropic people. But as an ideal goal, realized already by the chosen few of all nations, we may say that the aim and object of human life in its entirety, apart from the conflicting aims and objects of its several component elements, is the greatest total happiness of all, consistent with the equal individual happiness of each separately.

In our present confessedly imperfect moral state, this ideal goal is recognized by only very few; it is aimed at, it must be feared, by fewer still. The actual object of life, as conceived by the vast majority of existing human beings, is the enjoyment of mere selfish personal pleasure, and the avoidance of threatened personal pain, with very little regard at all to the imagined pleasures or pains of others. And so far as mankind in the lump can be said now to live for anything in particular, outside the instinctively guarded aim of race-preservation, such purely selfish and personal happiness is the real object that most of them live for. Even in the worst cases, however, it is slightly tempered by the thin end of the altruistic wedge, which necessarily comes in, no matter how imperfectly, with the first introduction of the wife and children.

GRANT ALLEN.

## IS PRINCETON HUMANIZING?

THE interesting question, Is Andover Romanizing? which Professor Patton seriously discusses in the last number of the *FORUM*, suggests the equally pertinent inquiry, Is Princeton humanizing? I must not be understood as intending by this title to stigmatize Princeton theology, as though it had been kept wholly aloof from the humanizing influence of the age. On the contrary, the quiet departure from the pure gospel of Calvinism, which has had free course in the new school Presbyterian churches, has left some perceptible traces of its influence in the preaching of men of the older school of Calvinism, and upon the conservative theology of Princeton. The article of Professor Patton, at first glance, appears disappointing, because it seems to indicate an arrest in this humanizing process; yet I shall endeavor to show that my title is justified by some admissions, and by some reticences, and evasions of difficulties, in Professor Patton's criticism of Andover theology.

When I speak of Princeton theology, I mean to confine my remarks simply and solely to that type of theology which is represented in the article of Professor Patton. By intimating that Princeton also may possibly be among the humanist prophets, I would not imply that Professor Patton's view of the possible fate of millions of heathen men is akin to the more humane conception of the possible salvation of some of them, under the sufficient light of nature, or through some unknown but essential Christianity, which is beginning to prevail even among defenders of the traditions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Professor Patton rejects decidedly that extra-biblical opinion. According to the logic of his article he must regard it as a subversion of the Protestant principle that the Bible is the only rule of faith, for no proof-texts can be found for the doctrine of an essential Christ, or for the hypothesis, or

speculation, that the light of nature is sufficient for the Christian salvation of vast multitudes of men ; and consequently, according to Professor Patton's reasoning, this extra-biblical opinion, although now a favorite hypothesis among the opponents of Andover, must, equally with the speculations of the Andover professors, be regarded as "anti-Protestant" and "Romanizing."

Trained theologians, however, I imagine, will be somewhat surprised at Professor Patton's interesting discovery of a new significance in the familiar Protestant principle of the sufficiency of the Scriptures. Up to the time when his article was published in the *FORUM* it had generally been understood that Protestants meant by this principle that the Bible contains all things sufficient for salvation, needing no supplementary revelation either through some inner light, or by the voice of an infallible church. To hold opinions in theology for which an explicit "Thus saith the Lord" cannot be found, and which are not plainly contrary to Scripture, but which are consonant with the Christian conception of God, and reasonable, has not usually, hitherto, been deemed to be subversive of Protestantism, or particularly Romanizing in tendency. But now Professor Patton argues that if the Andover divines hold to an extra-biblical belief "they will expose themselves in doing this to the charge of departing from the fundamental Protestant principle, that the Bible is the only rule of faith." It is evident that this reasoning is not a momentary nodding of an able theologian, but an original discovery concerning an old Protestant principle, for Professor Patton again argues as follows: "The doctrine of future probation is also an extra-biblical belief. It therefore contravenes the Protestant principle of the sufficiency of Scripture." In that word "therefore" lies the new and interesting discovery.

One might insist, in this connection, upon the distinction which the Andover professors have been careful to make between an opinion and a doctrine ; and if, as good Protestants, we were careful to sift from our creeds all extra-biblical beliefs, and leave in them only the doctrines of Scripture, the bulk of our confessions of faith might be considerably diminished. But let us see how this new Protestant principle which Professor Patton uses against Andover will work in some other directions. Dr.

Charles Hodge, for example, in his "Systematic Theology," argues for the extra-biblical belief in the salvation of all infants, from a principle which he infers from a proof-text that has nothing directly to do with the subject; and he is further persuaded that all infants will be saved, because he thinks that "the Scriptures nowhere exclude any class of infants," and because he is of the opinion that, according to an apostolical principle, "it is more congenial with the nature of God to bless than to curse, to save than to destroy."

The same Princeton theologian once gave some excellent reasons for the baptism of orphans, foundlings, and the children of baptized parents who are not themselves church members. It would be difficult to quote proof-texts in behalf of the baptism of foundlings, or even in favor of the hopeful view of "antennatal" salvation, which is said to have been one of the private extra-biblical opinions of another eminent divine not unknown at Princeton; and we may well ask in alarm, with Professor Patton, "What limit is there, then, to the additions which may be made to the church's creed, when it is understood that there may be extra-biblical beliefs?" If, "therefore," the Protestant principle of the sufficiency of the Scriptures is subverted, Princeton must submit with Andover to the charge of Romanizing. Even Professor Patton's own article cannot escape the same suspicion, for he assumes "the doctrine that death fixes destiny," and in all cases. No plain and pertinent proof-texts can be adduced from the Scriptures for this assumed doctrine, and it is of very doubtful ethical validity. Professor Patton needs to defend himself from the charge of Romanizing in "developing" this dogma from insufficient biblical data. But would he seriously maintain that it is "anti-Protestant" to hold any opinions concerning religious subjects which are not fully revealed, as the generally received belief, for instance, that we shall recognize our friends in heaven?

We are interested, moreover, to know whether Professor Patton, in the rigorous application of his logic, is now prepared to co-operate with his more advanced Presbyterian brethren, and to insist upon the exclusion from the Westminster standards of all *a priori* reasonings, remote deductions from biblical proof-

texts, and every form and degree of extra-biblical opinion? If so, the title of our article would be abundantly justified, and Princeton logic might cut with a stroke of the Protestant principle some hard confessional knots which the humanists among our Presbyterian brethren have been for years seeking to untie.

At this point one other sign of Romanizing, which Professor Patton's keen eye has detected at Andover, may be noticed. He charges Andover with holding "a Romish instead of a Protestant theory of justification." This is manifest to him because the Andover professors believe the truth that the heathen must be saved by a change of character, and because they also hold that faith comes through the knowledge of Christ, and the Christian motives to repentance. That, he argues, is "subjective," and "Romish instead of Protestant." From this reasoning it would appear as though Professor Patton had de-humanized entirely the process of salvation, reducing it to a divine decree applied perforce upon the souls of the elect; and it might seem that Princeton theology will permit no longer the subjective element of faith to enter in as a condition of gracious justification, as it always hitherto has done since Martin Luther's experience of justification by faith. The non-theological reader may be saved from falling into Professor Patton's momentary confusion concerning the Andover theory of justification, if we remind him that the Roman Catholic theory of justification by works involves the idea of something meritorious in the works of man on account of which he is justified, while in the Protestant conception justification is a gracious act of God, and faith is the condition of the free gift of it to the sinner. Professor Patton has been careful not to misquote or to misstate the positions of "Progressive Orthodoxy," and he is too fair a critic to intimate that the Andover professors, among their other sins, have ever advanced the Romish idea of meritorious works. Attention to the common Protestant distinction between the objective ground and the subjective conditions of justification might relieve Professor Patton's mind of his fears of some Romish doctrine of justification by works at Andover.

Thus far we have not succeeded in finding any important sign of the humanizing tendency in Professor Patton's Princeton

theology. Before admitting, however, that it is de-humanizing, we must search more closely for the alternative which Professor Patton would propose instead of the Andover theory of a Christian probation and a Christian judgment for all souls. A preacher who had been trained at Princeton, the Rev. Dr. Withrow, late pastor of a Congregational church, in a sermon delivered at the meeting of the American Board at Des Moines, was enabled to see a vast number of the heathen already among the saved. I cannot say that this was ever Princeton theology, or Princeton exegesis; but the reasoning which ended in that comforting vision was evidently inspired by his more humane and Christian sentiments, or was at least adapted to the supposed necessities of the present Christian consciousness of the American Board. Princeton theology, however, in the person of Professor Patton, rejects this view, as, indeed, it seems contrary to the letter of the Westminster Confession to suppose that the light of nature is sufficient for the salvation of any; and it might be a question whether this doctrine can be "developed" out of Presbyterian faith without a breach of trust.

It is easy to see on *a priori* grounds the peril to missions which the general acceptance of this view might involve. Why should we carry the gospel to heathen, who may learn just enough of it from our desultory presentation of it to leave them exposed to the sin of rejecting Christ, and of being beaten therefore with many stripes, when, if we left them to the light of nature, they might be beaten with few stripes. Besides, the chief opponent of Christianity, as the Andover theologians have clearly seen, and at present the most confident foe of Christian missions, is a revived and morally acceptable naturalism. Already educated Hindoos are saying, "We acknowledge that your Christian way is good, perhaps a better and shorter way than ours. But ours will lead to the same goal. It may be harder and longer, but it is our way, and the way in which our fathers went before us; why should you ask us to leave our accustomed path, which you acknowledge was a way of salvation for our ancestors, and which we think is good enough for us also?" This is no imaginary conversation, but an objection which our missionaries have to meet. To show the supremacy of the gospel

is the intellectual task imposed upon the missionary church, and the Andover theologians are doing what they may to train missionaries to meet naturalism with a reasonable and a sufficient conception of Christianity. But I need not urge these considerations, because here Professor Patton agrees with the Romanizing tendency of Andover, and regards as sound the Andover arguments against the naturalistic theory of salvation through some essential Christianity. The Incarnate Word rather than the essential Christ is to put all things in subjection under his feet.

Having rejected the alternative which is usually opposed to the Andover view, Princeton theology may properly be asked to bring forward its own alternative. Professor Patton holds that the Andover divines must admit "the doctrine of election, if they deny that of future probation." In the doctrine of election, then, as held by strict Calvinists, we are to find the only logical alternative to the Andover theory. That is to say, mankind has had its probation as a race in Adam, and all else in time and eternity follows from the decree of election. Higher than that sovereign decree our human questionings of God's justice and mercy must not fly. "I am under no obligation," says Professor Patton, "to believe that the heathen will not be lost."

At this point, however, if we read a little between the lines, we can find the evidence of humanizing tendencies at Princeton for which we have been eagerly searching. For while Professor Patton bravely accepts the choice between the unmodified Calvinistic theory of one natural probation for every individual man in Adam, and the Andover supposition of one gracious probation for every individual man in Christ, nevertheless, he seems reluctant to press his alternative beyond the bare necessities of his argument, and is half inclined to fall back from it into agnosticism. "It is not strange," he says, "that some prefer to take an agnostic attitude" toward "a dark problem." The older New England divines will be gratified to learn that Princeton theology has any inclinations toward agnosticism with regard to the doctrine of the limits of the atonement, or the possible salvation of the non-elect. The "theology of the feelings" seems thus to be driving the "theology of the intellect" at Princeton into agnosticism. This is clear humanistic gain. I pass over the point

that Professor Patton writes of the biblical doctrine of election as though the modifications of that doctrine, which the Andover divines share with their new school Presbyterian brethren, were contrary to the Scriptures; but, if I remember rightly, Albert Barnes was not convicted of heresy, and, with all his notions and works, cast out of the Presbyterian Church. I would, however, make haste to recognize, in that brief portion of his article in which Professor Patton suggests his alternative to the Andover theory, a praiseworthy reserve not usual among the older Calvinists. This cautious reticence, this reluctance to bring out in sharp definition the Princeton alternative, and to urge it upon our Christian consciousness, or our sense of what is "congenial with the nature of God," is our chief warrant for the inquiry, Is Princeton humanizing? Professor Patton fails to suggest any conceivable ethical method of salvation for elect infants, although he admits that salvation must involve a change of character. Our Princeton divine is too able a theologian to fall into the schemes of "salvation by magic," into which some less keen-sighted New England theologians have well-nigh slipped in their opposition to the suggestion of Andover that all the saved will be saved in an open and avowed Christian way; but he fails to give any sign of his own conception of a method of salvation for the heathen, or infants, which shall be thoroughly ethical, and at the same time thoroughly Calvinistic.

As Professor Patton, doubtless for humane reasons, has preferred to keep his alternative in the background of his argument, we may profitably remind the non-theological reader that there are serious difficulties which prevent its working well as a key to the plan of redemption. It seems to make God, what the Scriptures declare he is not, a respecter of persons. It represents God as dealing with some souls as the God of nature, and with other souls as the God of grace. It introduces dualism, or two different modes of procedure, into the government of God and into the last judgment. It limits the possibilities of the influence of the Holy Spirit, as the Bible does not, by limits external to character. It regards human destiny as fixed by a temporal event rather than by an inward ethical decision. There is no warrant in the Bible for these assumptions. Professor

Patton's alternative theory is extra-biblical, and not consistent with the view of the late Romanizing Dr. Hodge, that it is "more congenial with the nature of God to save than to destroy." The theory does not help us over any difficulties, but rather adds its heavy burden to our simple faith in the gospel of the Son of man. Moreover, it is not a matter of *a priori* reasoning, but a matter of history, that this alternative theory of man's probation in Adam, and of limited atonement, which Professor Patton humanely keeps in the background of his argument against Andover, has not proved particularly stimulating to Christian missions. The growth of the missionary spirit in the church has kept even pace with the development of a more humane and Christian theology. Reasoning not from *a priori* considerations, such as Professor Patton uses in his criticism of Andover, but from historical induction, we might infer that the missionary nerve of the church will continue to develop, and that the missionary work of the church will be enlarged, in proportion as the restrictions of our logic are taken away from the cross of Christ, the work of the Holy Spirit, and the love of the Father for the world.

Did we regard Professor Patton's comparison, between the usury which Andover has gained upon the Calvinistic theology and the usury which Rome has gained upon her sacraments, as anything more than playful *bardinage*, we should remind him that the addition to the number of the sacraments is neither logically nor historically a development from the two sacraments of the early church. We might also inquire, in the same playful charity, whether the principle of development in theology is henceforth to be abandoned at Princeton, notwithstanding the Romanizing development of the doctrine of infant salvation in the Presbyterian Church. Whether Presbyterian seminaries are bound by the sacred trusts of their confession to the interpretations which the earlier Calvinists placed upon it, is a question which lies beyond our province. Were Princeton professors on trial before an ecclesiastical court for breach of their confessional trust, the Andover professors might deem it to be the truest courtesy and the highest professional honor not to argue the question while the public were waiting for the verdict.

As, at the time of writing, the decision in the Andover case has not yet been rendered, I may be excused for passing over, without the reply which it suggests, that portion of Professor Patton's article in which an opinion is pronounced concerning the relation of Andover theology to the Andover trusts. Whether the interest which Andover has caused to accrue upon its Lord's money be lawful gain is a question concerning which an appeal may properly be made by either party, after the verdict, to that larger tribunal, the Christian consciousness of the churches, whose jurisdiction Professor Patton does not admit, but to which, rather than to the Andover visitors, it is charitable to suppose this portion of his argument was addressed.

Professor Patton starts out with the intention of showing how Andover is Romanizing, and closes with the suspicion that Andover is "Universalizing and Rationalizing as well as Romanizing." We have not been able, by any dramatic use possible to us of the "poetic" methods of the new theology, to unite these apparently contradictory qualities in one conception of character; we must, therefore, leave the charge that these opposite faults are met and harmonized in the Andover theology to the logic of the masters of "clear ideas" and "scientific method" in theology.

In taking leave of Professor Patton's criticism upon the views of the Andover professors, I would acknowledge that the titles of his article and my own leave the real questions of modern theology untouched. Criticism in theology, as in literature, should not be content to play upon the surface of any movement of thought; it should enter appreciatively into the spirit of a movement; it should study to discern its inner principle, and its secret of power. Only by such penetrative and thorough criticism can its character be rightly judged, its influence measured, its future foretold. The real motive, the deepest truth, the abiding power of the new theology, as it is called, is indicated by a quotation from one of the ancient church fathers, which was given in the first sentence of the opening number of the "Andover Review": "Let us learn to live according to Christianity." The true question which should be asked both of Princeton and of Andover is, Are they

Christianizing? That is the work needing to be done with even more thorough simplicity in all our theological seminaries and in all our churches. In that work, along that line of development, the modern Andover claims that it is seeking to follow the truest instincts, and to carry to still further power the deepest purposes of the old Andover and its godly founders. Will Princeton join with Andover in this better work of Christianizing and re-Christianizing theology—not as though either had already attained, or were already perfect? Professor Patton rightly says that in some respects the progressive orthodoxy of Andover is a "backward" movement in theology. Will Princeton theology also go back with Andover beyond Holland, and Turretin, and Calvin, and Augustine, beyond Origen and Clement of Alexandria, until it can drop some burdens of traditional theology at the feet of the Apostle John, and breathe the freer air of apostolical catholicity?

The inquiry with which Professor Patton closes his criticism of Andover the new theologians can answer more easily than he thinks. "Who," he asks, "will tell us where the headquarters of organic infallibility are?" They are certainly not at Andover, nor in Rome, nor at Princeton. Martin Luther long ago answered that question for all new theologians, and Luther will hardly be charged with heading thereby "an anti-Protestant" movement, or with Romanizing, like Dr. Hodge in his extra-biblical appeals to Christian experience. Luther replied, when the papists quoted proof-texts against him, "See you to it, how you make texts rhyme which you say do not agree. . . . However, it is impossible for the Scripture to contradict itself.

. . . You boast by the Scripture, which is under Christ as a servant; and besides, you do not bring out at all the best part of Scripture. I do not care for that; boast as much as you please of the servant, but I put my confidence in Christ, who is the true lord and emperor of the Scripture."

NEWMAN SMYTH.

## RELATION THE ULTIMATE TRUTH.

WE are in a world of illusions. Nature seems to be in a conspiracy with our five senses, to cheat and mislead us. That which appears to be, is not ; and that which appears not to be, is. The innocent babe meets this trickery, this juggling with his senses, at the very threshold of life ; and the first effort of his tiny consciousness is the reversal of a misleading impression. With that effort his education has begun. It is only by experiment that he learns that things are not upside down, nor all surfaces flat ; and now has commenced a process which will last so long as he shall remain within the distorting, twisting, refracting medium which envelops human life. The history of the race, as of the individual, is little more than a record of this correcting of impressions formed from appearances ; stripping off of worthless wrappings in fruitless search of an elusive finality ; eliminating, casting out, one cherished belief after another, until we wonder if we shall ever come to the one irreducible fact which is absolutely true. The surface thought to be flat proves to be spherical ; that which seemed to move is found to be fixed ; while that which we believed to be at rest is rushing in hot haste through space. The fiery ball you saw sink below the horizon this afternoon you thought was the sun ; but it was a double cheat, the semblance of a semblance. Not only had the sun disappeared below the horizon eight minutes before, but the spot at which you were gazing was even then only blank space, upon which the retinal image of the real sun had been projected. Of what use to gaze at the stars and dream, if we are the sport of such tricks as these ? "That flaming poppy," you will confidently assert, "is red," whereas, that is the only color it surely is not. It has hungrily absorbed every other ray into its texture, and, rejecting the red, reflects it back upon the eye of the beholder. Finally, the very foundations of the earth seem to be dissolving when

we find that granite is only an associated mass of molecules, never at rest, each revolving in an ethereal medium which fills the intermolecular spaces. Thus, the quality of density has no existence absolutely, only relatively to perception. The solidity of rock has served us well in the prose as in the poetry of life. We have piled our metaphors high upon it, in perfect confidence, but we will do it no more. We will even, if necessary, learn to say, Unstable as granite, diaphanous as marble.

But surely there must be some quality, some conception, which is abiding? Those cloud-piercing heights of the Yosemite, "rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun," may not be solid, but at least their gigantic stature is not an illusion? How insignificant man feels as he surveys them from the valley below, and yet what are they to the vast mountain chains which the grand old earth carries so lightly on her bosom as she glides through space! And this earth, with all its mountains and seas, if dropped into one of the fiery craters of the sun, how long a time would be required for it to disappear in a wreath of vapor! Then, the fiery monster which could so devour man's little world as a morsel, is it not itself only a toy orb compared with many another sun which for us is merely a point of light! Alas for the Yosemite! which may be, after all, only like the tiny projections on an ant-hill.

But assuredly these ascending conceptions of magnitudes apparently infinite are terrible realities? Yes; terrible, perhaps; but let us not be so sure of the "reality." Suppose that while we sleep to-night the universe should contract in size, so that the starry groups would be no larger than the "gay motes which people the glad sunbeam." With proportion and relation preserved, we should arise to-morrow unconscious of any change. Engineers, mathematicians, astronomers, would go about their tasks just as usual. Men would be eager to complete the purchase and sale commenced yesterday, the tiny acres seeming no less precious than before, the problems of life no less serious, nor its affairs less weighty. Then, again, if the same magic should the next night expand the dimensions of all things, so that they would occupy a million times the space they now do, we should be equally unconscious of the change. Since, then,

such fluctuations in magnitude might occur without touching what we may term the realities of existence, is it not obvious that size and distance are not in themselves realities, and, indeed, have no meaning at all except relatively to some unit which we hold in our minds?

Then, let us imagine our universe contained within the walls of a soap-bubble, and its duration to be from the moment when it floats off into space until it bursts, scattering its tiny spray. With the time and space relations adjusted to that scale, our solar system would sweep just as majestically through space as now; and hours, days, weeks, months, years, would appear just as long. Men would look up from earth toward the crystal dome inclosing them, trying to pierce its unfathomable depths, to comprehend its awful magnitudes. No new system of weights and measures would be needed in that world; a proposition in Euclid would be as true there as here, justice and truth as absolute, love and mercy as real.

Then those vast periods, those æons from nebula to man, are they, too, only phantasms? Let us see. What is this Time? The human mind reels in trying to grasp its infinities, behind us and before us. Of what is this awe-inspiring thing composed? The recurrence of the seasons, and the rising and setting of the sun, are the events whose sequences are the basis of its measurements. But suppose we were driven out into space, where there was no sun to rise, no clock to toll the hours, no rhythmic fact near to seize as a basis for a new time adjustment, what would then be the difference between an æon and an hour? Is it not conceivable that consciousness (supposably our only measure of time) might be so quickened that a lifetime might be lived in an hour, or so retarded that it would occupy a thousand years?

So the magnitudes of time and space fade into nothing when we analyze them. Again we find we have tried to grasp a shadow. Not even that; for a shadow implies substance, while this is rather a wraith, an apparition, or a mirage, whose domes and cloud-capped towers fade "like the baseless fabric of a vision," as we strive to reach them. Is the universe, then, only a colossal cheat? We have found that from the first moment of

life our senses lie to us. Nature at every point cheats and misleads us. The flowers, with their ravishing tints, are false ; the adamantine rocks fail us and crumble into atoms ; and at last, time and space, those indispensable factors in the problem of existence, shrink away into mere modes of thought. We sit dazed amid the dissolving unrealities of a fair creation. If this be all, it were better not to think, for to think would be to despair. What matter whether it be chaos or cosmos where nothing really *is*?

But in the sifting of appearance from reality, although everything seemed to be slipping through the meshes, there was in every instance a small residuum, and in every instance this residuum was the same. We have expected to see this too glide away at our near approach ; but no ; turn it as we may, it changes not ; it is constant. Indeed, this quality, which alone has resisted all solvents, seems to be the only abiding thing in the world of spirit or of matter, as well as in time and space themselves. The one irreducible fact of the universe is—relation. The relation which exists between the material atoms throughout the physical universe is the fixed irreducible physical fact, just as the soul relations which exist under the changing life currents are the abiding psychic facts. Here is a conception upon which the mind may rest, confident that no future unfoldings will disturb it. All that has been, or that will be ; all that we call evolution or development, is simply a succession of changes in forms of relation, which, existing independently of time and space, are in themselves essential and abiding facts, which expansion or contraction, however great, cannot touch or modify. Every fact in existence, everything recorded in the history of the universe, everything in the individual condition or experience of man, could be described in terms of relation ; and in such terms alone would be forever and unchangeably true.

Now, if the foregoing be true, relation is the parent of all existing things, and of relation itself the parent is energy. There the lineage stops. What is the parent of force is the mystery of mysteries. We can say of it only, that it *is*. But, because one is personally unknown to us, we do not forever abandon the hope of understanding his traits and characteristics. If we can learn

his habits, methods, can observe the record he has left during a long life, we can form trustworthy estimates of his qualities, and classify him accurately. In the same way may we arrive at a knowledge of this mysterious force. Is it lawless, wild, irrelevant; a vast destructive agent going about without apparent purpose, desolating the universe; or is it the reverse of all this? If changes in relation be all, and such changes be effected by force, we have a natural desire to know whether that force be directed with malevolent or benevolent intent; or indeed, whether it be directed at all.

In the progress from nebula to man, has there been any tendency so uniformly followed that we must assume such tendency to be inherent in the nature of things, or, in other words, a law? Let us transport ourselves to that time when molecules and energy, the body and the soul of the universe, made the first movement toward a center of organization; for there was a moment when the gestation of the solar system began; a moment when, under an impulse derived from this incomprehensible energy, molecules began to arrange themselves into harmonious relations, small centers gradually coalescing with larger ones. There was adjustment and readjustment of atoms into more and more rhythmic relations, ever moving with accelerated force toward one end—an ideal rhythmic relation; until, the task accomplished, behold a group of bodies displaying every principle of harmony.

Who can fail to read what is so irresistibly suggested: that there is an ideal relation toward which creation is struggling? What are the beautiful forms in nature but the ultimate expression of that energy which in the earliest stages of creation began to arrange molecules into simple and harmonious association? What are music, art, poetry, if not psychic manifestations of the same ideal; an ideal for which man has an inborn appetite? What is conscience but an intuitive perception of the harmonies of conduct and morals? What is crime but a disturbing of such ideal harmonies? What is sickness but a similar disturbance of harmonious physical adjustments? And the tendency toward health, upon which physicians rely, is it not analogous to that "power not of ourselves, which maketh for righteousness,"

and which strives perpetually after the health of the soul? And are not both of these identical with that tendency which first moved atoms toward planet-structure, and which is the informing life of our life, without which there would be no evolution, no development, no progress? What is civilization but an adjustment of complicated human relations into higher harmonies?

If the harmonies of material forces be obstructed, they must and will readjust themselves. The warm currents of the atmosphere may for a time remain quietly at the bottom of the mass; but it needs only a trifling disturbance to bring the "upset," which sends them rushing upward through a frightful vortex, leaving behind them a track of desolation, in their mad determination to get back to the ideal arrangement. So there may be apparent tranquillity in an unnatural arrangement of psychic forces: but they are not dead, nor sleeping; they are watching their opportunity; and, as in the world of matter, a trifle may cause the "upset" which shall sweep away an empire or a kingdom.

With quickened spiritual vision we might be able to see that the activities of life to-day are represented by myriads of interlacing circles, systems, which repel, attract, combine, or interchange, under the action of laws as fixed as the law of gases; that these influence us according to our various susceptibilities, and that our adjustment or non-adjustment to them would explain all of failure or success in life, its glory and its shame. What wonder that there are mistakes; that all souls do not move on in orderly progress from smaller to larger circles, toward ideal rhythmic harmony with the soul of the universe! Such, no doubt, is the natural course, but all the systems which dazzle and allure and draw us to themselves, are not traveling heavenward; nor can we surmise the fate of those beings who, drawn into fatal vortices, it may be, drift away from the normal line of development. And who can tell the hidden law which may govern these systems in their relations with each other; what fatal combinations there may be which make success impossible, endeavor futile; what currents, into which, once drawn, we are in the meshes of an inexorable fate!

But, as we lightly skim over the shining surface of existence, there is no hint of such dread realities. We pass on through the

gladness of childhood, the joys, hopes, and rhapsodies of youth, the eager pursuits of maturity, intent ever upon happiness, which, from first to last, we believe is our birthright. Drawn hither and thither by wayward inclinations or by fierce desires, only partially restrained by conscience and guided by reason, entangled more and more in the network of circumstance, few, alas! arrive at the end without consciousness of failure.

How our souls are acted upon by these unseen influences is a mystery, but the processes of nature have thrown light upon many such mysteries. Sound a clear, resonant C over an open piano, and then listen. Every C string in the instrument trembles, and gives a long, humming response. Then sound G. Every other string is silent, motionless; the G strings alone vibrate and sing, as they are sympathetically touched. Could we follow this clue to the spiritual truth it seems to lead to, how clear, how simple, might become the attractions, repulsions; affinities, under the influence of which society arranges itself and human relations are formed. We have about us a more ethereal medium than air; and these communicated sound vibrations only rudely represent the psychic vibration which is the answering voice of the soul, when it hears the music to which it is attuned. No one, however material, is entirely a thing of molecules. All are more or less sensitive to these invisible conditions. It is no idle fancy of the artist that makes the child-portraits of Mozart and Milton gaze with rapt vision into the heavens. They behold things to which our eyes are sealed; they catch the sound of divine harmonies inaudible to our dull ears. One hears voices to which you and I are deaf, and interprets the inspiration in rhythmic speech; we call him a poet. Another, with perception of the harmonies of sound, is a Beethoven. Another has visions of form and color in ideal relation, and is an Angelo or a Raphael. Another divines an ideal adjustment of political forces, and is a statesman; or of soul relations, and is an Edwards or a Swedenborg; and so on. At last there comes one who, divining the proper relation of all these systems to each other and tracing the devious course of their development and unfolding, reveals it to us as an organic whole, gives us a clearer conception of the complex movements and meanings of life, and

he is a philosopher. He discloses to us the larger harmony including all the smaller ones, which will, itself, if we rightly construe the great trend, be some day found to be embraced in an inclosing, and to us now incomprehensible, spiritual harmony.

So, if we have read aright the great riddle of existence, we have found that relation is the only thing which is absolutely true ; that changes in relation are effected through the action of a mysteriously derived energy, and tend always toward an ideal perfection ; that molecules of matter acting under such impulse came into associated form with a definite movement toward a definite end ; that our earth was the final product of such progressive movement, and became the home of man and the theater of a psychic development analogous to the material one which preceded it—the same laws apparently in force and the same tendency toward ideal conditions. By voluntary selection from his environment man has here formed soul relations, and at the same time created the spiritual atmosphere in which he lives, this atmosphere, under the laws of growth, gradually unfolding from lower to higher forms, its harmonies growing more and more complex with increasing civilization, their scope wider and higher with the centuries. The expanding soul has again and again removed the frontier line of its invisible domain, and has more and more breathing-space as the ages roll by. Did philosophy not teach us this, history would. Its pages bear sad record of the struggle toward higher conditions, and when man began to be in accord with the sweet harmonies of ethics, many thought he had reached a fitting bourne for his upward journey. But a perfect adjustment of relations between man and man, however great the achievement, cannot be the end, for what of those vast outlying spaces where man does not exist ? Are they a meaningless void to him ? Are there no systems there which draw him toward sympathetic interchange with themselves ? Are our souls less sensitive than the planets, which give answering vibration to each remotest star ? What is it toward which men have always instinctively stretched supplianting hands ? May not this universal impulse toward worship be the highest manifestation of that same inscrutable tendency which created worlds and which permeates all things ? Be this as it may, the

prophecies of pessimism will disturb us never more, for if relation be the only thing which is true, and if by a law of nature that relation be irresistibly moving toward perfection, then, indeed, may we possess our souls in patience, and human existence is not a vast congeries of dismal wrecks, nor is creation a colossal failure.

MARY PARMELE.

## LAUGHTER.

THE wide-spread acceptance of the doctrine of evolution lays upon us the necessity of reopening many a question which before was thought to have been finally settled. If the human frame, with its varied feelings and emotions, be an inheritance from brute ancestors, then two problems seem to call upon us for solution. The first of these problems is: What merely animal elements may be detected in actions once deemed peculiar to man? The second problem is: What elements of human activity—if any such there be—are so different in kind from those which any brute can be shown to possess, that they cannot be supposed to have had such a merely animal origin? Now, animal life, when studied in the light of the evolutionary theory, makes two facts clear. One is, that each animal bears a closer resemblance to its remote progenitors in the earlier stages of its life-history than it does when fully mature. The other fact (which, indeed, is a consequence of the former one) is, that any abnormal arrest in the process of individual development tends to bring into prominence some ancestral state of its being which would otherwise have been less conspicuous. If, then, amongst those powers and faculties which have been deemed exclusively human, there are any which are of merely animal origin, we might expect to find them amongst those of our powers which earliest show themselves, and which are conspicuous in men and women the development of whose mental faculties has been abnormally arrested. It is an old doctrine, the truth of which was once universally admitted, that laughter is absolutely peculiar to man, because his “risibility” is a necessary consequence of his “rationality.” But certainly no human actions, apart from those of mere organic life, take place at an earlier stage of existence than do the smile and laugh of the infant.\* Laughter, also, is conspicu-

\* Certainly often as early as the age of three months.

ous in persons whose process of mental development has been abnormally arrested. According to Sir Crichton Browne,\* laughter is the most prevalent and frequent of all the emotional expressions of idiots. Though some are "utterly stolid," yet many laugh frequently in a quite senseless manner, while others "grin, chuckle, and giggle whenever food is placed before them, or when they are caressed, or shown bright colors, or hear music." Laura Bridgman, from her blindness and deafness, could not have acquired by imitation any special modes of emotional expression, yet when a letter from a friend was communicated to her by gesture-language, she would laugh and clap her hands, and the color would mount to her cheeks.

Laughter being thus present in very immature and in mentally stunted human beings, can we also detect its presence in the higher animals? If we can do so there would seem to be no escape from the conclusion that "risibility," instead of being peculiar to man, is but a part of his brute inheritance, as, indeed, not a few evolutionists would unhesitatingly affirm it to be. Now I feel sure that many a man who loves his dogs must be confident that he has now and again detected, in the brightened gaze and retracted lips of his canine pets, something which, to say the least, is very like a smile. As to apes, Mr. Darwin observes:† "If a young chimpanzee be tickled, a decided chuckling or laughing sound is uttered; though the laughter is sometimes noiseless. The corners of the mouth are drawn backward, and this sometimes causes the lower eyelids to be slightly wrinkled. But this wrinkling, which is so characteristic of our own laughter, is more plainly seen in some other monkeys." Those attractive American apes, the sapajous (belonging to the genus *Cebus*), when in captivity and kindly spoken to, will often make grimaces which must be called grins, or smiles. They will, at the same time, throw the head on one side, raise the eyebrows and distend the corners of the mouth, emitting all the while soft, flute-like tones which seem distinctly to denote kindly and pleasurable feelings. Are we, then, to conclude that laughter is really common to men and animals?

\* Quoted by Darwin in his work on "The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals," p. 199.

† *L. c.*, p. 132.

Before responding to this question let us consider one or two examples of matters likely to arouse, if not laughter, at least a smile and a feeling of comic humor. Talleyrand is reported to have replied to an excessively ugly visitor, who was expatiating to him on the beauty of his (the visitor's) mother : “*C'était, donc, monsieur votre père qui n'était pas si beau!*” Now, no one, evidently, could smile at such a joke as this unless he not only understood the force of the words used, but had also some perception of the silliness of the boaster as well as of the comic “setting-down” he received from the quondam bishop.

When, to Louis the Fourteenth's remark to Lord Stair (who so wonderfully resembled that monarch), “*Il me semble, Monsieur, que madame votre mère aurait dû visiter la cour de France,*” that nobleman replied, with a profound bow, “*Non, Sire, mais mon père y était,*” the attendant courtiers could hardly fail to have experienced a strong tension of their risible muscles. Fully to appreciate the humorous, but severe, force of Lord Stair's reply, the auditors must, however, have been able to perceive (1) the impertinent meaning of the king's remark, (2) the sting contained in Lord Stair's reply, and (3) the justice of the punishment so skillfully and promptly administered. These perceptions were also probably accompanied by feelings of complacency, or of irritated national sentiment, or of admiration for Lord Stair, or of anger against him. Similarly, a feeling of pleasant amusement would accompany a perception of the ridiculous in the mind of any one enjoying the reply of Talleyrand, previously related.

Some time ago there was, in a certain country, a certain weekly journal devoted to science, the title of which was “Nature.” The editor of this periodical, one Mr. Blank, was considered by many of his acquaintances as a little open to criticism on the score of a certain pomposity and grandiloquence. This editor was one day discoursing at a dinner-party with his habitual lofty air, when an Oxford professor, who happened to be present, observed: “Upon my word, Mr. Blank, when I hear you talk it often seems to me that you must rather be the author than the editor of Nature!” No doubt those who on that occasion sat at meat with Mr. Blank had lively feelings of

amusement, as well as hearings of the diaphragm and tension of the cheek muscles. But in addition to such feelings and such bodily movements, they must also have had a perception of the skillful "letting down" by the professor of one who had involuntarily courted it by imprudence of manner.

Now, if we examine what takes place in us when any happy joke or ridiculous occurrence compels us to laugh, we shall see that our laughter is made up (as in the instances we have given) of three distinct elements. There is, in the first place, a certain bodily agitation, generally accompanying reiterated expiratory movements. There is, in the second place, a certain flow of feeling and emotional excitement; while, in the third place, there is some distinct intellectual perception. Manifestly, any account of such laughter would be most incomplete and misleading if it did not recognize the intellectual perception, which really constitutes the very essence of it. On the other hand, we may sometimes laugh without any accompaniment of intellectual activity. Such laughter may be due to tickling, to the action of cold on the skin, to certain painful affections and hysteria, to the sight of bright colors, and to some musical sounds.

There are thus, evidently, two kinds of laughter, one physical and sensuous, the other intellectual.

In spite of the similarity of the bodily action in both cases, these are fundamentally different in kind. They are thus different because no prolongation or intensification of the convulsive movements and excited feelings which accompany such laughter as results from tickling, etc., will give rise to an intellectual perception; while the laughter which may be excited by the perception of something ridiculous ceases as soon as that idea has entirely left the mind. There is thus a laughter which pertains to our lower order of faculties, and another laughter which is related to our intellectual powers alone: yet these two modes of excitement, so different in kind, are made manifest by one and the same set of bodily motions.

But the complexity of the causes which produce this identical result is, in fact, very great. We have just seen how different may be the antecedent causes which produce physical and

sensuous laughter, but intellectual laughter may accompany perceptions very different in character, which may be of a very high or of a very low order. That incipient laughter which constitutes the smile may accompany ideas which are of an affectionate and honest, or of an invidious or ironical, nature; it may express self-esteem, or may be the smile of the fool or the villain.

Two questions here present themselves for consideration: (1) Why do certain bodily and sensuous excitements express themselves by the motions we are familiar with in laughter? and (2) Why do intellectual apprehensions of what is ridiculous, however varied they may be, manifest themselves by one and the same set of external signs, which are also identical with the signs which express merely physical and sensuous laughter?

To the former question it may be replied that stimulation of the nerves has various other effects besides that of exciting sensations. As one result it may act upon the viscera, influencing the secretions, and so promote or hinder digestion. It may stimulate or check the action of the heart, and accelerate or retard the movements of respiration. But nervous stimulation tends also directly to induce muscular contraction, and thus occasions a variety of movements of various kinds. Definite stimulations of certain nerves tend to produce definite movements directed to special ends. But a merely vague and general stimulation of the nervous system might be expected to result not in such definite movements, but rather in the production of motions in parts most easily moved and most habitually set in motion; in a word, the overflow of nervous influence might be expected to expend itself along the lines of least resistance. Now, as Mr. Herbert Spencer long ago remarked,\* the muscular actions which constitute physical laughter are purposeless actions, and appear to be the result of an energy directed to no definite end, and merely overflowing, as it were, into those channels which happen to be most ready to receive it. Now, in us men, it is the muscles round the mouth and those concerned in speech which are the most easily moved and the most habitually set in motion.

\* See the stereotyped edition of his Essays, vol. i., pp. 195-209.

Next in order come the muscles which effect respiration, afterwards those of the hands and arms, next those of the legs, and, finally, the muscles of the trunk. But this is just the order in which the movements of laughter successively take place. First the muscles round the mouth are contracted in the smile, and then the organs of speech and respiration are set in motion. As feeling becomes intensified, the arms are moved and hands are clapped or rubbed together; then the knees are drawn up, and finally the muscles of the trunk bend the spine and draw back the head.

We may now turn to the second question: Why does an apprehension of the comic show itself in the same way as does such a merely bodily stimulation as tickling? The excitement of the intellect is very different from such bodily stimulation, and at first we might expect that it would show itself in some quite different manner. But, however different in kind may be our highest intellectual activity from sensuous emotions and merely bodily feelings, it is nevertheless impossible for us to entertain even the most abstract idea without having some image simultaneously present to the imagination, though it be only that of the word which denotes the supposed idea. Every such image, again, is the mental reproduction of groups of feelings which have been previously experienced as distinct sensations. All such sensations are also the result of the stimulation of those cells and delicate fibers which make up what is called our "nervous system." Thus, however distinct ideas may be from sensations—and I hold them to be most distinct—there is, nevertheless, such an intimate connection between them in our complex being, that while our intellect cannot be called into play, or be sustained in action, without the help of our sensitivity, our sensitivity is, through our imagination, in turn affected by our intellectual activity; as when a perception of the consequences of some evil action may occasion pity for those on whom its effects will fall. But the interrelation and interaction between pure intellect and our corporeal structure goes much further than this. Not only will an apprehension of misfortune mar the appetite, but perverted alimentary secretions will in turn engender painful feelings and so call up gloomy

ideas. It is no wonder then that keen perceptions of the ludicrous should affect the bodily organs in the way they do. For, in the first place, all mental perceptions, through the imaginations and other feelings which attend them, affect the body. I know a man who affirms that whenever he deliberately entertains one special order of ideas he immediately sneezes. Since, therefore, keen intellectual perceptions of the ludicrous produce, through the imagination, a stimulation of the nervous system, that stimulation must discharge itself along the same lines as does the overflow in the case of physical laughter. There are in all cases the same sets of movements, which are successively the most easy to evoke, whatever may be the nervous excitement which evokes them. Hence arises the similarity of the result in all cases—the similarity not only between physical and intellectual laughter, but also between the various varieties of either kind of laughter which different physical stimulations or different ludicrous perceptions may give rise to.

Mr. Herbert Spencer is not content with the bare notion that a nervous stimulation resulting from a perception of the ridiculous overflows into wonted motor channels, but he seeks to discriminate (on purely physical grounds) between perceptions of incongruity which do, and those which do not, cause laughter. He contends that laughter only results from what he calls a "descending incongruity," when nervous energy is suddenly transferred from a large to a small channel, and consequently overflows. As an example of such incongruity he imagines the accidental appearance in the midst of a tragedy of a tame kid from behind the scenes. As an example of what he calls an "ascending incongruity," he supposes the presence of a corpse at a feast, which he contends must transfer nervous energy from a narrow channel to a capacious one, and therefore could not be expected to produce laughter.

Now, objection might well be made to so crude and mechanical a conception (as that of actual physical volume) being applied to a perception of incongruity; but waiving all such objection to an hypothesis which is, at the least, ingenious, it may, I think, be shown that Mr. Spencer's hypothesis errs by defect as well as by excess. It errs by defect because such a transference may

take place from what he would call a "large" to a "small" channel without exciting laughter at all. Thus, for example, the close proximity of a wasp may distract attention from a highly interesting and valuable lecture, or the enjoyment of a favorite opera may be marred by a series of trivial remarks uttered in just audible tones in one's vicinity. Mr. Spencer's hypothesis also errs by excess, because great laughter may arise without any such transference as he supposes to be needful for its elicitation. Thus we may be in a most tranquil frame of mind, when a facetious anecdote may suddenly arise in our memory, and at once produce laughter so hearty as to be very inconvenient to the laugher, who may be distressed lest an accidental witness of his merriment should mistake its real import. But the great fault of Mr. Spencer's treatment of this subject is one which is due to the essence of his whole philosophical system—a system which leads him to ignore the question as to the character of those intellectual perceptions which elicit laughter. An explanation of laughter which omits all consideration of its intellectual character, and treats it as due to feeling only, is like a presentation of the tragedy of "Hamlet" with the omission of the Prince of Denmark.

Various opinions have been advanced as to what is the ultimate nature of our intellectual apprehension of the ludicrous. Some persons would reduce it to a simple perception of incongruity, while others consider that an idea of superiority on the part of the laugher is implied in it. Certainly, actions which provoke our laughter are very commonly seen by us to be silly actions, done foolishly, in neglect of that ordinary common sense which should have hindered their perpetration. Laughter is excited when we see a person overreached or outwitted, in cases where ordinary foresight ought to have guarded him against it; and he becomes especially an object of derision if some slight moral fault is at the root of his intellectual blindness. If, however, his mistake was utterly unavoidable, it then calls not for ridicule but pity, while, if the moral obliquity is extreme, it then gives rise to loathing. The apprehension of the ridiculous is sometimes thought to be an apprehension of what is antithetical to the sublime, and certainly some instructive contrasts may

be drawn between our apprehensions of the beautiful, the sublime, and the ridiculous. The idea of the sublime tends to overwhelm us with a sense of our relative inferiority which the comic rarely, if at all, does. The idea of what is beautiful delights us, as being a perfection of some kind, in harmony with an ideal type within us ; and what is ridiculous differs from this *toto cælo*, so that these ideas do, by antithesis, reflect light upon that which excites intellectual laughter. We often, in ordinary speech, say that anything we deem ridiculous is "absurd," but the mere fact that a thing is contrary to right reason does not, by itself, suffice to make it ridiculous. There is nothing necessarily ludicrous in an arithmetical error, or in a mistaken estimate respecting a friend's fidelity.

For my part, I am convinced that in every one of our perceptions of the comic, humorous, or ridiculous there is an ultimate element which can no more be analyzed or defined by anything else, than can our ideas of truth or goodness. But, however this may be, it is abundantly evident that all human laughter (other than that due to mere physical influences) includes a distinct intellectual element. This is a laughter in which no mere animal shares. The anthropoid apes are by far the most like man of all brutes, and a very bright and lively adult specimen—a chimpanzee, called Sally—is now living in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London, and is remarkable for the readiness and dexterity with which she has learned to perform a number of tricks. At my request, experiments have been made to see if she could be got to give any evidence of a perception of the ludicrous. For this purpose her keeper arrayed himself in various unusual and brightly colored garments and went through a number of absurd gestures. Sally was evidently interested in his appearance and inspected him with care, but, as evidently, did not realize the humor of the situation. Indeed, her keeper (who is an extremely intelligent man) assured me he has never detected anything in her demeanor which he could set down to a perception of the ludicrous, although she has very marked and definite ways of expressing her feelings of joy, anger, or disappointment.

But though there is this great divergence between men and

animals as regards intellectual laughter, there is, as we might expect, much agreement between them as regards physical laughter. That the manifestations of overflowing nervous excitement should be similar in apes and men naturally follows, from the similarity of their bodily structure. The dog may also exhibit a certain similarity, as the very mobile and much moved muscles of his cheeks and lips naturally lead him to display what may by analogy be called a smile. But this animal has a different and more convenient channel for the overflow of nervous excitement. The dog's tail is an organ the movements of which are purposeless, and can be carried on with the least amount of exertion. It thus becomes the readiest index of excitement, and, doubtless, so far as a dog laughs, it laughs with its tail. It is a most expressive organ, and its rigid erection, its withdrawal between the legs, and its gentle or rapid oscillations, are all movements full of mute expression for those who have skill to read them. The cat's tail has also its emotional language, which is very different from that of the dog, for the wagging of the cat's tail means mischief. Many snakes, also, agitate rapidly the ends of their tails when excited, though it is only the rattlesnakes in which this habit has been commonly noticed, because only in them does it result in plainly audible effects. In many insects there are elongated, slender organs—the antennæ—which are obviously the most mobile parts of the body, and it is accordingly by the antennæ that these animals express their feelings, as Sir John Lubbock has observed in the case of ants.

Thus the facts respecting laughter which external observation and introspection combine to bring to our knowledge, while they harmonize entirely with the doctrine that man's bodily powers (including his lower emotions) have an animal origin, seem to point to some other source as the fountain whence his intellectual faculties have been derived.

Laughter has been declared exclusively human. So it is, with respect to the intellectual elements which enter into it. At the same time it contains elements of a purely animal nature, and these we share with at least the highest members of the brute creation, and it is, therefore, no wonder that we can detect in this respect a physical similarity. But however similar or dis-

similar the physical signs of excitement in the highest animals may be to that one set of signs which serves us to give expression to our two very different kinds of laughter, it is only to our lower, physical, and sensuous laughter that they have in reality any true relationship.

Our higher laughter is of a fundamentally different nature, and is akin to those perceptions of goodness, beauty, and truth which are amongst our highest possessions. We have a higher and a lower laughter, as we have higher and lower emotions; as we have a language of mere feeling, distinct from rational speech or gesture; as we have sensuous and intellectual perceptions, and as we have associations of feelings and also true inferences expressed by the word "therefore." I am profoundly convinced that the fundamental difference which exists between these two sets of mental powers--between our lower and our higher faculties—is one of the most important in the whole range of philosophy, and that its correct appreciation is one of the more fundamental and necessary convictions of a sound and rational psychology.

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

## THE INFILCTION OF THE DEATH PENALTY.

By legislative enactment, the State of New York last year established a commission charged with inquiry into the expediency of substituting a different mode of inflicting the death penalty for that now sanctioned by law. The commission has not yet reported, and will not, probably, for another year. It has, however, sent forth numerous circulars of inquiry, and is in receipt of many replies. While it has by no means gathered all desirable information, and hence is not yet in a position to determine certainly as to the preponderance of opinion, much less to reach definite conclusions, it is understood that a rough generalization of the replies shows, first, that the advocates of retaining the present mode of execution and the advocates of a substitute therefor are about equally divided in numbers ; and, second, that of those who desire a different method of execution, a decided majority favor the employment of electricity as the best means of destruction.

It is to be hoped that hereafter, either in the report of the commission or through some other public medium of information, a careful analysis of the reasons of the various writers will be presented ; and especially is this to be desired if, after all data thought necessary have been accumulated and digested, the plurality of advocates shall still be found adhering to the existing method. Such an analysis cannot fail to be highly instructive and interesting, and to none more so than to those—and with them, be it said at the outset, the present writer is to be classed—who are disposed to hesitate in according to the adherents of the gallows any more credit than that which attaches to over-cautious conservatism.

In making such an analysis, the fundamental requirement will be, it is thought, a complete separation of reasons which, for want of a better term, may be generically classed as senti-

mental, from those which are based on strict and proper considerations of public policy and scientific fact and deduction. For example, it may be a question of public policy whether or not a mode of death carries with it the idea of such great personal degradation ("to be hanged like a dog") as to render its retention expedient despite all possible objections. It is a question of physical science whether or not hanging is a speedy and certain mode of destruction. But it is neither a question of public policy nor of physical science, but one of pure sentiment, whether any particular procedure is or is not more disagreeable, mentally or physically, to the criminal than some other lethal operation. The moment we consider any other effect than speedy death of the condemned we introduce a factor which has no proper place in determining the problem, and which ultimately will surely lead us far astray from any true solution.

The analysis previously mentioned should show how far, if at all, such considerations have influenced conclusions; and by just so much as they shall be found to control the final adjudication depending on these conclusions, to that extent it is believed the result will be based on faulty and erroneous premises. The sole condition is, an animate being to be deprived of life. The problems are, first, what is the simplest, surest, and most expeditious way of accomplishment; second, inasmuch as the being is human and inasmuch as by destroying him a settled definite purpose is to be effected, which of the various ways of causing death will subserve that purpose best. This is essentially all there is of the matter. All the dread solemnity inherent in the ghastly proceeding, all the pressing and vital considerations dictated by religious faith, all outpouring of the human sympathy which even the most abandoned of wretches seems to find in the very shadow of the beam; all of that, hard as it is to separate it in our minds from its intimate connection with forcible dissolution, must, nevertheless, be put out of sight. We have to do with a cold question of physical and political science; nothing more, nothing less.

There are certain generic considerations, almost axiomatic, concerning the death penalty, which, if recalled, may aid us in perceiving that the issue is really thus narrowed. The state

assumes the right to decide that in certain prescribed circumstances one of its members shall suffer death: this, not because of the self-evident proposition that the person so destroyed is thus rendered incapable of further misdeeds, but because, with his fate as an example, other persons prone to like wrongdoing presumably will be led to forego its perpetration. When the supreme penalty is attached as the sequel of certain events, the manner of its infliction has no logical relation whatever to the character of any circumstance which forms a link in the chain of cause and effect of which it is the termination. Yet there is no error more deeply rooted than that a peculiarly atrocious crime should be expiated by some peculiarly horrible death. No better illustration of this mistaken notion could probably be found than is afforded by the following extract from an editorial which recently appeared in a leading journal of Brooklyn, commenting upon a singularly revolting case of wife-murder:

"Immured in a dark and silent cell in the Tombs, he ought to be kept in ignorance of the hour of his execution until the visit of a clergyman gives him some warning that his doom draws near. No other human being should be allowed either to see him or to know that he is yet unhang'd. No death-watch save that of a denunciatory conscience, no recreation beyond his own thought, no hope save that of an immortality of remorse, should be given him. Let him hear at the last moment, when standing on the fatal trap, his death-warrant read by a single man (*sic*), who, with his assistants, should be masked, that the miserable privilege of seeing a human face once more in this world might be denied him. Let the body be cut down and secretly incinerated. Let the ashes of such a despicable existence be scattered to the four winds, that nature may perchance in time adapt them to higher forms of assimilation. No spot of earth should be desecrated by the memory of the wife-butcher. The sentence of the tribunal of retributive justice should be organic and, as far as possible, inorganic extinction."

One might expect such an outburst from a Jeffreys or a Scroggs, gloating over its effect upon some trembling wretch; but surely not from an enlightened guide of public opinion in the present year of grace. For all misdeeds not punishable by death, it is, of course, not only logically correct, but necessary, to meet specific crimes by specific penalties varying both in character and degree; and there are well-known instances where unusual punishments have proved the only efficacious ones in stamping out seeming epidemics of particular offenses. The

practice of garroting, in England, for instance, is said to have speedily decreased when the lash followed conviction. But while the mode of exercise of man's power over man can be graduated in countless ways, it reaches its limit in the deprivation of life. Its result cannot be augmented or diminished by anything additional done, either before or after the final act. We do not dot the New Jersey meadows with malefactors hanged in chains, nor expose the heads of criminals on pikes along Broadway, after the fashion of our ancestors; yet it would be no more absurd, logically, for us to maintain the propriety of resuming these or kindred practices, than it is to assume that there can be anything commensurate between the degree of atrocity of a crime upon which the death penalty is attendant, and the peculiar mode chosen of inflicting that penalty.

Allusion has already been made to the popular notion that hanging *per se* is an exceedingly ignominious death. But if a man commits suicide by hanging himself, we do not conclude that he thus incurs any more disgrace than if he had chosen some other mode of accomplishing his exit from the world. It is, therefore, difficult to perceive wherein being hanged is more odious than being shot or being drowned. The fact is, and it is this which is overlooked, that the disgrace attaches not to the legal consequence of the offense, but to the offense itself. Its full measure is reached after conviction and sentence. Then the criminal is merely a living thing, holding its life temporarily on sufferance, and cognizable only so far as it affects society, and not as society affects it.

At the foundation of errors of this sort lies the assumption that the law is, in some way, an instrument of revenge. In truth, the man-made statute which decrees that the effect following a given cause shall be death is inherently no more vindictive than the law of nature which makes death the consequence of another cause. The human law says that if a man commits willful murder he shall be put to death. The natural law decrees that if a man gets in the way of a moving locomotive he shall be killed. He is not obliged to murder any more than he is to stand in front of the locomotive. If he do either he simply subjects himself to certain influences which destroy him.

The origin of the influences is not material, as affecting the result. There is no more revenge or vindictiveness involved in their exercise in the one case than there is in the other.

But if A sees B killed by a locomotive, the presumption is that A will be exceedingly careful ever after not to get in the path of locomotives. Equally, if A sees B killed by the law, A will be exceedingly careful ever after not to invite destruction through the same agency for himself. The instinct of self-preservation is aroused in both cases, and an invocation of this first law of nature, so long as mankind is constituted as it is, is the most powerful deterrent influence that can be exerted. It is pleasant to believe that men will refrain from murder on moral grounds, but in the long run experience tends to show that where the moral sense is strengthened by the same fear that prevents people from dwelling in the track of avalanches, human life is, on the whole, safer.

If we conclude, therefore, that, in reaching a solution of the problem before us, all ideas of revenge to be gratified or ignominy to be caused must be laid aside as illogical and irrelevant, we shall find that we have no other question to deal with than that of producing a swift, painless, and certain death, limited by no other condition as to its mode of infliction than, other things being equal, that the method chosen shall be calculated to impress the popular mind with the strongest intimidation.

Hanging does not meet any of these conditions. It is not swift, for it may involve slow strangulation. It is not necessarily painless. It is not certain, in the sense that persons apparently thus killed may not be resuscitated. It is not strongly deterrent. The same journal, in the article already quoted, asserts, as one reason for the physical obliteration which it favors, that "the tragic climax of a public hanging has a heroic aspect, a tincture of martyrdom." All that can safely be said in its favor is that, in comparison with other modes of execution in vogue, it is probably the best—because we have adopted it.

Past experience has conclusively shown that, leaving the constitutional prohibition and the logical absurdity, as well as the revolting barbarism involved, entirely out of sight, to make the mode of death more horrible exercises no corresponding

preventive effect. People murdered more than they do now, when the penalties included tortures of the most diabolical sort. It is, therefore, useless to dwell upon that view of the matter; so that the proposition reduces itself to a question of whether or not we can find a substitute which shall be preferable to hanging.

Now, executions by hanging date from the time of Haman, and probably long before. So do wars. And through war and executions we extirpate our race in the only possible lawful manner. It is an odd fact, however, that while to the improvement of the art of killing our enemies through war we have devoted ingenuity of the highest order, and produced monster guns, dynamite projectiles, armored turrets, iron-clad ships, tremendous explosives, and submarine torpedoes, and thereby have made conflicts between nations so deadly that we may even begin to look forward to the time when they will no longer be waged, for this very reason; yet, toward improving the methods of killing murderers, who are just as much enemies, not merely of the state, but of all humanity, we have done simply nothing. We slaughter beeves scientifically, we smother stray dogs in "lethal chambers," we have even resorted to small dynamite cartridges wherewith to blow off the heads of disabled army mules, but when it comes to destroying a criminal, we go back to antiquity and use a rope. Worse still, we do not even perform the revolting work skillfully, but intrust it to bungling and frightened officials, with results which are causing respectable newspapers to expurgate the details from their reports of executions.

The various modes of inflicting the death penalty which have been suggested as substitutes for the gallows, and which are worthy of consideration, are not many in number, and most of them can be dismissed as objectionable in few words. Any proceeding which the subject can physically oppose, or of which he can ward off the deadly effect for a measurable period of time, is unsuitable. This sets aside suffocation by carbonic acid gas, drowning, and the use of deadly anæsthetics; and, even more certainly, all forms of poisons. The hypodermic injection of poison, which lately has found very many advocates, fails

to meet the requirement that death must be caused instantly, and just as rapidly to the strongest as to the weakest individual.

Any proceeding which involves the application of medical or surgical skill to insure its efficiency must likewise be ruled out. The medical faculty presumably will not assume the rôle of executioners. A physician may be called upon, as he is now, to distinguish real from apparent death, after the act is accomplished, but his function should go no further. Even the present practice of holding the pulse of a suspended wretch, or lowering the body to listen to the failing heart, is needless and repulsive. In view of the minute care for the proprieties of medical life exercised by the paternal codes of ethics now in vogue, the toleration of this practice by existing censorships is, to say the least, singular.

Unless surgeons are to be executioners, we, therefore, put aside devices for piercing the medulla, for painlessly dividing vital organs by swiftly revolving blades, and all other mechanical operations of that sort. In fact, it is safe to assume that public sentiment will peremptorily refuse tolerance to any form of bodily mutilation; and in this view even an exceedingly effective and instantaneous destructive agent—a rifle bullet sent through the brain—becomes objectionable, although it is doubtless preferable to any other means save that now to be noted.

The result is to leave really available but one means, electricity; and that, it is thought, so completely and adequately meets every possible requirement that its ultimate adoption cannot long be delayed. Death caused by a powerful electric current is substantially the same thing as death by lightning stroke. It is instantaneous and painless, for no opportunity is afforded for any sensation to be recognized. In order that the brain may take cognizance of any impression transmitted to it by the nerves, a measurable period of time is required. This Professor Helmholtz estimates at one-tenth of a second, so that if, for example, the finger be pricked with a pin, this interval is required for the sensation to be telegraphed, so to speak, to the brain. If, then, death can be caused in less than one-tenth of a second, it follows, necessarily, that no matter how great the pain otherwise might be, it is impossible for it to be felt. Now, a rifle

bullet travels at such a velocity that it will pierce the brain in perhaps one-thousandth of a second, and hence consciousness may be destroyed even by this mode so quickly that the wounded person experiences no sensation. This accounts for the well-known fact that on every battlefield men have been found dead in the most life-like attitudes, such as biting cartridges or ramming home charges, their existence ending before they could make the smallest movement in recognition of the injury.

Professor Tyndall considers that an electric discharge (a flash of lightning) occurs in probably a hundred-thousandth part of a second, and during that inconceivably short period it does its fatal work. He himself came very near to scientific martyrdom, and to proving his own theory as to the deadly velocity of the lightning stroke, by accidentally receiving, in the course of one of his lectures, the combined discharge of some fifteen large Leyden jars. He very graphically describes his sensations in one of his published essays, dwelling on the point that "life was absolutely blotted out for a very sensible interval, without a trace of pain," and concluding that "there cannot be a doubt that, to a person struck dead by lightning, the passage from life to death occurs without consciousness being in the least degree implicated."

Since the introduction of electric lighting, which involves the handling of conductors carrying enormously powerful electrical currents, often by careless or unskilled persons, there has been no lack of fatal accidents; so that the files of the daily journals for the last half a dozen years will furnish abundant proof of the deadly nature of the agent. Quite recently a case was reported of a young man who, from curiosity, visited the dynamo room of an electric lighting station with a party of friends. The bright sparks at the commutators, perhaps, caught his eye; he forgot the warnings everywhere posted, carelessly touched the brushes of the nearest machine, and fell dead. With abundant instances of this sort known, it is needless to devise new ways and means of producing sufficiently deadly electric discharges, for they are generally available wherever electric lighting is in existence. The sole requirement is that the current shall be strong enough to do the work. There is no neces-

sity of exactly proportioning its strength to meet the specific resistances of individual bodies. All that is required is that it shall be sufficiently powerful to meet any possible condition, and this is easily arranged. M. D'Arsonval has recently reported experimental results which apparently show that so long as the current has a pressure so low as not to produce with certainty an anatomical lesion—and such a pressure he estimates as one due to a difference of potentials of less than 500 volts in a continuous current—artificial respiration may result in bringing the subject back to life. But, when the current has sufficient pressure to disorganize the tissues, then resuscitation, he says, is impossible. As currents of very much higher pressure than 500 volts are frequently used in electric lighting systems, and discharges at immense pressure are easily secured through the use of induction coils, there is no practical difficulty in the way of obtaining electric shocks which shall be infallibly fatal.

The practical details of an electrical execution might be very simple. It has been suggested, in order to insure passage of the current through the most vital organs, to dispose the terminals of the conductors (which last might be simply branches from existing electric light wires) so that the discharge may traverse the entire body. To this end, one electrode might be placed in contact with the base of the brain, and the other take the form of a moist plate of metal, on which the condemned might stand, the feet being bare. The circuit being normally open, it would simply remain to close it by the pressure of a button or key, and so allow the current to pass. Even the necessity of human interposition to do this last act could be obviated by arranging a simple contact device controlled by a clock, which at the appointed instant would automatically establish the circuit, and thus render the last vestige of the executioner's work a thing of the past.

As to the deterrent influence of this form of execution upon the lawless classes, it is believed that no other mode of inflicting death could inspire stronger fear. Even those accustomed to deal with electricity every day of their lives cannot divest themselves of an undefined impression of mystery which seems to surround the form of energy of the very nature of which all men

are ignorant. The lack of popular knowledge of even the most elementary electrical laws is remarkable, and this deficiency is by no means confined to the illiterate masses. People still attribute to electricity almost every out-of-the-way natural phenomenon which they cannot understand, as much as they did a hundred years ago. Electro-biology, odic force, psychic force, mesmerism, and all the other shadowy theories based on odd psychical or physical manifestations or coincidences, are ascribed to electricity as freely to day as they were before Franklin, Lavoisier, Bailly, Guillotin, and the remainder of that famous committee administered their crushing blow to Mesmer's electrical pretensions. No death is more dreaded than that which is mysterious. "Died by a visitation of Providence," we say, when the mystery cannot be fathomed. The swift obliteration of life following certain failures of vital organs causes the utmost apprehension. We add to the litany a prayer for deliverance from "sudden" death. From the very earliest ages, superstitions of almost every conceivable form and character have clustered about the lightning stroke, and many of them still survive. It is not difficult to conceive that the instant extinction of life in a strong man by an agency which it is impossible to see, which is unknown, may create in the ignorant mind feelings of the deepest awe and horror, and prove the most formidable of all means for preventing crime.

If there be any valid objections to the use of electricity for the purposes of execution, it is to be hoped that the advocates of the rope will make them public. The only opposing argument which the writer has encountered, excepting such as are based upon mistaken notions as to the necessity for some painful or supposedly ignominious form of death, was not long since advanced by an electrical journal, which objected on sentimental grounds to electricity being thus discreditably utilized. The sole apparent force in this contention lies in the fact that it tends to place those who differ in the good company of Sydney Smith's friend who "spoke disrespectfully of the equator."

PARK BENJAMIN.

## TENEMENT-HOUSE MORALITY.

SOME time ago a lad came back to me, after making his confession, and asked, in a troubled tone: "Father, must I confess what that man says at the shop?" That, it seems to me, is a fair example of the effect not only of the shops where tenement-house people work, but of the streets where they walk and the buildings in which they live. Here was a boy with strong impulses toward goodness, trying and struggling to do right and to keep himself pure, hating the blasphemy and obscenity which he heard from those around him, and yet compelled for so many hours each day to breathe an atmosphere foul with moral corruption that he had come to feel that the sin about him was somehow his own, and that he needed cleansing from others' guilt as if he were himself defiled. That this is the case in many shops where children work, is clear from their own pathetic acknowledgment. "How can we be good," they cry, "when we have to hear such talk all day?" Or, as the older ones say, in yet sadder tones: "When I first went to the factory I thought I couldn't stand it; then I got used to it; now I say the same things myself." Would that the evil stopped short at words!

But it is not of shops that I have to speak now, but of a more sacred place, of that which must ever be the source from which the life of society flows forth—of the homes of our working people. And I solemnly aver that the tenement-house system surrounds the poor in their very families with just such corrupting influences as those found in the factories and shops; yes, and with yet more deadly moral contagion. How can it be otherwise? Take one block in a tenement-house district.\* It will measure

\* I give the average of five such blocks which I have had thoroughly visited. The two young men whom I employed, though they have lived all their lives in the very district, came back horrified at the condition of things.

700 by 200 feet. On all four sides are rows of tenements four or five stories high. Behind one-third of the houses in these rows are rear houses, with smaller rooms, darker and dirtier passages, backed often by another rear-house, a brewery, a stable, or a factory. Altogether there are 1,736 rooms. In these rooms live 2,076 souls, divided into 460 families; thus, on the average, each family of five persons occupies three rooms. The population of some parts of New York is 290,000 to the square mile: the most densely populated part of London has 170,000. Of course in many cases the family is larger (some of the very poorest people take lodgers), and in a number of cases we have found fourteen or fifteen grown persons occupying two rooms, or even one. And then many of these "rooms" are hardly more than closets, and dark closets at that. Almost all the bedrooms measure only seven feet by nine, and have but one door and one window. The door leads into the apartment that serves as kitchen, parlor, sitting-room, laundry, and workshop, and the window opens on a dark stairway, up which the moisture from the cellar and the sewer-gas from the drains are continually rising. One-fifth of these rooms, too, are in basements below the level of the street, and nearly half of even the outer rooms open into courts only twenty feet wide, in which there are usually several wooden privies for the use of the fifteen or twenty families in the front and rear houses.

I know that these statistics will give but a faint conception of the density of the population to any except those who have gone in and out of the houses day and night for months, if not years; but most people, by a little effort of the imagination, can form some sort of an idea how impossible it is for dwellers in tenement blocks to get out of the sight and sound of their neighbors, whose names are often unknown, but whose voices and footsteps are as familiar as those of their own room-mates. At all seasons of the year the inhabitants of a tenement-house must meet one another in the entries (sometimes less than three feet wide), on the stairs, at the sink (there is but one on each floor); must see into one another's rooms as each person goes in and out; must use the roof, the doorway, the yard, in common. But when the summer heats are on, and men and women crowd to-

gether on the top of the house waiting for a breeze to come; when men will sit all night on a seat in the park to escape the closeness of a room where a fire has been burning all day (not for cooking, but to heat the irons for the laundry or the tailor's shop); when every window must stand open to let in what little air there is; then it may be seen that privacy in a tenement-house is not much more possible than in an Eastern caravansary or in the steerage of an emigrant vessel. At such a time every loud word spoken reaches the ears of scores of people. From one room come the harsh tones of a husband and wife in the heat of a "family quarrel," oaths and imprecations ringing out on the fetid air; from another window come the shouts and frantic laughter of men and women (God pity them!) trying to drown their misery in liquor from the gin-mill on the corner; while from the roof of a neighboring house come the words of a ribald song flung out shamelessly to all within hearing, whether they choose or not. And, as if this were not debasing enough, in many of these blocks every other house has, on the ground floor, a saloon or rum-shop, from which the smell of alcohol issues at all times; where the monotonous click of balls on the pool table sounds till after midnight, when it gives place to the howls of drunken men turned out on the street; and past the door of which, often open into the entry, every person, every child, in the house must pass to and from his room.

And who are the people that crowd these tenements? Perhaps it will be thought that the very badness of the condition of such places shows that the people are all "filthy and debased creatures," \* and that, therefore, very little can be done or need be done for them. Men will be inclined to dismiss the whole matter with a shrug of the shoulders and an impatient sigh. "It is all very dreadful, no doubt, but there will always be base, corrupt people; they naturally herd together, they create their own misery; if you root them out of one locality they will sim-

\* This is the expression which was used to describe the inhabitants of tenement-houses before a committee of the New York Legislature last winter, by one of the opponents of two bills, which have since become laws, to amend the old statutes on tenement-houses, and to provide for the laying out of small parks in crowded districts.

ply transfer themselves and their brutality and vice to some other." No doubt there are such people in tenement-houses, but that they represent the great body of the tenement-house population I entirely deny. Side by side with these poor outcasts of humanity are hard-working men and women who are leading lives of heroic purity and nobility. They are fighting, at fearful odds, to keep themselves and their children from the filth and pollution all about them. It is in their name that I plead ; and not for their sake only, but for that great middle class of those who are not determinedly vicious, and yet are not striving with such desperate resolution as these others after goodness and truth—those who would gladly do right, but lack the courage to rise above the mass of simple low-living and coarseness around them. Surely the case of these people is pitiful enough. They are pressed together under conditions which make it well-nigh impossible for them to help themselves or one another. The bad almost inevitably drag down the good ; and the good have not the chance to lift up the bad. Remember that the tenement population of most of our cities is a heterogeneous mixture of all the races and nationalities of the globe. There is no place in such a conglomeration for the public spirit and popular sentiment that so often exercise a restraining and elevating influence. There is no standard of morality. Human nature is left to do pretty nearly what it likes, and the lower passions are not slow to assert themselves.

This is all the more the case that so many of these people are emigrants. They have come from the villages of England, Germany, Russia, where they were under the constraint of a certain conventional morality, backed up by a strong and vigilant, even if a despotic, government that made it often easier to do right than to do wrong. Here they are jumbled together in utter disorder, Prussians, Bohemians, Swiss, Scotch, Chinese, Italians, Turks, Jews, and Christians, black and white ; a restless, seething mass of human beings, unable to talk together, unable to think together, able only, under some overmastering passion, to act together. In a city like New York may be found representatives of almost "every epoch of history and every locality of the world." One scholar says that in New York, he

has heard eighty-four languages and distinct dialects spoken. The signs alone in the crowded parts of the city show the cosmopolitan character of the population.\* Is it not evident that in such a chaotic state of things, with the reins of government held very loosely,† every one, man, woman, boy, and girl, must actually live in an atmosphere of defilement night and day; not merely going into it, as in the case of work in a shop, and then coming back into pure and elevating surroundings, but breathing in the polluted air with every breath? Why, the very tones of the voices that I have heard from my room in a tenement-house brought with them a sense of moral contamination. Even bodily cleanliness is almost impossible. Bath-rooms are unknown in tenement-houses, and the public baths, open only a few months of the year, often afford but fresh opportunities for vice. In most families what little washing is done must be done in the presence of others, and often all the water used must be carried up three or four flights of narrow winding stairs.

Of course sickness and death have their own horrors and their own depraving influences. What little privacy may be possible for the well is often denied to the sick, who, to get any air at all, must lie in the room used by the whole family for almost every purpose. Many of the diseases are infectious, but isolation is impossible, and therefore almost every child suffers from scarlet fever, measles, chicken-pox, and diphtheria, and often bears the results through life. And death, from its frequency, and the coarseness that surrounds it, loses, if not all its terrors, at least its dignity, and is regarded as one of the many disagreeable accidents of life, hardly worthy even of idle curi-

\* The following are a few signs copied down in the course of a short walk on the east side of New York: "G. Gelb, Junk Dealer. Highest Price paid," etc.—"Hier wird der höchste Preis bezahlt für Alle Sorten Kupfer, Blei, Zink, Eisen, Flaschen, Lumpen, Strick, u s. w."—"ר' יצחק נרנואולד בשר בשר"—"משיחית שוחטים כשרים Vollzogen."—"Janacek & Kysela Bankovní a Preplavní Obchod-Wechsel und Passage Geschäft."—"Fotograficka Dilna."—"M. Benedik Uhersky Pryphen Slovansky Hostinec."—"Cesky Pekarna."—"Aechte Böhmishe Schwarzbrod Bäckerei."

†A crowd of men and women, on East Twelfth Street, lately boasted, "No policeman dare show his face down here."

osity. The corpse lies for two days in the room where the family eats, works, and often sleeps.\*

But this by no means exhausts the abominations of the system of tenement-house life. As I have said, it is only by an effort quite beyond the powers of many people that grown men and women can resist the lowering influences about them. What, then, must be the lot of the children? They must not only hear all that older people hear, and see all that they see, at an age when every such sight and sound leaves its impression, but they are practically forced into acquaintanceship with the other dwellers in the tenement which their elders can avoid. Many mothers do try to keep their children in their own rooms, but as the children grow up this is increasingly difficult, and at length impossible. Once beyond the mother's supervision, the child inevitably becomes one of a group of children representing, perhaps, almost all the nationalities and religions of which the population consists. This group of children finds its playground in the dirty street in front of the block, or in the dirty yard, half filled with privies, behind. Here and there is a yard where turf has been laid, and a few flowers coaxed to grow; but there, of course, is no room for children. When it rains the children play in the cellars, sailing their boats on the water that often stands there, or wading ankle-deep in it. Wherever they play they are without any real oversight. The fathers are at their work, or in the saloon; the mothers are working wearily at the sewing-machine or the wash-tub, too driven to stop and watch their children, even if they can see them from the window. Think of what possibilities of moral contagion lie in such associations, amid such surroundings. Think how horribly ruinous the presence of one older bad child can be. As a fact, I could not here relate what I know to be the effects of such companionship; I could not even describe the games at which they play.

But suppose that a child passes with some degree of safety through the period of mere unconscious and, even in tenement-

\* As to physical suffering, take two points: The water the patient drinks must often be drawn at three o'clock in the morning, and kept standing all day; and the thermometer has been found to register 115° in the shade over the head of a sick child.

houses, light-hearted childhood;\* suppose the child has not been afflicted by many of the disorders—granulated eyelids, scrofula, rickets, heart disease—so shockingly prevalent among these children, what then awaits these boys and girls? As life begins to open, and the desire for a little of the brightness and happiness of the world makes itself felt, what is the scene that confronts them? A wilderness of ignorance, poverty, and crime; a moral desert, beautiless, joyless, utterly unsatisfying to all the best and noblest instincts of their hearts. Do you realize that in a tenement-house district there is absolutely not one lovely thing on which the eyes can rest? Even the sky is often robbed of its fairness by the clouds of smoke and dust. The glories of sunrise and sunset are unknown. The sun crawls up from among the chimney-pots, and goes down behind brick walls and tin roofs. The streets are always filthy, the houses ugly, the shop-windows cheaply gaudy, or neglected and covered with dust; the blocks are wearily monotonous, the school-rooms are bare and uninteresting, the factories are filled with fluff, and dirt, and noise; the air is charged with foul odors from close courts, open drains, or the neighboring oil and varnish works; the river is foul with mud and ooze and the refuse of a great city; the district ends in heaps of rubbish and empty lots, waiting for a rise in the market. And the rooms are often worst of all. There is many a “home” where a boy or girl over fourteen years old would not think of passing an evening unless compelled to do so. Think of coming back after a hard day’s work in a shop to find the only sitting-room half filled with wash-tubs, the baby crying, children squabbling on the floor, or perhaps tumbling about on the bed; the walls hung with the soiled clothes and dresses of the family; the whole place reeking with the smell of fat and garlic from the hot stove; the table “set” with coarse, broken china, strewn on a dirty board; a kerosene lamp, without a shade, smoking in the middle; a loaf

\* How prematurely this period passes, Dr. Daniels has lately borne witness from her wide experience. “One is struck with the extraordinarily early maturity of these little ones. I have sick babies of six months to two years brought to me daily, by boys and girls of eight to nine years, who answer my questions as well as the mother could.”

of bread, in the brown paper in which it was wrapped at the bakery; and a coffee-pot of black, bitter coffee. That is the scene which welcomes many a girl or boy, just beginning to realize how differently other people live. Is it strange that they gulp down their sugarless coffee, and at the first chance slip out into the street beneath, glad, perhaps, if they escape without a harsh scolding or a blow? And what has the world outside their homes to offer them? An avenue lighted by electricity, with plenty of young people with whom to "carry on," without any interruption from father or mother; the bright, warm saloon, with every chance of pleasant companionship and obsequious attendance; or the gay theater or dance hall, where all the troubles of life can be forgotten for a few hours in excitement or sin.\* Is it strange that as we go about from house to house, every few weeks some mother tells us, with an affectation of indifference, but with a quiver in her voice, "Rosie isn't at home now; she's boarding. We don't just know where she is. She was a bad girl; she wouldn't work. Father licked her, and then she went away." Or, "Charlie done something wrong at the shop; he took some money from the boss, and we ain't seen him since." Is it strange that a young woman, attractive, intelligent, who has gone astray and found the misery of that, and now is trying to do right, and support a father and mother and little brother, should have said to me the other day: "There's nothing in the world that makes me happy; the only thing I can do is to keep working. I work at tailoring all day. Noontimes I work as soon as I've eaten my lunch. I bring my work home and sew until I fall asleep. That's the way I keep from going mad with my wretchedness."

I am quite aware that much of what I have written will

\* Of course something is being accomplished for a small portion of the young people in tenement districts by the various chapels, mission-rooms, guild and reading-rooms, schools and libraries, just as in other ways a good deal is being done for the bodies and souls of the poor; but these are, for the most part, only palliatives of the misery; and an increasing number of the hardest workers in the cause of philanthropy are beginning to question whether all our charitable agencies and institutions, by making the lives of tenement-house people just not intolerable, may not be actually increasing the evils that they are organized to redress.

seem overstated. It seems so to me, and yet I know that it is not. Every single fact has been verified, and can be verified in thousands of cases. And this is not more than half the truth. If any one is disposed to be skeptical, I can only ask him to make investigation on his own account. But let him be thorough. Let him not merely walk through the streets some breezy Monday morning; let him spend days and nights here; let him live, as we have done, in a tenement block; let him visit the people at all hours; let him, above all, spend a public holiday here; let him see the carnival of sin of a Fourth of July or a New Year's night. I do not say that he will even then understand the conditions of tenement-house existence; but I know that his incredulity will give place to a sad, bewildered realization of the horrors of a state of things where manhood is brutalized, womanhood dishonored, childhood poisoned at its very source.

That is the present witness of those who have looked unflinchingly at the facts. Two clergymen, one of them the rector of one of the largest of our city churches, the other now a missionary bishop, formerly a hard-working priest among the city poor,\* have recently given public utterance to the statement that in many tenement-houses morality is practically impossible.

One question remains: Can anything be done to set things right? I can almost hear some one saying, "Oh, well, it is all very bad, no doubt; but it always has been, and I suppose it always must be." There is an answer to that. This is not a matter for sentiment, or pious condolence, but for justice. Thirty years ago Christian communities in many parts of this country were content that thousands of human beings should live in a condition of life where the marriage relation was unknown, and children grew up in utter ignorance and vice. But at last the conscience of the American people awoke to the wrong inflicted, and in its highest legislative assembly assured to the negro slaves of the South the rights of men.† And

\* The Rev. Dr. Rainsford, Rector of St. George's Church, New York city, and the Rt. Rev. W. D. Walker, S. T. D., Bishop of Northern Dakota, formerly in charge of Calvary Chapel, New York city.

† It may be answered that the freedmen of the southern States are not as

have not the tenement-house people of our own race, our own blood, capable, many of them, of education and refinement quite equal to our own—have not they and their children a right to live pure and good lives? And if this is their right, then the enjoyment of it must be theirs sooner or later. If there is a God in heaven, and if righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne, it cannot be his will that one of these little ones should perish. Shall we work with him that his will be done, that even the weakest and poorest shall find the way open before him to purity and peace; or shall we longer withhold the poor from their desire, and turn away the stranger from his right, and plunder the heritage of the needy, and so be called to answer to the God of the poor in the day when he shall arise to shake terribly the earth? Already many hearts, among working people at any rate, are rising up to echo the call of a great English thinker:

“Charitable persons suppose that the worst fault of the rich is to refuse the people meat ; and the people cry for their meat, kept back by fraud, to the Lord of Multitudes. Alas ! it is not meat of which the refusal is cruelest, or to which the claim is validest. The life is more than the meat. The rich not only refuse food to the poor ; they refuse wisdom ; they refuse salvation. Ye sheep without shepherd, it is not the pasture that has been shut from you, but the Presence. Meat : perhaps your right to that may be pleadable ; but other rights have to be pleaded first. Claim the crumbs from the table, if you will ; but claim them as children, not as dogs. Claim your right to be fed ; but claim more loudly your right to be holy, perfect, pure.” \*

Let us acknowledge that claim, and strive for the destruction of the tenement-house system, for the bringing in, even in the midst of the darkness of our great cities, of the kingdom of light, liberty, and love.

J. O. S. HUNTINGTON.

well off now as they were under servitude. Why this is so may be inferred from the saying common among southern planters to-day, “What fools we were to fight for slavery, when we can get so much more out of our niggers by setting them to compete with one another in the labor market.”

\* John Ruskin. “Unto This Last.” *Ad Valorem.*

## RACE PREJUDICE AT SUMMER RESORTS.

WHEN the words "race prejudice" are heard in connection with "summer resorts," society knows at once that allusion is made to that feeling of antagonism to the Jews which has taken the form of ostracizing them from American watering-places. This prejudice, in its outward expression at least, is a new feature in the New World. Only within the present decade has there been an anti-Jewish sentiment openly displayed in the United States. The unenviable notoriety of having brought into publicity this prejudice against the Jews attaches to Mr. Hilton of New York. From the founding of the colonies in America until his announcement, excluding Jews from his hotel, so little distinction had been made between the representatives of the two races that fears were seriously entertained by orthodox Jews that their people, being so small a minority, might become absorbed in the Christian population. There seemed no reason why any difference should be made; the Jew was among the best of citizens; intellectually and morally he was the equal of the Christian; in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the country he had taken quite as active a part. He had fought by the side of the Christian in the wars by which the States had won independence and by which popular government had been vindicated. No better patriots were in the nation, none had risked their lives more generously, none had sacrificed wealth more freely. In Jewish homes, made desolate, Jewish wives and mothers mourned their dead left on battle-fields and in prisons. No citizens were prouder of the country they lived in. The more grievous, therefore, was the affront offered them in the edict of discrimination. In a country less large than America Mr. Hilton's manifesto, by itself, would have been unworthy of notice; but experience had taught the Hebrews to see in this first sharply defined distinction against them the possibility of others. They

knew that one overt act of persecution was likely to lead to another.

According to the newspapers of the time, public opinion was entirely with the Jews. Mr. Hilton's action was denounced as detrimental to his own interests, and opposed to the feelings of the whole Christian community. There was no necessity, it was said, to hold public meetings expressive of disapprobation, because Christian sympathy was manifestly with the outraged Hebrews. The assertion was made that although Mr. Hilton had the undoubted right to do as he pleased with his own property, he would find no one disposed to imitate his example. Many men of eminence, among them William Cullen Bryant, expressed the opinion that a prejudice so opposed to the spirit of American institutions could have only a momentary existence. Editors of standing had only terms of disdain for what they called "Mr. Hilton's revelation of religious bigotry and race hatred." It was contended by them that any movement in the nineteenth century tending to injure the Jews was an anachronism, and that "the Jews ought to view with scientific curiosity, rather than with personal annoyance, the survival, in such a remnant, of a mediæval prejudice."

These predictions have not been verified. A host of hotel and boarding-house proprietors throughout the State of New York have followed the example set at Saratoga. Instead of being avoided, these places are filled with Christian patrons, and both the hosts and the guests, in copying Mr. Hilton, have imagined themselves to be doing "the genteel thing;" the one in refusing to receive Jews into their houses, the other to associate with Jews. In the Catskills, especially, this proscription has increased year by year, until at the present time more than half the Jewish applicants for board are refused accommodation. It is remarked that this prejudice against the Jews is most pronounced among the patrons of cheap boarding-houses, where the charges are from five to ten dollars a week. During the past few years the larger hotels have, in a great measure, nullified the edict, and accommodate almost all who apply to them. Still the singular spectacle is to be observed, in the Catskills, of a nearly equal division of the cottages into two classes, those

whose occupants are all Jews, and those which shelter only Christians.

In seeking reasons for this sweeping ostracism, it is found that the Gentiles charge the Hebrews with being "too numerous;" "they swarm everywhere," and, like the Egyptian locusts, eat up the produce of the land. More specifically, it is alleged that "the Jews as a race lack social refinement." It is said of them that their ill-breeding shows itself in an ignorance of the canons of good taste in dress, which causes them to affect "patent leather boots, showy trousers, and conspicuous and vulgar jewelry." It is charged against them that they display a disregard of table etiquette, and ignorance of the courtesies of the drawing-room; also, that they show a marked disrespect for the Christian Sabbath, by playing cards in their rooms with doors ajar, so that passing boarders may see. Hotel-keepers complain that the Jews make close bargains for their rooms. Bar-keepers, and purveyors of pleasures and amusements of whatever kind, say that Israelites spend less money at the watering-places than Christians. At the same time it is charged that as a race "they attract public attention by a vulgar ostentation." It is said of them that "they have a tendency to get the best rooms, to the exclusion of the Christian." A common grievance is, that as soon as a Jew can afford it he will try to get into society that is above him, rather than remain where he is best fitted by education to stay. This species of Boswellism is considered a peculiarly Jewish characteristic. In other ways, too, the ignorant and ill-bred among the Israelites are said to resemble Johnson's satellite; they have been likened to "that vain, heedless blabber in whom the sycophant alternated with the braggadocio and coxcomb; who gloried when the tailor made a new man of him by a court suit; and who endured being snubbed, laughed at, and contradicted, so that he might be in society he considered above him." Some people assert that the Jews are afflicted with "a general obtrusiveness that is frequently disgusting and always objectionable to the well-bred." Others insist that they are "too exclusive," and that they shun the Christians when thrown into contact with them at the summer resorts.

Regarding the first of these charges, it is to a degree hyperbolical to affirm that "the Jews swarm everywhere." In America, according to the latest statistics, the whole number of Israelites, in a population of fifty-five millions, is two hundred and fifty thousand. There are, therefore, two hundred Christians in the United States to one Jew. These two hundred and fifty thousand Jews are scattered all over the country. They are to be met with from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico; from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Not a distant fort, not a frontier town, scarcely a village in the most sparsely settled Territories but contains one or more Jewish families. To say that such a minority so scattered, must be boycotted for being too numerous, is ridiculous in the extreme.

In assigning grounds for the prejudice against this minority, no vices are charged to the Jews. It is not asserted that they do not pay their bills promptly, or that they are drunkards, or are in anywise immoral in their behavior; indeed, they are praised as being the reverse of all this. What they are accused of is a vulgarity so great as to counterbalance their virtue. This charge of vulgarity as a cause for social ostracism is scarcely better sustained than that of undue numbers. The picture which is painted of Jewish ill-breeding represents the newly enriched of all creeds and of every race. It does not image a whole people, but simply part of a class. It portrays the characteristics of the great Snob family, that family whose branches ramify through all nations.

In New York the Jewish population scarcely numbers two per cent. of the whole. This body, like every other analogous section of the general population, comprises three more or less clearly defined classes, or elements: the poor, or those who depend absolutely on each day's labor for each day's necessaries; those in easier circumstances, including those who, once poor, have achieved large fortunes—the *nouveaux riches*, who, of whatever race they may be, are proverbial for vulgarity and self-assertion; and the leisured class, consisting mostly of those who have inherited wealth, with its accompanying advantages. The offenders against the social proprieties are obviously to be found chiefly among the *nouveaux riches*, in the rather technical

sense of "self-made men who are too loud in praise of their maker." Now, of this particular element, or sub-element, it is doubtful if it exists in larger proportion among the Jews than in the rest of the population. No ; Jews are not, beyond all other men, offenders against the canons of correct taste in dress, of table etiquette, or of social courtesy. The reputation of bad manners has come to the Hebrews from those whom Emerson calls "the Mercuries of society"—those who regulate what shall be approved and what condemned ; and when these "chamberlains of the lesser gods" condemn the Jews, there are three chances out of four that it is the habits of foreigners, not of Jews alone, which call down their animadversions.

It is known that on the European continent people are more social and unrestrained in their habits and pleasures than in England. While Americans copy more and more the cold reserve practiced by their English cousins, Germans, wherever they may be, prefer their native sociability. In Germany stranger speaks to stranger in the railway carriage, in the public gardens, at the *table d'hôte*. A German, therefore, be he Jew or Christian, does not think, when he is at an American watering-place, that he is committing an intrusion when he attempts to open a conversation with people among whom he is thrown.

He is also equally ignorant of his transgressions on Sunday, for in Europe, outside of England, Sunday laws are unknown. Bismarck's description is still fresh in the people's minds, of the disgust with which he witnessed the observance of Sunday in England, the terrible *ennui* he felt at the restraint imposed upon him by the Puritan Sabbath. To the German, Sunday means a day of pleasure, and rest from accustomed toil. It is everywhere the happiest day of the week ; and any American who has spent a season at one of the many famous watering-places in Germany will testify to the fact that, with the exception of a visit to church, Sunday is passed in much the same manner as the preceding days. Now, most of the Jews who are accused of violating the Christian Sabbath by playing cards and indulging in other amusements are foreigners, who are only doing what they have always been accustomed to do, and to see done, in their native land. That they devote the day of

rest to enjoyment, and do this with open doors, is not through lack of consideration for Christian feeling in regard to Sunday, but because they are not aware that such a feeling exists. Besides, even in America, Christians are not agreed as to the manner of spending a Sunday in the country. Many sincere Christians take part in sports and amusements on that day without scruple, thus disproving the imputation of a special and peculiar contempt on the part of the Jews for the Christian Sabbath.

But more curious than this charge of irreverence is the double accusation made against the Jews, of being at once ostentatious and parsimonious. How is it possible that people shall both parade their wealth and be penurious? If they obtain the best rooms at hotels, must not the Hebrews pay more for the accommodation? Or, perchance, do the hotel-keepers favor Jews by giving them the best at lower rates than their Christian competitors? Evidently those Jews cannot be miserly who desire to get the best rooms at the best hotels, who purchase expensive clothes, and who buy and wear costly jewelry. The charge of being "close" has come in great measure from the circumstance that Jews, as a rule, care not for the excitements of the gaming-table or the pleasures of the bar-room—both very facile ways of parting with money. An inherent disposition on the part of Jews toward temperance and morality does little to commend them in the eyes of landlords who expect to make large gains from bar-rooms and gambling-hells, or whose prosperity depends on the patronage of the frequenters of horse-races and the like.

The existing state of acute antipathy owes its origin in part to a prevailing Christian ignorance concerning the Jews; partly, again, to the idle lives led during the summer season by the frequenters of seaside and mountain resorts. In the absence of more entertaining topics, personalities are the staple of conversation. An inborn prejudice against the Jews brings the brunt of criticism to bear upon them. Their pronounced racial characteristics betray them wherever they go. There is no disguising their features, for these are the same whether their possessors are born in Oriental or in western lands. The accidents of climate or of condition in life are powerless to change them as they do men of other races. Children of German Lutherans, in the sec-

ond or third American generation, cannot be distinguished from typical New Englanders; the Jew, after centuries of residence, retains in every place the peculiar physiognomy seen on the early Egyptian monuments.

In the majority of cases the prejudice against the Jew has its root far deeper than any dislike of his external or adventitious qualities. The Christian dislike has its remoter historic cause in the obstinacy with which Jews deny the Messiahship of Jesus. It is said that "the only sin which we never forgive is difference of opinion." So the refusal of the Jews to accept the divinity of Christ, with their terrible responsibility for the crucifixion, is an ever-present ground of dislike in the Christian mind. The antipathy felt toward the Jews as deicides is hardly less strong to-day than it was in the times when the Hebrew was formally *exlex*, and under the ban of state and church. Hatred and contempt for the Jew the infant imbibes with its mother's milk, and it is intensified by the teachings of governesses, Sunday-schools, and church.

While these inherited and acquired antipathies are the common property of the common people, Christians of open and cultivated minds in every land have endeavored to combat them. In our own country many writers have risen in defense of the Jews. James Parton, and quite recently Professor Hosmer, have rehearsed the virtues of the Jews, as an offset to the Grundy charges which brought about their ostracism. It has been said that the Jew is seldom vile. The statistics of crime afford impressive though negative evidence of the civic worth and virtue of this race. Although Jewish citizens pay liberal taxes to build and support prisons and eleemosynary institutions, they are seldom occupants of either. Charged with devoting themselves entirely to the service of Mammon, the imputation is disproved by the circumstance that the money kings of America, the great monopolists, the Jay Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Russell Sages, are Christians, not Jews. Greed for gold has seldom led them, after the fashion of defaulting bank cashiers, to betray trusts reposed in them. Nor are sharp practice in finance and fraudulent schemes for gaining wealth chargeable in any large proportion to Jews. The ministers who bring dis-

grace and scandal upon religion are Christian clergymen, not Jewish rabbis. While they are a people with "Oriental sunlight in their blood," moving them to passionate impulses, the energies of the Hebrews tend generally to the higher emotions. The Jews are noted, says Parton, for being "the chapest seven millions of people under the sun." They are also among the foremost of the advanced thinkers of the age. In all lands, they champion the right of humanity to an equal enjoyment of human liberty. The kindliest of all the nations of the earth, they bear no malice for the wrongs inflicted on them, either in the past, which were great enough to have exterminated them or reduced them to a nation of idiots, or in the present, which are intended to humiliate them. Their paramount kindness expends itself further in charities, which, like those related of the Sultan Osman, "are bestowed on all alike who are needy, regardless of creeds." But so far the proof of Jewish worth and virtue has been made in vain. Society refuses to tolerate the Jews upon any such ground as a superior morality. Mrs. Potiphar declares, with Mrs. Grundy, that she goes abroad in the summer, not to be moral, but to be amused by being with congenial people; and she finds the Hebrew race not only not amusing, but unpleasant. It matters not that her idea of the Jews may be founded solely on the fact that she once "knew a Mr. Jacobson who was very unpleasant;" society will accept her verdict as conclusive.

On their part, the Israelites are too sensible to show any signs of displeasure at these manifestations of prejudice. Injured as they must feel themselves to be, they accept the situation and do the best they can. They console themselves in modern as in ancient times for Christian contempt, by clinging more closely in their isolation to the affections of home; by cultivating to a greater degree, for the pleasures of the social circle, whatever artistic and intellectual abilities they possess. To the Jew more than to the man of any other race is home a sanctuary, an asylum, the one place on earth where, if anywhere, happiness is for him attainable. It were, indeed, strange if the Hebrews had learned nothing of the theory and practice of domestic life during the long series of miserable years when, shut

up in Ghettos, Judenstrassen, Giudeccas, and Jewries, they were thrown entirely upon the home for their pleasures. Denied all share in the public amusements common to the rest of the world, the home had to supply to the Hebrews the pleasures and relaxations they needed; the family circle was to them, during those bitter ages of oppression, what tilts, tournaments, balls, theaters, and clubs were to their tormentors.

"To a high-spirited race, persecution, when there is a hope of overcoming it, is a spur to action." With that versatility which enables them to imbibe the spirit of the people among whom they live, with their capacity to assimilate new cultures, such of the Jewish people as may now be ignorant of social conventionalities will acquire "refinements of dress," "modulated tones of voice," and "table and drawing-room etiquette." When in the future the most perfect development in this direction has been effected, is it likely that a superior amount of refinement will cause the Jews to be looked on with more favor by their fellow-citizens? Will an extraordinary knowledge of fashions and etiquette be an "Open, Sesame!" to mountain, valley, and seaside hotels, now hedged in with the sign "No Hebrews need apply"? Alas, it is to be feared, no! In all civilizations, it has been said, "the Jew must be of gold to pass for silver," but when he is of thrice refined gold he is still "only a Jew." For centuries it has been impossible to say a man is a Jew without the intention to reproach him for being a Jew. For the obliteration of a prejudice so unjust the Israelite can only look forward with hope to a time when a broader culture shall prevail among his Christian fellow-men.

ALICE HYNEMAN RHINE.

## DANGERS OF UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION.

"WHAT is an American?" an English traveler asked, some years ago; and answered, in the same breath: "A more or less successfully disguised Englishman."

"Very much disguised," I remarked.

"I must disagree with you," said the Briton; "the less disguised he is—the nearer he comes to the English prototype—the better he is satisfied with himself."

E. A. Freeman, the historian of the Norman Conquest, has defined an American as a transplanted Englishman, and a very much obscurer writer, as a perverted Englishman—an unsuccessful attempt at an Englishman. It is only necessary to look at the Canadian, who is a transplanted and weaker copy of the Englishman, to detect how wide these definitions are of the mark. The American of to-day is the composite result of half a dozen transplanted nationalities; and the individuals in whom the English or the Dutch blood is unmixed are sufficiently rare to be worthy of preservation in an ethnological museum. The English race-type undoubtedly yet predominates, and has furnished some of the most valuable characteristics of the new nationality; but the modifications which this nationality has undergone and is undergoing, not only from the influences of its new environment, but from a steady admixture of alien blood, are so pronounced as to disguise, almost beyond recognition, its original British physiognomy.

There are no statistics extant showing what were the relative proportions of the English, Dutch, French, Irish, Scotch, Swedish, and German elements in the three millions of Americans who survived the Revolutionary War and founded the republic; but we know that men of English descent not only predominated, but several times outnumbered the descendants of all the other nationalities put together. In fact, all other ele-

ments, except the Dutch, were of comparatively small importance. It was, to all intents and purposes, a new English nation which had made its appearance, emancipated, in part, from its allegiance to English history and tradition, and yet preserving the educational results of that long political evolution, in its stubborn self-respect, moderation, energy, and power of organization. What the country would have been to-day if it had been dependent for its growth upon the natural increase of these three millions and their descendants, it were, perhaps, futile to inquire. That its population, territory, wealth, and political power would have been far less than they now are is beyond dispute. But that it would have been a pleasanter country to live in, better governed, less corrupt, less harassed by menacing problems in its immediate future, seems equally certain. The fourteen millions of immigrants who have made their homes in the United States since the founding of the republic, have immensely complicated the problem of self-government. Not only by their numbers, but by their alienism in thought and conduct, have they subjected a constitution, made by an English nation for its own government, to the severest strain. They have modified and are modifying the race, producing (in conjunction with the changed social conditions) characteristics which seem hardly compatible with our former ideas of republican self-government. The changed social conditions are, however, largely the effects of the fiercer struggle for existence which results from immigration. In spite of the magnificent dimensions of our continent, we are beginning to feel crowded. Our cities are filling up with a turbulent foreign proletariat, clamoring for *panem et circenses*, as in the days of ancient Rome, and threatening the existence of the republic if their demands remain unheeded. Every day during nine months of the year ships arrive from Europe, depositing upon our shores needy aliens, many of whom, if their extravagant expectations are disappointed (as they are bound to be), become the enemies of the state whose hospitality they have sought unbidden. These immigrants are no longer, as formerly, absorbed into the native population, and distributed among manifold industries awaiting their labor; but a large portion of them become a dis-

turbing element, an unexpended surplus in the labor-market, which, by its very existence, unsettles all economic relations and creates discontent and disorder. To endeavor to allay these symptoms of a vital disturbance by demagogic half-measures, such as "labor holidays" and eight-hour laws, is, of course, utterly futile. The good sense of the laborers has long since discovered that the root of the evil is the unrestricted immigration; and the statesman who shall succeed in passing through Congress a law which will effectively check the importation of unskilled foreign labor will have a strong title to the gratitude of his countrymen.

Considerable experience and observation, during a residence of eighteen years in the United States, have convinced me that this problem of immigration has recently assumed a much more serious phase than the public or its representatives in Congress are yet aware. So long as the immigrants greatly improved their condition by crossing the Atlantic, they felt kindly toward the country of their adoption, and became, as a rule, good American citizens. Especially was this the case with Germans and Scandinavians, to whom my observation has been chiefly confined. Their children were proud of their American birth, often Anglicized their names, and felt no particular attachment for the fatherland beyond the sea. But during the last five or six years a change has come over the spirit of the immigrant. He now finds the struggle for existence here no less severe than it was in the old country. Until the so-called indemnity belt was opened to settlers by President Cleveland's decision in the Guilford Miller case, good homestead land was difficult to obtain in the northwestern States, except in localities too remote from railroads to make cultivation profitable. Great corporations and land companies have, by fair means or foul, gained possession of enormous tracts, which they sell in homestead lots to the settlers, at high prices, securing their interest by mortgages. The man with two strong arms and two empty pockets has not, during recent times, been able to gain an independence in half a dozen years by frugality and toil. He has been obliged to hire himself out as a farm hand, just as he did in the old country; and though he has earned better wages, he has also been

required to work much harder, and his expenditures for all necessities of life have been greatly in excess of what he has been accustomed to. The consequence has been that, instead of feeling under obligation to his adopted country, he has had a sense of bitterness and disappointment. Among the many with whom I have talked, of recent years, the sentiment was not uncommon that if a man worked as hard in Norway or Sweden as he is obliged to in the United States, he would be quite as well off, and have a very much more agreeable life than he ever could hope for here, where he must always feel himself a stranger. The buoyant and sanguine spirit which was so noticeable among the same class of people ten or fifteen years ago is now rarely to be met with, and the enthusiasm for American institutions which impressed me so deeply in the West during the first years of my sojourn there, I have never found among immigrants of recent years. A sullen indifference in regard to all political questions which have not a direct relation to their pockets seems rather to characterize them. "America is all humbug," I have heard them say. "The poor man has no better chance here than he has in the old country. The government is for the benefit of the rich man. Everything is for sale here. You can become a governor, a congressman, a senator—anything you like—if you have enough money to buy a nomination. What is the good of calling that sort of thing democracy, and pretending it is for the good of the poor man? I tell you everything here is humbug."

It is not one, but at least thirty or forty German and Scandinavian laborers and mechanics (for the most part frugal and hard-working men) who, in response to my question how they were getting on, have answered in this strain. The feeling of disappointment, and a more or less pronounced hostility toward the country which they held responsible for their misfortunes, were well-nigh universal. Two or three, although they were Knights of Labor, expressed the conviction that this organization had introduced a sense of insecurity into the laborer's life which was highly demoralizing. Industry and skill, such as they had prided themselves on possessing, commanded no higher reward than idleness and incompetence; nay, the latter fat-

tened on the proceeds of the former. There was no particular stimulus to ambition where a man was not master of his own actions, and sure of the profits of his own labor. Perpetual interruption, agitation, and disturbance made a workman careless and improvident. If, on the other hand, a mechanic was not a member of the Knights, he had the choice between starving and "scabbing," and, in the latter case, having his life daily imperiled by the assaults and persecutions of the Knights. If my interlocutors had dreamed that such a state of affairs prevailed in this much-praised land of liberty they would never have left Europe, where the bare necessities of life were cheaper; and if a chance presented itself, they would make haste to return.

Now, it is obvious that people who are animated by this spirit will not very soon become Americans; and, as a matter of fact, there are indications that the native population no longer absorbs and assimilates the immigrant with the same rapidity and ease as it did formerly. There were, according to the census of 1880, 6,677,360 aliens in the United States, and the present number is something over eight millions. About one-seventh of the population, or about fifteen and a half per cent., are, accordingly, of alien birth, and more are pouring in at the rate of about half a million a year. During the year 1882, when the immigration reached its maximum, 788,992, or nearly eight hundred thousand, arrived; while the number in 1883 fell off to 603,322, and in 1884 to 518,592. During the years 1885 and 1886 a further decrease was perceptible, the numbers being 395,346 and 334,203. But during the present year, owing to increased taxation and the threatening prospect of a great European war, a veritable migration of nations is again in progress; and it would not be surprising if the number of immigrants again approached the enormous figure of 1882. Germany appears to be the favorite country to go away from, having furnished 249,572 immigrants in 1881, 232,269 in 1882, 184,389 in 1883, 155,529 in 1884, and 106,910 in 1885. The British Isles come next, with numbers varying from 165,230 in 1881 to 104,904 in 1885. Third in order among European countries are Norway and Sweden, the emigration from which amounted in 1881 to 82,859, in 1883 to 87,610, and in 1885 to 31,591. Italy contributes from 15,000 to

30,000 annually, France from 3,000 to 5,000, and the Netherlands from 3,000 to 10,000. Spain and Portugal are so extremely variable as scarcely to furnish the basis for any sort of generalization. They contributed 11,928 persons to our population in 1882, in 1884, 520, and in 1885, 224. Switzerland sends us from 5,000 to 11,000 annually; and recently Russia, Hungary, and Bohemia have also opened their flood-gates and emptied upon our shores the dregs of their populations. The few thousands who have so far arrived (in 1886, 16,835 from Russia, 11,605 from Hungary, and 6,812 from Bohemia) are but the advance-guard of countless hordes who are ready to follow. For where discontent and poverty are so universal as they are among the lower classes of Slavs and Magyars, any change is apt to appear a change for the better. Comparatively few as they now are, people of these races have played a prominent *rôle* in the anarchist demonstrations and labor troubles of the western States. If they are allowed to come unhindered, the question of their total exclusion will belong to the politics of the near future.\*

It would, indeed, be wonderful if these heterogeneous hordes, from all the corners of the earth, could, without disturbance, be absorbed and assimilated into the body politic. If they were distributed evenly among the native population, and thus brought into contact with American ideas and sentiments, there is a possibility that they might, in the course of a generation, be educated into tolerable sympathy with, and comprehension of, republican institutions. But the tendency among immigrants now is to form communities by themselves, to keep up their own language, traditions, and customs, and to regard the natives with ill-will and suspicion. The Germans have their own churches, clubs, and associations, and take no pains, when among themselves, to disguise their sense of national superiority to the people whose hospitality they are enjoying. In the western States they are even bold enough to avow this sentiment (as they constantly do, directly or by implication, in their newspapers), and, instead of desiring to become Americanized, they rather aspire to

\* I have not spoken of the immigration from British America, because statistics down to a recent date are difficult to obtain. It amounted in 1880 to 139,261, in 1881 to 95,188, and in 1884 to 47,888.

Germanize, in part, the country of their adoption. It is not many years since a scheme was broached to establish, in some western city, a great German university, which (according to the poet Bodenstedt) was to serve as a powerful Germanizing center of culture, and rescue the German-Americans from the danger of becoming absorbed in the native civilization. In Chicago, they demanded, some years ago, to have their children taught in the German language in the public schools; and on many other occasions they have put forth claims to recognition as a distinct nationality. The Scandinavians, too, congregate, as far as possible, in communities of their own, and associate chiefly with each other. They can scarcely be blamed for doing this, for Americans, as a rule, make no social advances toward the immigrants; and if these did not associate with each other they would be cut off from all social pleasures. It is, however, a matter of regret that they call over bigoted Lutheran pastors from Norway, who exert all their influence in keeping the nationality distinct, and preserving it from American contamination. They wage a relentless war against the public schools, which they feel to be their most dangerous enemy, and endeavor to establish in their places parochial schools, which are intended to keep the second generation as purblind, bigoted, and un-American as the first. Happily, they are succeeding only to a limited extent; and the public schools, which, with all their drawbacks, are the most powerful agencies for assimilating the alien elements in the population, are gradually educating the children of Scandinavian immigrants to good American citizenship. The clergy fight a desperate battle, in the name of Christ and religion and patriotism, against the sectarianism, infidelity, money-worship, and political iniquity which they regard as synonymous with the American name. But self-interest soon teaches the rising generation that only by learning the language of the country, mingling in its political life, and competing with the natives in industrial enterprise can they hope to improve their lot, and gain the wealth and position which they covet. President Cleveland has, in appointing their fellow-countryman, Professor R. B. Anderson, as Minister to Denmark, given them an object-lesson which is having its effect. One Norseman, Hon. Knute Nelson, is a member of

Congress from the fifth Minnesota district, and the next Congress will also have a Norse member (Hon. Nels Haugen) from Wisconsin. The stimulating effect upon the growing Norse-American youth of such examples can scarcely be overestimated ; and, as a matter of fact, in the rural districts of the West, whither the Scandinavian population naturally tend, the process of Americanization is, in spite of all adverse influences, going forward rapidly enough. It is in the cities that the dangerous class of immigrants are congregating ; and if we allow, without any attempt at restriction or regulation, this accumulation of inflammable material to continue, we shall have no right to be shocked or surprised when the inevitable conflagration shall occur.

Apart from the question of its necessity, there are indications on all hands that public opinion is ripe for legislation tending to restrict and regulate immigration. The congressman who shall initiate such legislation need have no fear of alienating the immigrant voters. The great majority of them, so far as I have been able to ascertain, would favor a law having such an end in view. The "Second Biennial Report of the Wisconsin Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics" (1885-1886) shows conclusively that public opinion in the West has been undergoing a great change on this question since the anarchists made their appearance, and labor troubles have led to disturbance and loss of property in many States. The report of the commissioner is of particular interest, because Wisconsin has a very large foreign population ; and the overwhelming sentiment in favor of restriction may therefore be taken to indicate that the immigrants themselves would not object to having the gates shut against their own countrymen. The report particularly emphasizes the fact that "a large percentage even of those demanding total prohibition for longer or shorter periods are foreign born, and some mention this circumstance as a reason why they know better than others the necessity of taking the question thoroughly in hand." Out of a total number of about 40,000 employees interrogated, 14,561 returned no answer, 5,728 declared themselves in favor of "unqualified restriction," 4,059 favored "total prohibition," 6,316 wished to exclude socialists and anarchists, 2,928

paupers and criminals, 1,998 wanted a property qualification, 220 an educational test, and 1,320 thought all should be excluded except those of "good character." Among the employers, too, a similar sentiment in favor of restriction and even exclusion was proved to exist; and I do not doubt that, if the commissioners of labor statistics in other States should extend their inquiries so as to include this question, they would arrive at similar results.

That something must be done before very long is obvious. Merely to extend the term required for naturalization, as the Wisconsin Legislature has recently done, is of no avail. It is not the privileges of American citizenship which entice the immigrant away from his old home; it is the prospect of earning an easier living. The sentiment hostile to immigration, which from time to time has swept over the country, has usually found expression in some such law; as when Congress, in 1798, required a residence of fourteen years before citizenship could be acquired. This law was, however, repealed in 1802. Restriction, if it is to be effective, must prohibit entrance to certain specified classes of people; and no immigrant should be permitted to land unless he can exhibit a certificate, signed by the American Consul at the port from which he has sailed, showing that he possesses the qualifications, whatever they may be, which the law shall require. Such a requisition would, of course, greatly increase the labor and responsibility of the consuls, and might necessitate an increase in the numbers of these officials. But as a consulate, in all but the principal commercial cities, is at present almost a sinecure, this objection can scarcely be regarded as a serious one.

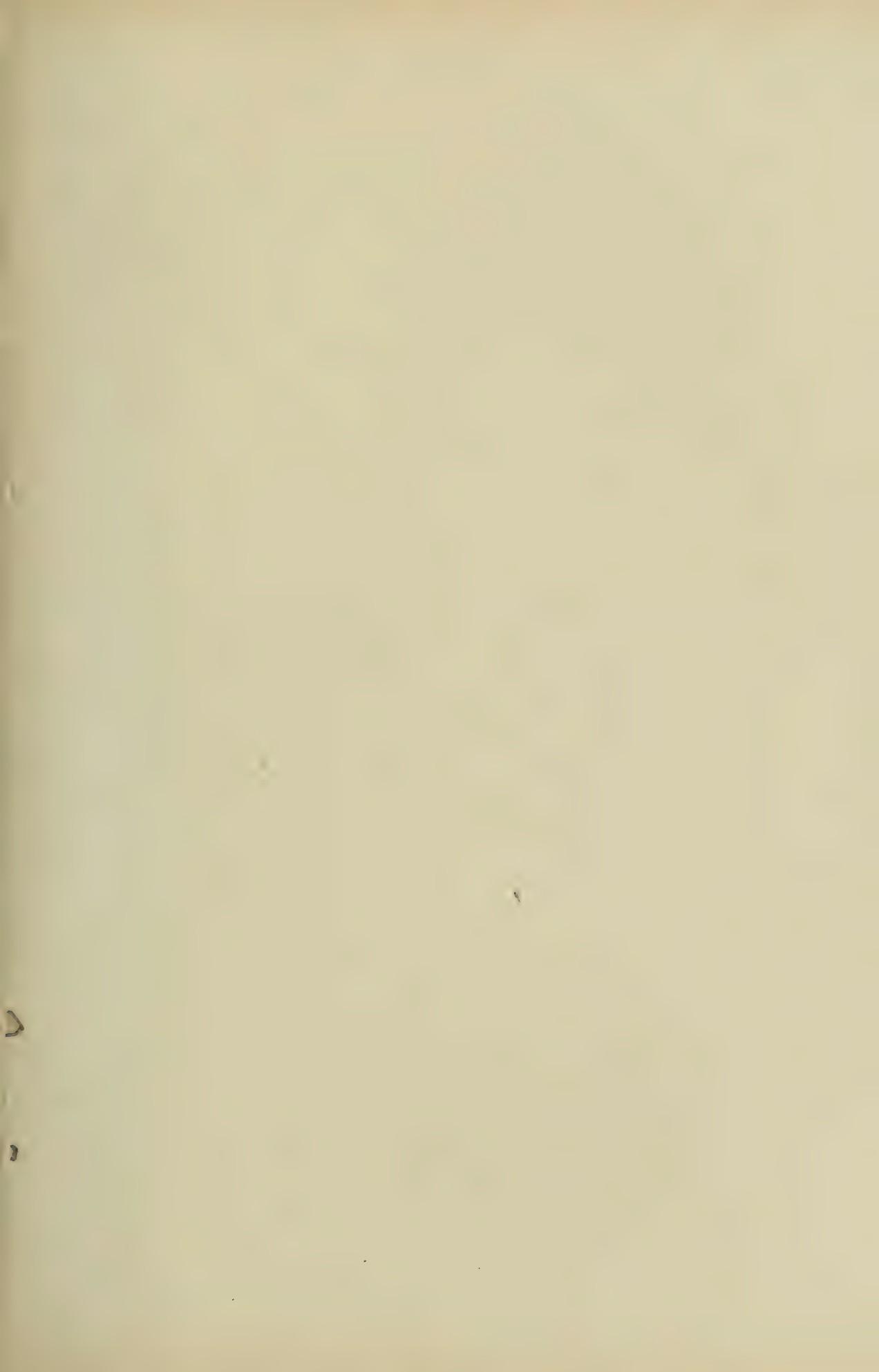
That the unexpended surplus in the labor market, which is being constantly increased by immigration, is a direct menace to republican institutions, as they now exist, has been strikingly demonstrated by the doings of the Knights of Labor, and by the alarming spread of socialistic doctrines among the laborers in the great industrial centers. If my observations are correct, I should say that twenty or thirty per cent. of all German mechanics and working-men in the United States belong to or sympathize with socialistic organizations; and though the Knights of Labor have, so far, in theory held aloof from them, they have in practice long since adopted their tenets. We are now told

that the anarchistic wing of the party has disbanded, and that the three other wings are about to consolidate their forces into one strong socialistic labor party, the open purpose of which is to subvert the present social order, and to overthrow our present institutions. It will be a novelty, at least in American politics, to have a party which differs with other parties, not only as to questions of policy, but as to the very right of existence of the government. Every steamship unloading upon our shores its motley herd of Germans, Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles, and Italians, re-enforces the ranks of this party of destruction and prepares the way for a new revolution, or attempt at revolution. One need impute no diabolical designs to these undesirable new-comers, in prophesying that they will sooner or later find their places among the subverters of social order. The very fact that there is no place for the majority of them; the very fact that they are, for the time being, superfluous—that disappointment and suffering are in store for them—will determine their future position. Socialism is the political name for discontent; and revolution is discontent re-enforced by hunger. All the lower strata of society, and particularly the immigrated portion of it, are, at present, hungry, not necessarily for food, but for all the good things of life which are beyond their reach. They no longer accept their poverty and ill-luck as the inscrutable decree of a wise Providence; nor do they regard the present social order as unchangeable. A large proportion of them hate all who are better off than themselves, and are indefatigably active in spreading this hate among all those whose lot resembles their own. No sooner have they succeeded in demonstrating that they are a force that has to be reckoned with, than politicians, anxious to secure their suffrages, will profess to sympathize with their aspirations and promise to have the laws changed in their interest. That, by slow or rapid degrees, the point will be reached when it will be seriously proposed, by legislation, to despoil the prosperous for the benefit of the unprosperous, I have not the slightest doubt. But, in case we regard a political campaign with such an issue (calculated to arouse all the most brutal passions in the contending parties) as undesirable, why not deal with the problem before it has assumed this acute form,

and, by restricting immigration, postpone the day of a violent solution?

That the American people is a long-suffering people is always the reply of the gentlemen with whom I have discussed this question; but if once it is aroused, it will with one fell blow sweep these foreign mischief-makers from the face of the earth. That is not at all unlikely; but would it not be wiser, on the part of the American people, to prevent the foreign mischief-makers from arriving than to kill them after their arrival? They may become a formidable foe in the course of time; and it will cost both blood and treasure to exterminate them, if they can be exterminated. A resort to brute force is, however, a dangerous thing in a democratic state. It may imperil the very institutions which it is invoked to protect. For the sentiments aroused by an acute crisis of that sort which would demand short and brutal methods, would check our progress toward a completer civic liberty and retard the development of our industrial civilization. It is, therefore, the part of prudence and humanity to deal with the problem while it is yet capable of a peaceful solution.

HJALMAR H. BOYESEN.





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## THE RETURN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

IT is the purpose of this article to state some of the reasons why the Republican party should be restored to power in the administration of our national affairs. By restoration to power is meant the control of both branches of the legislative, as well as the executive, department of the government—a degree of power not enjoyed since March 4, 1875. In setting forth these reasons past records will be ignored, except in so far as they necessarily bear upon existing questions, and the comparative fitness of the respective parties to subserve what are believed to be the best interests of the whole people of our common country. This will be done, not on the ground that the history of the Republican and Democratic parties is irrelevant to this discussion, but only to comply with the claim, however unreasonable it may be, that “by-gones should be by-gones;” and because, while Republicans are justly proud of the achievements of their party, yet they do not wish to be again intrusted with power simply by reason of what they have done, glorious as that may be; but only because of what, in the first place, they propose to do as to matters about which differences exist; and because of what, in the second place, they are better qualified to do than their opponents, as to matters about which there is a common opinion.

Naturally, then, the reasons to be offered may be divided into two classes: first, those which relate to the Republican view of the political questions that now divide the people; and, secondly, those which bear upon the character, fitness, and general capacity of the party to promote the general welfare. The term "questions that divide the people" is intended to include not only those raised by conflicting platform declarations, but also those which exist by reason of a continuing conflict in practice, habits, influences, and tendencies.

For illustration one need not look beyond authorized utterances to learn that there is an issue between the Republican and Democratic parties as to the matter of levying impost duties, while, in regard to the elective franchise, these declarations are in harmony, although in practice and tendency there is the widest and most radical difference. The same may be said concerning all questions relating to the enforcement of the civil and political equality of the colored with the white race, and as to many matters touching the relative powers of the national and State governments. It is impossible in such a paper as this to discuss all these questions, and hence only a few of the most important will be presented; and they will be treated only to the extent of showing, in a general way, their nature, and thus indicating the reasons why the Republican views should prevail with respect to them.

First is the question of "a free ballot and a fair count." It outranks all others, because it affects directly the very existence of our government. The theory of our institutions is, that the people are the source of all rightful authority. The only sovereignty we have is their lawfully expressed will. Whatever defeats or interferes with that expression is, at least, moral treason. No one will question any of these propositions. No political party could openly deny any one of them and appeal for power with any hope of success. The consequence is, that, so far as platform declarations are concerned, all parties agree that the right of suffrage should be maintained inviolate. Nevertheless, the fact is, that the Democratic party is in power to-day only because, by the most shameful offenses, it has overthrown this right in many places and States of the South, and,

emboldened by its successes there, it has sought to succeed elsewhere by like means, as at Chicago, Indianapolis, Columbus, and Cincinnati. This is said to be an old question and a sectional one, and there are many who affect to dispose of all allusions to it with a contemptuous sneer about the "bloody shirt." There is no answer in all this. The older the question the more reason for its speedy settlement; that the crimes complained of are largely confined to a particular locality is no reason why their commission should not be stopped, and the cry of "bloody shirt" but adds insult to injury.

The truth is, that this question is upon us now as it never has been before; not as a question of the past, but of the present and the future. That the South was made "solid" by bloody and fraudulent methods is as indisputable an historical fact as the war itself. That it is now so maintained by improper methods is shown by such circumstances as the formal farce called a congressional election, in the State of Georgia, last October. In Ohio, and every other Republican State, there are cast in each district at a congressional election an average of about thirty thousand votes. There are about the same number of votes in each of the congressional districts of Georgia, but at the election of October 6, 1886, the votes cast were as follows:

1st District.	Scattering,	17.	Democratic, 2,061.
2d "	"	7.	" 2,411.
3d "	—	—	" 1,704.
4th "	Independent, 330.		" 2,909.
5th "	Scattering, 1.		" 2,999.
6th "	" 1.		" 1,722.
7th "	Independent, 1,537.		" 5,043.
8th "	Republican, 33.		" 2,322.
9th "	" 27.		" 2,355.
10th "	" 7.		" 1,944.

In other words, with a total vote of less than 28,000, ten members of Congress were chosen to represent the State of Georgia, and to wield as much power in shaping national legislation as any ten congressmen from Ohio and other States, who were chosen upon a total vote of 300,000.

Fairly attained results must always be cheerfully accepted,

but it cannot be expected that such manifest abuses will be long tolerated. The demand for their suppression is rapidly becoming irresistible, and people who are not aware of this fact have not kept up with public sentiment in this respect. So long as these election frauds affected only local results the great mass of the people appeared to be, and probably were, largely indifferent about them. They did not realize, at least, not keenly, that they were injured by the triumph of fraud in the election of even congressmen and electors. So long as the general result was satisfactory it was easy, as well as agreeable, to believe that, in so far as such wrongs would not right themselves, it was the duty of others to correct them. But a change has been wrought. This dream of indifference was rudely interrupted by the presidential election of 1884. The people of Ohio, and of every other northern State, were then made to understand and appreciate that when a man is not allowed to vote in Mississippi, or any other State, or when he wrongfully votes for himself and his neighbor also, or when, in any other manner, he interferes with a free expression of the popular will and its honest ascertainment, their rights are directly and importantly affected: that, in other words, this thing of voting, no matter in what place it may be done, is the common concern of the whole people of the entire country, and that to rob a voter of his right to vote in any locality is to rob everybody else as well.

In asking that this should be stopped there is no bitterness or sectionalism involved, but only a reasonable demand that the Constitution shall be observed, and that common honesty shall prevail. This becomes more apparent when we recall how this trouble has arisen. When the war ended, and the Republican party entered upon the work of reconstruction, it had no purpose except to restore the rebellious States to their proper relations to the general government, in such a way as best to secure the fruits of the war, and, at the same time, demonstrate to them that they had been subdued, not for conquest, but only for peace and union. But this involved a provision for their representation in Congress and in the election of President. There could not be such representation, however, without a voting constituency for

its basis, and thus the practical question was, "Who should be intrusted with the ballot?"

There was much difference of opinion. Some insisted that only the white people had enough intelligence; others said only the colored people were sufficiently loyal. Finally, as a generous compromise, it was determined that the right of suffrage should be conferred upon whites and blacks, loyal and disloyal, alike, and that representation should be increased and allowed accordingly. On account of this enfranchisement and consequent representation of the blacks, these States had in the last presidential election thirty-eight electoral votes, to not one of which would they have been otherwise entitled, and every one of which would have been cast for Blaine and Logan if the will of the people they represented could have controlled them. If these votes had been simply blotted out, and not cast at all, Mr. Cleveland could not have been elected. The consequence is, that Mr. Cleveland is President because the white Democrats of the South not only cast for him the votes that rightfully belonged to them, but also these thirty-eight votes, which they fraudulently appropriated to their own use.

By reason of this abuse of its magnanimity, the enemies of the Republican party have invested themselves with an undue proportion of political power, and have, in that way, secured control of the government; and we are asked silently to acquiesce in such iniquity, not for the past, but for the present and future, for fear that to say anything about it might hurt somebody's feelings. It is difficult to appreciate such a tender regard for the mental comfort of the perpetrators of such outrages, particularly when it is coupled with an entire disregard of the rights of those who are injured, and who alone have cause to complain. It would seem to be more just, if anybody's feelings are to be hurt, to strike at those who are in the wrong. But why should the discussion of this question and its rightful settlement offend anybody?

Republicans ask no more than that every man shall be allowed to vote as he may choose, and that his ballot shall be counted as cast. They do not seek to control anybody's vote. They ask only that which the Constitution guarantees. They

do not want to keep alive any of the hatreds of the war. On the contrary, they earnestly desire the most cordial relations between all the sections; but they want this good-will established on a basis that recognizes and conforms to the settlements of the war, and admits of that mutual respect and esteem necessary to make it enduring. They will not be content with less, and it may as well be understood that there will be no peace or quiet until their just demand is fully conceded. Until then, practice will belie theory, and to admit that such conditions may be indefinitely continued without remedy is but to say that our boasted free institutions are a base fraud, not worthy of respect or perpetuation.

If it be said that the Republican party did not stop these outrages when it was in power, the answer is, that it has not been in power, in the sense of controlling the legislative branch of the government, as well as the executive, since March 4, 1875; and the true situation was not comprehended long enough prior to that time to admit of either the country or the party becoming educated to the stern necessities of the case.

But there are those who claim that it does not matter which party may be in power, for the reason that there is no authorized remedy for such wrongs. If there be no provision to meet such a case, then the reason becomes all the more urgent for the services of a party that can and will devise a way to correct such abuses, and thus save our government from another wrench of violence, that will otherwise surely and speedily come. In the meanwhile, it should be remembered that the general government formerly had an acknowledged right to go into any State or Territory to hunt down a fugitive slave, and can now go anywhere to collect the tax on whisky and tobacco, draft a man into the army to protect it, regulate the management of the railroads, and do hundreds of other things necessary and appropriate to our welfare. Is it possible that our government can do all these things, and yet the suppression of a million votes be a wrong without remedy? If so, the Constitution is a slander on the fathers who made it, and another amendment is in order. At any rate, if we would have peace in this country, these crimes must be stopped, and not only must the perpetrators of them be

treated as criminals, but every man must be held equally guilty who lends encouragement to such wrongs by whining about sectionalism and sneering about "bloody shirt," and insisting that such political villainies must be "let alone."

A second reason for restoring the Republican party to power is found in the views of the respective parties with reference to the maintenance of a protective tariff. The present duties may need revision: some may be too high, others may be too low. Such details are not spoken of here. What is said has reference only to the policy of protecting such of our home industries as cannot be otherwise maintained, as against free trade, or a purely revenue tariff that ignores the idea of protection. When all mere phrases are swept away the result is, in declaration as well as in practice, that the Republican party favors protection, and the Democratic party is opposed.

Both the origin of the doctrine of free trade in this country, as a party principle, and the results of our experience with the two systems, teach us that protection is the true American policy. This origin, and the purpose it was intended to subserve, are both well shown by the following quotations, cited, among others, by the Hon. Wm. D. Kelley, in a speech made by him in Congress, from a book written by Dr. Elliott, President of the Planters' College of Mississippi, and published in 1860 under the title, "Cotton is King," etc. Dr. Elliott says:

"The opposition to the protective tariff by the South arose from two causes: the first openly avowed at the time, and the second clearly deducible from the policy it pursued; the one, to secure the foreign market for its cotton; the other, to obtain a bountiful supply of provisions at cheap rates. . . . But they could not monopolize the market unless they could obtain a cheap supply of food and clothing for their negroes, and raise their cotton at such reduced prices as to undersell their rivals. A manufacturing population, with its mechanical coadjutors in the midst of the provision growers, on a scale such as the protection policy contemplated, it was conceived, would create a permanent market for their products, and enhance the price; whereas, if this manufacturing could be prevented, and a system of free trade be adopted, the South would constitute the principal provision market of the country."

The result would be cheap food for the slaves, at the expense of the industrial development, and the consequent impoverishment of the farming interests of the country. This interesting

writer says again, in giving the southern view of this subject :

" By the protective policy the planters expected to have the cost of both provisions and clothing increased, and their ability to monopolize the foreign markets diminished in a corresponding degree. If they could establish free trade it would insure the American market to foreign manufacturers, secure the foreign markets for their leading staples, repress home manufactures, force a large number of northern men into agriculture, multiply the growth and diminish the price of provisions, and feed and clothe their slaves at lower rates."

Slavery, and the idea that cotton is king, have passed away, but the relative effects of protection and free trade remain the same, so truthfully and graphically described by Dr. Elliott. His account of the matter teaches us that free trade became a Democratic doctrine because the South well understood that it would best promote their particular interests and purposes, as they were wrapped up in slavery and cotton; and it was only the more acceptable to them because it meant the prevention of all manufacturing development and the paralysis of the farming interests of the North, and the consequent interference with that multiplication of wealth and power which they so clearly foresaw to be the natural result of the more acceptable conditions that prevailed in the free States. That this doctrine had such an origin ought to be enough to condemn it in the estimation of every man of good morals; that it was intended to subserve such a purpose should be sufficient to array against it every patriotic American. And yet, the mere fact that the South so willed outweighed every other consideration, and free trade became, and has ever since remained, a cardinal point of Democratic faith.

The results of our experience under these respective systems illustrate very forcibly the truth of Dr. Elliott's observations as to the effects that would be produced. No one who can remember the weak and dependent condition of the country in 1860 needs to be told how perfectly free trade did its appointed work. On the other hand, notwithstanding the wastes of the war, we have, in twenty-six years, swelled the aggregate of our wealth from \$14,000,000,000 to \$50,000,000,000. The prosperity thus represented beneficially affects every human being in the United

States. It is manifested by new farms, towns, cities, railroads, and every kind of manufacture, industry, and improvement that can be suggested by our natural advantages or created by the skill, ingenuity, and patriotism of our countrymen. The old-time stock argument of the free trader, that tariff duties are a tax on the consumer, has been so completely exploded by practical results that it is no longer heard of, except only from those who obstinately refuse to see the conclusive demonstrations to the contrary that abound on every hand. The case of the farmer, so long and so pathetically talked about by these gentlemen as one that illustrated some kind of evil discrimination and hardship under the protective system, has become one of the most complete refutations of their fallacies, since the statement cannot be successfully challenged that practically everything he produces, from a dozen eggs to the finest horse on his farm, brings him a price, when he sells it, from fifty to two hundred per cent. higher than he ever dreamed of in free trade times, while substantially every domestic article he buys is from fifty to two hundred per cent. cheaper, and at the same time, from fifty to five hundred per cent. better in quality. Facts of equal potency can be cited without limit in favor of the policy of protection in its effects upon all the other industries of the country.

But it is not by material prosperity alone that the benefits of a protective tariff policy should be measured. It should be remembered that it is the patriotic policy, by which we are enabled to supply our wants and become independent of all other nations; and especially should it be borne in mind that it tends to produce greater intelligence, superior comforts, better morals in all classes, and a most marvelous development of the skill, ingenuity, and general business qualifications of the whole people, in consequence of all which we are made more capable to enjoy life and discharge successfully the duties of citizenship. That these blessings are not denied to the laboring classes, as demagogues claim, is apparent to all who will observe what is to be seen on every hand.

Cardinal Gibbons said, a few days ago, in a sermon preached at Baltimore, just after his return from extended travels abroad:

"After all my observation, I am prepared to commend our American institutions. The condition of our working people here is far superior to that of the working classes in any of the European countries. Whatever may be the grievances of the American mechanic, I am prepared to state, as the result of my own observation, that he is better housed, better fed and clothed, than his brethren on the continent of Europe. Love the land which God has given you. It is the best on earth."

In the presence of such facts at home, and such testimony from abroad, enough is shown as to the nature of this question (and only that, and not its discussion, is intended) to warrant the assignment of the Republican view with respect to it as another reason for change of political control. If it be said that no harm has come to the policy, or injury, in consequence, to the business, of the country, from a Democratic administration, the answer is, that a Republican Senate has made that impossible. Had it not been for this hindrance, Democratic tendencies to free trade would have assumed definite form in legislative enactments, as they have in other respects. The Republican party should be restored to power, therefore, in order that there may be no further progress toward free trade, and that the necessary revisions of the tariff, and the control of our revenue system, may be in the hands of the friends of American industry and national development.

The party that has, by destroying slavery, made labor honorable, and which has, by the inauguration and maintenance of a policy of protection, made good wages, education, homes, and general prosperity possible, has given the highest evidence of both ability and disposition satisfactorily to solve the so-called labor questions, no matter whether that solution is to come through provisions for arbitration, hours of labor, and similar measures, or through a wiser, broader, and more comprehensive scheme of permissive legislation, to authorize and make possible here those plans of co-operation and profit-sharing which have proven so successful in some of the older countries.

In so far as national politics may have to do therewith, there is no hope except in the Republican party for the suppression of the evils of the liquor traffic in the populous cities and States of the North. The Democratic party, with the exception of Mayor Hewitt's administration, has given conclusive proof of this in all

these States, notably so in New York and Ohio. In the latter State they have persistently opposed every movement in that direction. They have done this upon the claim that they favored all that it was sought to accomplish, but were willing to accomplish it only by a license system, which is impossible, because forbidden by the Constitution; while in New York, where license is authorized, it has so far proven impossible to frame a law that shall meet with executive favor; and so it is that an excuse is never lacking to enable them to stand between the liquor traffic and the people, to defeat their just demands.

There are other questions to be dealt with about which there is, practically speaking, no issue between the parties, but on account of which it is important to restore the Republican party to power, because of its superior capacity and fitness to deal with them. We have now a surplus revenue. It must either be diminished or our expenditures must be increased; otherwise there will be such an accumulation of the money of the country in the vaults of the treasury as to produce financial and business distress. If the revenues are diminished, it must be done in such a way as not to disturb the business conditions of the country; and if the expenditures are to be increased, they must be governed by prudence and a just regard for the national welfare. We are all in accord about this.

But we have witnessed the utter inability of the Democratic party to deal with this subject. Both sessions of the last Congress passed into history without the President and the members of his party in that body being able to agree on any such measure, and without the members of that party in either House of Congress being able so to agree even among themselves. In so far as anything at all was done that had relation to the matter, it was by the President, and was the opposite, in most instances, of what was required by a wise and patriotic regard for the general good. This was particularly so in the matter of pensions, public buildings, and the river and harbor appropriations.

Considering the ability of the government and the purpose to be served, the President might well have been content to allow the work of Congress to stand. The nation's debt to the

men who saved it can never be repaid, and it would, at least, not be a bad investment to put a United States building in every city of the land having a population of twenty thousand, if for no other reason than to have continually before the people a visible testimonial to the existence of the national government. Veto messages, based on mathematical calculations about interest, to show that it is cheaper for the United States to be somebody's tenant, and pay rent, and from time to time move about from place to place, coupled with facetious remarks to the effect that all this may be inconvenient, yet it is not likely that the officials will resign, indicate a narrow and undignified view of the subject. Though placed on different grounds, the same results were reached in the defeat, by the party, of the bill extending much-needed national aid to education, and in the veto by the President of the measure to help the suffering farmers of Texas.

The strict construction of the powers of the general government in these cases indicates the old Democratic States Rights tendency unduly to belittle the national power, and again to give vitality to the ante-war idea that it does not belong to the people as an agency for their benefit, and that they must not be allowed to enjoy any blessings therefrom that would attach them to it—not even those necessary to dispel the blight of ignorance, overcome the calamity of drought, or relieve the horrors of earthquake.

It was hoped that some acceptable way would be found to dispense with, or at least to lessen, so far as the United States Government is concerned, the internal taxes on whisky and tobacco, no longer needed by it, and to enable the several States who do need them to get the revenues arising from this source; but so important a subject could not command any serious attention. In fact, no business proposition whatever could find favor. From first to last, there was nothing to encourage the hope that exclusion from power has improved our opponents. The plain truth is, that the Democratic party has no comprehensive business judgment. It is controlled by its southern wing, and that is largely where the difficulty lies.

During the last ten years there has been a great industrial development in the South, and the present indications are that the shackles of the past are breaking, and that the time is coming

when that part of the country will stand abreast with the rest of the land in manufacturing enterprises, and in that freedom from sectional prejudices which always attends business intelligence and commercial prosperity. But all this does not help those who have been and are now representing that people in public life. These leaders came up under the old conditions, without any such extended practical experience with business as might qualify them to appreciate our vast interests and provide for our great necessities on account thereof. It is not unnatural, therefore, that they should prove unequal to the important responsibilities they have undertaken to discharge.

They appear still more incapable when dealing with our foreign interests. One of the most urgent needs is an extension of our commercial relations, particularly with Mexico and the Central and South American states. These countries present a vast and desirable field for us to occupy. Every year's delay is irreparable loss. This seems to be appreciated by everybody except the officials connected with the present administration. Much might with propriety be said on this subject, but no more is intended than to call attention to our wants in this regard, and to add that no valid hope can be entertained for the achievement of satisfactory results, in these respects, until we are represented both at home and abroad by men who believe in the United States of America as a nation among the nations of the earth, and who, in consequence, have a just conception of our national dignity, greatness, and destiny.

But, when all else is said and done, the fact remains that there is a vast difference between the respective standards of moral worth, political integrity, and patriotic purpose of the two parties. There is not an election precinct in the whole country where any Democrat is not free and safe to vote according to his choice, and have his vote honestly counted, and it has ever been so. Interference by Republicans with Democrats in an honest exercise of the right of suffrage has never been heard of, and everybody knows that the Republican party would not accept the fruits of such crimes, or, in any manner, shield the perpetrators of them, if they should be committed in its interest. The moral sense of the party would not tolerate it. Contrast this

record with that which made the South solid, and with the attempts to thwart the will of the people in Chicago, Indianapolis, Columbus, and Cincinnati; and remember how the fruits and advantages of these crimes have been eagerly appropriated and defiantly defended, and you have a striking measure of difference, to which nothing can be added by words. The notorious and widely accepted belief that the election of Henry B. Payne to the Senate was secured by bribery and corruption was not sufficient to prevent every representative of the party, who was in a position to act officially, from rallying to his support and assisting to defeat an investigation. His success appeared, in the opinion of his party associates, not only to atone for whatever might have been done that was wrong, but to enhance their esteem for him; and the entire people so acted with respect to the matter as to indicate that nothing different was expected. But who needs to be told that any Republican, pursuing such a course, or even hesitating immediately to demand the most searching inquiry upon the mere suggestion that such charges might be made, would be hissed with scorn from public life? In other words, these different moral standards or measures of accountability are universally recognized. All this is true, not because all Democrats approve such things, for they do not: on the contrary, the great mass of the party are as honest and as anxious to have purity in elections and in government as anybody else; but because the active, vital, and controlling forces of Democracy have simply throttled the higher aspirations of the organization.

Finally, so far as this paper is concerned, the Republican party should be restored to power to check the revival of the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Cleveland had scarcely been inaugurated before the friends of his administration commenced telling us to note that the sun rose and set as usual, that seed-time and harvest came as formerly, that the negroes were not re-enslaved, that the rebel war debt was not assumed, and that nothing, in short, had come to pass, as they claimed, to which any patriotic man could take exception. That Fitz-Hugh Lee rode in the inauguration procession, clad in the rebel gray, and received more applause than the President, was only a harmless

incident. When the flag of the Union was lowered to half-mast, in honor of ex-Secretary Thompson, the traitor, fire-bug, and yellow-fever fiend, it was only a thoughtless mistake. When men who had fought to destroy the Union were sent abroad by the score to take the places of the veterans who had saved it, and to represent us at foreign courts, it was only what was to be expected. When Jeff. Davis made a triumphal tour of the South, and was lionized wherever he went, it meant only the innocent gratification of an old man's vanity; there was nothing in it all that was improper. Rain, snow, and the crops still came as usual, and the Capitol still stood on the banks of the Potomac, and, therefore, it was demonstrated that all fears of evil from Democratic ascendancy could be safely dismissed.

There are a few men outside the ranks of the Democratic party who still talk in this way, but the number is rapidly diminishing, and there are many in the ranks of that party who are witnessing with dismay the progress of events. Reviewing only the past few weeks, we have seen the President of the United States and Jeff. Davis uniting in words of compliment and eulogy on the occasions of the unveiling of the statues erected in honor of John C. Calhoun and Albert Sidney Johnson—one the author of secession, and the other distinguished for nothing, except as a soldier who fought to destroy his country. We have also seen the Democratic State Convention at Louisville cheering to the echo Mr. Henry Watterson's allusion to the "Dependent Pension Bill," as "Fraud's patriotic pauper liniament, warranted to abolish vagabondage, by pensioning a lot of tramps." We have seen General Rosser ordering General Sheridan to keep out of the Shenandoah Valley, or bring his rations with him. We have seen the President of the United States, instead of joining with the loyal millions of the country in the sacred duty of scattering flowers over the graves of the dead heroes, but for whose bravery and sacrifice of life the government, of which he is the head, would not be in existence, going "a-fishing" on Decoration Day. And, finally, we have seen this same Chief Magistrate proceeding to surrender the captured battle-flags to what he terms the "Confederate States," that they may be carried in public parade, and pointed to with pride, as

though they were not still the emblems of treason, of which the people of the South should be forever ashamed. And all this for no other purpose than to make it appear that because "the war is over" there should be no longer any distinction between the blue and the gray, and that both should be remembered only, and alike, for the valor they displayed; and, on such a basis, to establish a sentimental fraternity of feeling for the present, to be followed with payment for cotton, slaves, and Confederate bonds by and by.

All these several steps and acts were quietly and patiently acquiesced in, until the last, but that was too much for loyal men to endure, and they greeted it with such storms of protest and indignation that haste was made to revoke the order and postpone "the pleasant duty," not because the sentiment was wrong, but because, having examined the law "with more care," it was thought best to wait until Congress can give authority to do lawfully what, had there been no interference, would have been done unlawfully.

J. B. FORAKER.

COLUMBUS, O., *June 20, 1887.*

## HAS IRELAND A GRIEVANCE?

A GREAT number of persons in the United States of America have been expressing opinions on the Home Rule question in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. These opinions have been in favor of Home Rule, very often with vehement censure of those who oppose it. I will say nothing as to the propriety of this, nor of the decency of governing bodies in the States joining in it. All I will say is, that it would be as well for them to know the truth of what they are talking about. That they may have an opportunity of doing so, I write this paper. And as I am going to state matters of fact, it is right I should say who I, the witness, am. I am an Englishman, *pur sang*, if there is such a being. I have no land in Ireland, nor interest in it or against it, save as I have in relation to Yorkshire or any other part of the United Kingdom, its prosperity concerning me as much as that of Kent. I have been a lawyer and judge, with, I believe, a fair character, and am now retired.

So much for the witness, now for his facts. Ireland is part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The other part is Great Britain. There are some small islands, and there are the colonies and India. The legislative bodies are the Queen, the House of Peers, and House of Commons. The House of Commons is elected by voters in Great Britain and in Ireland. The population of Ireland is between one-sixth and one-seventh of the population of Great Britain and Ireland. The qualification of the voters is the same in all parts of the United Kingdom. The number of members returned by Ireland is somewhat larger than it would be if in proportion to its population. It is much larger than in proportion to its wealth. It is very much larger than in proportion to its taxation—its contribution to the fund of the United Kingdom of which it is part. Of course, the representatives of other parts of the kingdom being over five times the number from Ireland, if they take one

view and the Irish another, the Irish are outvoted. So are the members for Yorkshire or Scotland, if they take one view and the other members another. So I suppose New York or Massachusetts might be outvoted if all the other States differed from either of them, but no one talks of tyranny because such a thing may happen. It might happen that Ireland should be unanimous and outvoted. It is possible as a matter of fact, but it never has happened and never will. England and Scotland have no interests opposed to those of Ireland. Their interest is in Ireland's prosperity as much as in that of any other part of the United Kingdom. To justify separation on the ground of a possible minority being obliged to give way to the majority, would make the existence of a state impossible. Every county would be justified in seceding from the others; every parish in the county from every other; and for aught I can see every house from its neighbor. This is not a mere general argument. It is actually and practically true of Great Britain and Ireland. No one, not Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Parnell or any American dynamiter, says that England and Scotland have anything to gain by the misgovernment of Ireland, or wish anything but its prosperity. Except, then, as the whole of a state governs every part of it, England does not govern Ireland save as Ireland governs England, *i. e.*, as part of the United Kingdom. Irish members have turned the scale. Their junction with the Liberals turned the last Conservative ministry before the present out of office.

That Ireland is in no sense oppressed by the rest of the United Kingdom is beyond doubt. As I have said, it has a slight excess of representatives. Its taxation is less per head of its population than that of any other part of the kingdom. Some taxes levied on the other parts it is entirely free from. In a speech delivered at Aberdeen in 1871, Mr. Gladstone said :

"What are the inequalities of England and Ireland? I declare that I know none except that there are certain taxes still remaining which are levied over Englishmen and Scotchmen, which are not levied over Irishmen; and likewise that there are certain purposes for which money is freely and largely given in Ireland and for which it is not given in England or Scotland."\*

\* London "Times," Sept. 27, 1871.

Positively strange as it may seem, the Home Rulers make no complaint except as to the land, and of that I shall have something to say presently. When Mr. Gladstone brought forward his unhappy scheme, he could not say there was any wrong to be redressed. All he could and did say was, that legislation did not come to Ireland "in an Irish garb." It seems incredible, but it is true. We hear a vaporizing talk about Ireland as a nation, and a Parliament on College Green, and Ireland for the Irish, but when they had got it, they do not say what they would do with it; what wrong they would redress; what bad law they would get rid of; what good law they would make. Nor is the equality of British and Irish limited to legislative power. The Irish in proportion to their numbers hold as high offices in the state, army, navy, and church as Englishmen.

Now as to the land. As to that it is very certain what would be done by an Irish Parliament. The present owners of land would be deprived of their property, which would be given to the present occupiers. Observe, it would not be an adoption of Mr. George's scheme. The land would not be nationalized. Rent would not be received for the benefit of the community or state. The present tenants would remain in possession rent free. The owners would be plundered of their property. The man who had invested his money in buying a bit of land would be made a beggar. Do the Americans approve of this? Do they think it right? Do they think nothing can be stolen except what the thief can walk away with? This will probably be denied, and it will be said that the Irish only wish to get rid of excessive rents, and that if fair they are willing to pay them. They may indeed pretend or think so now, but the result would be as I have stated. Mr. Davitt, one of the Home Rule leaders, said that the landlords should have no rent except on the prairie value of the land. And so strongly did Mr. Gladstone feel this, that when he brought in his Home Rule bills he proposed that Parliament should find, at first, £150,000,000 to buy out the landlords. But it may be said that the landlords do exact excessive rents. I deny it, not on my own knowledge, but on the authority of Mr. Gladstone himself. He has stated that as a body they had behaved well, though there might be exceptions.

But further, laws, exceptional laws, have been passed to prevent the possibility of injustice. The tenant cannot be disturbed in his holding if he pays his rent. The rent is fixed at a fair rate by a tribunal appointed on purpose. Owing to the fall in the price of farm produce, distress has fallen on some farmers, and Parliament is now engaged in devising measures for their relief. It has been said, and is the truth, that nowhere in the world are the land laws so favorable to the occupier as in Ireland. An Englishman said he dare not explain the Irish law to a meeting of farmers in England, for fear they should demand the same law for themselves.

It may be asked, Why, if this is so, is there that distress which undoubtedly exists in parts of Ireland? The cause is, that there is no industry in Ireland save the cultivation of the land, and the land will not support those who cultivate it. The north-east and east parts of Ireland can live, and live fairly well; but the miserable holdings of an acre or two in the west and southwest will not support their occupiers if given to them rent free. Let me put it to the good sense of my readers. Here are five men cultivating two acres each. One of them could cultivate the whole ten, but now each man works one-fifth of his time and wastes the rest. Is it possible that there should not be distress? In one of the last returns there was a statement of a man paying a rent of twenty-two shillings for his holding. Ten shillings and sixpence were taken off. What does this come to? A little over a farthing a day! Has rent anything to do with this man's case? He is relieved of one farthing, and still liable for the other. Some years ago the case was different. These men, these farmers, went in harvest-time to England and earned wages which enabled them to live for the rest of the year in a sort of idleness in Ireland. But, owing to the depressed state of agriculture in England, the diminished quantity of grain to be harvested, the use of machinery, and the poverty of English farmers, this source of income for the Irish is much lessened.

The true remedy for the condition of the congested districts is not Home Rule, not the plunder of the landlords, but the diminution of the number of persons seeking a living out of the land, a removal of the congestion, a consolidation of the hold-

ings, so that they may afford a living to the cultivator. How this is to be effected it would be foreign to my purpose to discuss, but I can safely say this: that the Parliament of the United Kingdom is as willing, as able, and as anxious to do it as any Parliament that could be formed in Dublin.

It may be asked, Why, if this is so, is there the popular desire for Home Rule, which is shown by more than four-fifths of the Irish members being Home Rulers, and by the people in their meetings, and otherwise? I have given one reason: the people are agricultural and want the land rent free. There is another reason. There is, no doubt, a hearty hatred in Ireland of the English, not on account of what the English say or do now, but on account of what they have done, or are said to have done, in by-gone generations. Whether England has been as bad to Ireland as some would make out, I will not discuss. I think a good deal may be said for our ancestors. They were struggling for their religion and their liberty. They, doubtless, were savage to the Irish, but the Irish retorted when they had the power. The massacres of Englishmen and Protestants, the latest not a century old, are not to be forgotten when we are talking of how the English have behaved. But I say I will not discuss who was right or wrong in the past; in the present I bitterly complain that I am an object of hatred to an Irishman, not for anything I have done, but for what some other Anglo-Saxons have done generations back. I feel it to be most unjust: I have never had any feeling toward Ireland except for its good. I remember, in 1829, when Catholic emancipation took place, the joy I felt, and the admiration for O'Connell that I had. So it was too when that act of justice was done, the disestablishment of the Irish Church—and I speak of myself for no egotistical reason, but because what is true of me is true of my Anglo-Saxon countrymen. Whatever the past may be we are not enemies of Ireland. We wish her well. We are interested in her prosperity. What ill motive or reason for bad conduct to Ireland can be imputed to us? None.

There is another cause for the cry for Home Rule. I do not like to impute motives, but is it not obvious that the strongest exist for making the leaders of the agitation desirous of success?

They are a set of men of whom not half a dozen ever would be heard of again if the Home Rule movement stopped : men without ability, position, learning, or anything which makes men leaders of their fellows, except the mischievous power of talking. As it is, they are of importance, with the hope of being of more, as president of a republic, prime minister of Ireland, secretary of state, and so forth. I suppose some make a money profit out of it—I do not say dishonestly, for I have no right to do so—but it is reasonable to suppose that some are paid for their services, and better paid than they might be if Home Rule was given up.

It may be asked, Why not let them have Home Rule if it will content them? Let us see what Home Rule means, and its consequence. Home Rule means the separation of Great Britain and Ireland, and the establishment of the latter as a separate state. I do not mean to say that Mr. Gladstone means that, or that his bills, if passed, would have at once effected it. He probably means that the union of the two islands should continue. But I am absolutely certain that if he wished it to be otherwise he would persuade himself that it was right, and probably would persuade others to the same effect. Mr. Forster said of him, that he could persuade himself of the truth of anything he wished to believe, and in addition had the unhappy faculty of persuading others. We must look upon Mr. Gladstone, then, as in favor of the Union only so long as it serves his purpose. Mr. Parnell and the other Home Rule leaders are in favor of separation. Mr. Parnell has denied this, but there is his recorded speech at Chicago, in which he declared he was for "severing the last link between the islands." But the issue does not rest with these two. Let them wish most sincerely to preserve the Union, their followers would not allow it. Does any American who has read the proceedings at meetings of Irishmen in the States believe that the Union would remain if it could be got rid of? Home Rule is a step to separation. Why, Mr. Gladstone's bill was so offensive to Irishmen, in their exclusion from Parliament and the government of the country, of the state, that I protest I would have joined in an effort to change it.

It really is idle to make a doubt of it: Home Rule is a step

to the establishment of a separate state in Ireland, with the certainty that the other steps will be taken—the establishment of a separate state with good ports and harbors opposite to the entrance to the Clyde and Glasgow, Liverpool, the Bristol Channel, all the Channel ports, and the Thames. And this state certainly would be hostile. I have spoken of the rabid hate of the Irish to the English. Let me give a specimen from a speech of Mr. Davitt in the Dublin "Freeman's Journal" of May 23: "Are not these vows of eternal hatred to the power which drives our people forth from their birth-land but the natural outcome of England's inhuman policy?" Poor England, poor me and others of my countrymen, who have never done wrong to Ireland, nor had a wish in relation to it except for its prosperity! Mr. Davitt would be a nice Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the new kingdom or republic of Ireland. Self-preservation would justify us in retaining the government of Ireland, even if its population was unanimous for a separation. But, for my own part, if they were unanimous I would give them up. I would let them go, and trust to their finding it to their interest to keep friends with us. And if they would not, I would trust to our power to conquer them—a matter of which there would be no doubt, looking at our numbers and wealth compared with those of Ireland, though doubtless it would be attended with expense and trouble.

But the Irish are not unanimous in their hatred of us and the wish for separation. Of the five million of Irish in Ireland, a million and a half, the best in every sense—best educated, most orderly, most prosperous—are Protestants, devoted to the Union with England, and with the most friendly feelings to it. I do not say there are no Protestant Home Rulers. There are some. There are also some Catholics, the best, the most enlightened, who are earnest friends of the Union. Now these Protestants, these friends of the Union, know that Home Rule, separation from England, means persecution for them, the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, the plunder of their property, and the government of the country by persons chosen by the lowest class, the least civilized, the most superstitious, of voters. This would probably be denied : it would be said that safeguards

would be provided. Yes, paper safeguards; safeguards by law which would be at once repealed. As to religion, I would not blame the Roman Catholics if they tried to make theirs supreme. That they ought to do so is, I believe, part of their creed. Plunder is openly threatened. To show the persecution to which our friends would be subjected, I will mention a case before the Privy Council in Ireland, May 20. The guardians of the poor ordered a man to build a cottage for laborers, which was not wanted, but was ordered to put the man to expense and inconvenience, because he had refused to grant abatements of rent. The man appealed, and the order was set aside, the judges saying it was a very bad case, one of the worst that had come before them; and the motive was very apparent. We cannot desert these million and a half; it would be all that is base and cowardly. We should hand them over to despoilment and persecution because they had been our friends and had trusted us. I do not, however, suppose that they would be worsted in the struggle that would ensue. Ulster would never consent to be ruled by the least civilized part of Ireland. Its wealth and energy would make the struggle doubtful. It certainly would be aided from England. On the question of right, its right to govern itself would be as good as that of Ireland to govern itself.

One word as to the condition of Ireland if separation took place. Nothing could be more disastrous for it. Its upper classes expelled, capital driven away, the expense of an army, a navy, and a diplomatic service to be incurred, and the country governed by the least qualified part of its population. Then the certainty of civil war.

In short, I say Ireland has no cause of complaint against the present generation of Englishmen, and, except as to the land legislation, makes no complaint. The Irishman is on a level with the Englishman, has as large a share of legislation and governing the United Kingdom as the Englishman has, and as large a share of the good things of office, and is more lightly taxed. The land laws of Ireland are the best in the world for the land occupiers. Englishmen have not, nor can they have, any wish for or interest in the misgovernment

of Ireland. All our interests and wishes are for its prosperity. The Parliament of the United Kingdom is as capable and anxious to legislate for the good of Ireland as any that might be assembled there. Home Rule is sought for the purpose of plundering the landlords; from senseless hate of the present English for alleged wrongs in the past; and for the profit of the leaders of the movement. It means separation from England and the establishment of a hostile state along-side of us. Self-preservation would justify our denying this, and it would be most disastrous for Ireland. But whatever may be the weight of other considerations, we cannot desert our friends and give them up to plunder and persecution because they were our friends. And of all countries in the world the American Union, which fought the bloodiest of wars to preserve its integrity, should be the last to blame us for endeavoring to preserve ours by peaceful means.

Mr. Gladstone once said that the Home Rulers were marching through rapine to dismemberment. He is now marching with them. What is the explanation? Is he marching through rapine to dismemberment, or was he wrong when he said they were; or if they were so marching when he said it, are they not now? If they are not, when and how did they change their march?

BRAMWELL.

## THE FORGOTTEN CAUSE OF POVERTY.

THE increase of riches does not increase poverty. It only increases envy, and envy then puts on the mask of poverty to win sympathy. The evil of vast wealth in individuals is not that it increases poverty, but that it tempts to injustice. The wealth of individuals, like the wealth of masses, must be poured out on trades and professions ; so that trades and professions will prosper as well when the wealth is in the hands of five hundred as when it is in the hands of fifty thousand. Scarcely any one in the civilized world hoards coin ; and when coin is not hoarded, but kept in circulation, the way is open for every one by working to get it or its equivalent. If I am a carpenter, it makes no difference to me whether I get my three dollars a day from a millionaire, or from a man with a moderate income. The fact that the man who pays me is vastly rich does not hurt me. The millionaire is obliged to keep his money afloat in his efforts to increase its amount, and in keeping it afloat he is giving life to trade and helping everybody. So all this prating about poverty as caused by wealth is cheap demagogism. Poverty is never caused by wealth. The worst thing that can be said of inordinate wealth is, that it may be used to frame unjust laws, or prevent just laws, by either of which processes the poorer classes are placed at a disadvantage. They are not made poor by these processes, but they have not equal chances to become richer. There is injustice done them, but their poverty is not made nor increased by the injustice. The remedy for this evil is only in legislative integrity, which shall legislate impartially for all classes ; and the people themselves have the remedy in their own hands by electing honest men to the legislatures. If the poorer classes send to the legislatures men of low character, the hangers-on of barrooms, and the sporting men of the race-courses, they must expect such stuff to be bribed by any rich corporation.

The trouble now is, that the poorer classes, who are the great majority at elections, deliberately select the most worthless characters to make laws for them ; and then, when these grog-shop Solons make laws to help the rich corporations and line their own pockets, these voters make a terrible outcry of the rich against the poor. Why, it is, in its lowest terms, the poor against the poor ; the poor make the laws that oppress them.

But to return to our line of thought. This oppression is not making men poor nor increasing poverty, but only treating the poor unjustly—a bad thing, but not *the* bad thing that is alleged. In all the cloud of dust that the Georges and McGlynns have kicked up by their antics of late, this whole question has been wofully confused, and crude philosophers have rushed upon the stage from all quarters, bellowing out their nonsense, to the applause of all those primitive minds that delight in noise. As we said at the first, it is not the fact of poverty that troubles these people, but sheer envy. They are vexed in soul that they are not themselves millionaires. Give any one of them a million or two, and he would have very little to say about poverty, and would soon extinguish his farthing light of philosophy. His philanthropy is skin deep. There is such a thing as a true philosophy and a true statesmanship, that would prevent injustice anywhere, and would therefore put checks and restraints upon the use of capital, so that its use should work no harm to any, and would limit the amount of special forms of wealth that one man or one corporation should hold ; and we believe there is great need of such a philosophy and such a statesmanship now. But all this gives no color to the agrarian cry of the demagogue, whose virtual motto is “No wealth,” which, if realized, would be, No trade, no enterprise, and no civilization.

But if wealth is not the cause of poverty, what is ? By poverty we mean not comparative poverty, but absolute poverty. The man worth a thousand dollars is comparatively poor alongside of a man worth a hundred thousand, but we do not reckon him a poor man. Absolute poverty is where poverty pinches and hurts, where it prevents the means of health and comfort. What is the cause of this poverty, the only poverty which a man has any right to bemoan ? for comparative poverty is a

mere matter of degree, and involves only sentiment and not comfort. If there were no comparative poverty, there would be universal absolute poverty. For if everybody were equally rich, nobody would help anybody else, and men would suffer from want of help; or, rather, everybody would be equally poor, and nobody could help his neighbor, or purchase help for himself. If there were any transfer of wealth, then, of course, our hypothesis would fail, and everybody would not be equally rich. So we shall not deal with comparative poverty, which is a great blessing to society, but with absolute poverty, when we ask the question, What is the cause of poverty?

Man is born to labor, and in labor he finds health, wealth, and happiness. Whatever interferes with this divine law is prejudicial to man's welfare. There are many cases where man is not to blame for such interference. Sickness, weakness of intellect, malformation of body, and old age are hindrances to labor, which must be met by the humanity and kindness of those who are not so circumstanced. Every civilized society must have some practical system of maintaining those who by no fault of their own are incapacitated from using the one royal road to earthly comfort. Hospitals, asylums, and charitable homes are the essential marks of a true civilization, and no one would think of reproaching those who are sustained by these benevolent institutions. In looking for the cause of poverty, we are not to forget that many who do not reach the degree of sickness that makes the hospital or the "home" necessary, are nevertheless weakened in blood and nerve, and can on that account do but imperfectly any remunerative work. For this class—and it is not a small one—the active sympathy of society should be aroused, and employers, friends, and neighbors have the golden opportunity to exercise the nobler graces of true manhood. In no other way can these providential cases meet their proper remedy. It is of such that the Saviour says, "The poor ye have always with you," appealing to our higher virtues for their relief, and permitting the occasion for the development of a godlike regard for others.

But beyond this afflicted class of our fellows we still have a view of extended poverty, and again the question occurs as to

its cause. We find many causes suggested by the doctrinaires. Low wages, glutted markets, the tariff, free trade, machinery, speculations in bread stuffs, capital, competition, combination, and a dozen other causes are glibly cited, and the most contradictory assertions made in the favor of each. That each of these causes may have a momentary effect is undoubtedly true, and that temporary embarrassment may result in individual comfort; but that poverty should be the permanent issue of any or all of these causes is impossible, unless a man has no pluck, and deliberately yields to the first blow.

We wish to raise a new cry amid the din of voices, and to shout into hearing ears the forgotten cause of poverty. We would have people look back of all communistic cant and political bluster to the true philosophy of poverty. We would show them why, in this large land, where millions of acres lie still unclaimed from the wilderness, and where all arts and trades flourish, men are found in abject poverty, and form a ready text for the anarchical oratory of Most and Schwab as the bass, George and McGlynn as the treble, and Swinton as tenor.

A long period of close observation among the poor of New York, in pursuance of official duties, has enabled us to express a judgment which is not that of the secluded scholar in his study, drawing his facts from the depths of his own consciousness, nor that of mere echo to the prevailing cry. For forty years we have been acquainted with the poor in New York, accustomed to all the scenes of garret and cellar, pauperism, filth, and crime, and have been witness of the problem of poverty in all its forms. As the result of this thorough experience we unhesitatingly affirm that the tap-root of poverty among us is improvidence.

If we deduct the class of the sickly and aged, already alluded to, and another class that we shall speak of hereafter, improvidence will explain every case of poverty on which our eyes rest. Be it remembered that we are not speaking of persons with slender incomes, or those who fail to be as well off as their neighbors, but of those in actual poverty, on whom the weight presses at every step, to the woe of body and mind. We cannot too often repeat that the whinings of those who are not as well off as their neighbors are the expressions of envy, utterly unworthy

of notice, and not to be confounded with the genuine cry of poverty, which appeals to our sympathy and helpfulness. And yet all the noisy agitations, with threats of blood and fire, proceed from the former class, who seek to develop their envy into violence against the innocent.

The improvidence which we affirm to be the tap-root of poverty is instanced in four different directions.

1. There is the improvidence with regard to the saving of money. But how can a man with two dollars a day save money, when he has a wife and family to support? He certainly cannot without method and self-denial, but method and self-denial are the requisite factors for every kind of true success. They are attributes of true manliness. A man with a family, in New York city, who receives two dollars a day, can save \$50 a year if he will. He receives \$600 a year. One hundred and twenty will pay for his home, \$300 will pay for his food, \$100 will pay for his clothes, \$30 will pay for his "sundries," and \$50 will remain over for the bank, or any judicious investment. The wife will reduce expenses by her work on the family clothes and by her care of the household plant. Fifty dollars saved in a year, will be, with its simple interest at five per cent., \$637.50 in ten years, which would buy a home in the suburbs, and, deducting fare on the cars to and from work, would release \$90 a year. That is, in ten years the man would have his whole \$600 to spend, and would lay up \$90 of it, which paradox is explained by the possession of his little suburban home. In reality the \$120 formerly paid for his home is now free, and, excepting \$30 for car fare, he is so much the richer. He could now live at his old rate of living, and lay up \$140 each year. Frugality would soon raise him very far above the poverty line. Sickness might cut down the progress, but tact might often balance this with some advantage. Ordinarily, as things are, a man with a family, getting his two dollars a day in the city of New York, may become virtually an independent householder in thirty years of labor, and this without any so-called luck on his side, but by the steady action of a frugal and sensible system of saving. But what are we to say of a man with a family who gets only a dollar a day? We say that he has reached that low level of pay

by the very improvidence of which we are treating, always excepting the classes already mentioned as exceptions, and for which charity in its truest, holiest sense is to provide. The average wages of the manual laborer form a basis for accumulation by frugality. All who are working below the average price of labor have brought themselves down by improvidence, if not in the saving of money, in some one of the other directions to which we shall refer.

In the instance which we have given we have taken the most unfavorable form of the case, that of a mere manual laborer without any knowledge of a specialty, and, moreover, supporting a wife and children. When we take the specialist in any department of labor, or the skilled laborer, or when we take the man without a family, the opportunity for accumulation is at once greatly enhanced. Journeymen in specialist work get from \$780 to \$1,040 a year. Ten years of self-denying frugality would make such a wage-earner an independent householder. But this providence and frugality are seldom found. Two successful foes are admitted in their place. These are display and dissipation. The woman is generally responsible for the former and the man for the latter. The wife will have the gay dress to outshine her neighbor, and the expensive bonnet which others may envy ; and the man will frequent the saloon, and lavishly spend his wages for the whisky that ruins his body and soul. Of course, with these fearful leaks there can be no saving, but, on the contrary, debt, dismission from service, disgrace, and despair. This latter cause, dissipation, is the chief reason for the improvidence out of which comes the poverty around us. The ten thousand liquor saloons of New York city swallow up the earnings of the poor, that otherwise might provide comfortable homes and centers of family virtue and enjoyment. There is no so great evil in the community as these saloons. They are kept by worthless, idle characters, who make their money with no effort, who know nothing of honest labor themselves, and would willingly destroy all honest labor in others for their personal gain. If government has the right and duty to cut off the sources of crime and misery, it certainly has the paramount duty of exterminating these prolific fountains of social poison. It

is safe to estimate the receipts of the New York saloons at \$30,000,000 a year, one-half of which at least comes from the 150,000 men who are known as "laboring men"—a title which, like that of "working men," is a misnomer, for there are men who work far more in exhausting labor than these do, to whom the title is just as appropriate. Poverty is thus systematically manufactured by these vile dens where the communists, anarchists, and other demagogues gather to accuse the rich and industrious of causing the distress of the poor. Was there ever a more complete *bouleversement* of the truth? The destruction of the liquor saloons alone would cure four-fifths of the poverty in the community.

2. A second form of improvidence in the poor regards the making of reputation. A man in any department of life may, by mastering his work and acquiring dexterity and rapidity in it, and by the exhibition of a willing and ready spirit, so approve himself in his employer's eyes as to become important in that employer's estimation. But very few of the poor pay any attention to this principle; they rather seek to do as little as possible. When the overseer is not present, they slight the work or waste time. They are listless machines, and so awaken no sympathy or respect in those who employ them. The man who starts out of this treadmill method, and shows alacrity and soul in his work, very soon finds himself in the way of promotion, and his character becomes valuable capital. It is the very interest of the employer to advance such a workman, apart altogether from the moral aspects of the case. Other employers also will seek him, and his price as a worker will steadily rise. This is the making of a reputation, which the vast majority of laboring men care nothing about, and by neglecting which they show their improvidence, and, if not produce, at least continue, their poverty.

3. Closely allied to this form of improvidence is that of disregarding the use of opportunity. A man wide-awake to the importance of providing for the future will be quick to detect the occasion where he can put in a stroke for himself; not to the injury of others, not in any mean and selfish way, not by effrontery, but by honestly filling a gap. He has no fancy for idle

hours. If he is off duty for any reason out of himself, he is on duty by his own order. He can put in labor where it will tell, even if it is not in the regular line of his daily toil. He is not going to be a man of one idea. Ruts are servile, and lead to nothing new. He will wield a hammer if there is no call for a spade. Instead of the beer-shop, he pays his devotion to his home. A table, a chair, a shelf spring out of his creative activity. A neighbor is helped in an overload. A ready hand is given where there is a call for extra force. These are the sporadic incidents of his life, which correspond contrastedly to the loiterings in the saloon by his comrades, amid the odor of whisky, ribaldry, and blasphemy. He has learned to seize opportunity when it offers ; nay, more, to make opportunity by a judicious management of time. His recreation is in different kinds of application and not in animalism. He by this not only saves many pennies, but he makes many pennies in the course of a year to add to his regular wages. His capital rolls up the more rapidly and his hopes proportionately rise and give new vigor to his life. He is cheerful and not desponding. He is no "poor devil," but a man in every inch of him. The fact that he is not confined to his regular work, but that on occasion he may draw tribute from other provinces, gives him an honest pride and raises him far above his fellows.

But the poor who are oppressed by poverty show none of these traits. They are stolidly set against any extra duty. So far from undertaking anything beyond the regular task, they neglect the regular task as far as they dare. Opportunities are daily presenting themselves, to which they pay no more attention than to the soughing of the wind, and as they neglect opportunities, opportunities neglect them.

4. The last form of improvidence among the poor is the neglect to gain knowledge. Knowledge is power, but how few of the poor know this or believe it! The book is seldom seen in their hands, and yet the book is the key to knowledge. Their reading is chiefly, if not only, the newspaper, with its accounts of murders, prize-fights, and political trifles. Useful learning they despise. Their minds remain unenlightened, and they willfully continue their position among the dregs of the population.

In books they might gain the thoughts of others, that would sharpen their own thinking, while putting them in possession of facts and principles of most practical and remunerative importance. The limits of this article will not allow enlarging on these various aspects of improvidence. All that we can set forth here is the general proposition that the great forgotten cause of poverty is improvidence, which is the common curse of the poor; an improvidence in regard to saving money, to establishing reputation, to using opportunity for making money, and to gaining knowledge. Laziness and liquor are the twin emblems of this improvidence.

We have said that there was another class besides the infirm which must be excepted from the charges of this article, meaning the women who toil on scant wages because they are women. It is probable that, in the generalization of trade and commerce, women's wages will have to be lower than men's, and hence insufficient for family support; and this is based on the physical weakness of woman. If this is true, then women must be to some extent treated as the infirm should be treated, with special adjustments of society in their favor. The other alternative of full competition, though favored by some doctrinaires, would be destructive of woman both in body and soul. It is not woman's function to support the family. It is man's duty to do that. Where woman does it, something is wrong. It should be the exceptional case, demanding exceptional treatment, and not a guide to general principles of labor.

There is one disturbing element in the question of poverty in our country which should be met by legislation in the sternest manner. This is the emptying of foreign almshouses upon our shores. It is now a system, the name of pauper being saved by a temporary pecuniary help, but the pauper still remaining. This form of poverty has nothing to do with the main question. It is an irregularity that should not be allowed and which need not be allowed. The foreign pauper arrives here in filthy laziness and immorality, and is at once a burden on the nation and on society. He degrades labor and fosters crime. He is not the product of any commercial or economic principle in operation among us, but a deranging factor thrown in by base design.

Nothing can be argued from his appearance against the general prosperity of our country or the opportunities of the industrious poor.

In our view, the conclusion of the whole matter is this, that poverty, as a calamity in our country, is (with the exceptions above noted) the result of persistent improvidence on the part of the poor, partly criminal and partly through the lack of exercise of the virtues of self-denial and self-control. While we believe that laws should restrain the rich (whether individual or corporative) from partiality and injustice toward the poor in financial matters, and while we know the poorer classes have a righteous ground of complaint in this direction, at the same time we assert, as at the beginning, that the increase of riches does not increase poverty, but only increases the envy which is at the bottom of the Henry George movement.

HOWARD CROSBY.

## BOOKS THAT HAVE HELPED ME.

Books that have helped me may not help you. Specific direction in reading will hardly be found in such a series of articles as the present, unless incidentally. He who wishes specific advice may rather be commended to those who find amusement in the intellectual pharisaism of choosing a "best hundred books" for other folks to study. The helpfulness of a book is largely relative. Not only is it quite possible that the books which have helped one may not be of assistance to another, but it is certain that books helpful at one period of life are quite useless at another. It follows, therefore, that in order to give an account of the helpful books one has encountered, it is necessary to relate the circumstances in which they were of use, and the mental states which made their aid of importance. This makes a certain amount of autobiography inevitable, and I am embarrassed at the outset by a sense that autobiography is presumptuous in any but an old man or a great one.

To what humble friends are we indebted at the outset? I will not insist on "Webster's Elementary," with its fables, and its frontispiece of a boy gazing upon a shabby little "Temple of Fame" far above him, at the summit of a hill, drawn with so little perspective that it seemed a sheer precipice. But there lay tossing about the house, when I was a little lad, a copy of Lindley Murray's "Introduction to the English Reader," and the latter half of a copy of "The English Reader" itself. These were relics of the school-days of my mother, who once pointed out to me in one of them a poem that she had committed to memory under distressing circumstances. Sent to the dunce block for some childish mischief, she had suffered such mortification that she had not ventured to raise her eyes or even to turn a leaf. The piece before her was the address to two swallows who had entered a church in service time, beginning, "What seek ye

here, ye winged worshipers?" This my mother knew by heart when school was "let out" for the day, and for her spontaneous diligence in committing it she was highly commended at home, where the occasion for her poetic studies was unknown. These two books made not even the slightest concessions to the immaturity of a child's mind; they were merely a collection of pieces from English authors of established fame, classified with scientific rigidity into "Narrative Pieces," "Didactic Pieces," and heaven knows what beside. But in turning those musty pages I first made the acquaintance of literature. That is a great day in which one learns to distinguish and like works of genius. In this day of the deluge, many and many a boy is described by his friends as a "great reader," who never in his life has perceived any difference between a real work of literary art and mere rubbish. I think it was in Lindley Murray's collections that I first read "The Hermit" of Beattie and the "Elegy" of Gray, two favorites of my childhood.

In this world of ours, where a great part of most lives is spent in grinning and bearing it, the first letter in the alphabet of life is fortitude. I remember with gratitude a little book called "Robert Dawson; or, the Brave Spirit." It was published as a Sunday-school book, I believe, but it had much more gristle to it than the ordinary Sunday-school book of that or our time. In many a season of difficulty afterward, when ever-recurring sickness seemed destined to defeat all my boyish ambitions, I have been heartened by remembering Robert Dawson facing a rain-storm with the words, "Only a few drops at a time." It was the first story that I ever read which had a New England background. The minister's wife from New England, who lent me "Robert Dawson," kept a little collection of books to lend about the village with missionary intent, and I, for one, was her debtor. But I do not think she did me any good by putting Dr. Todd's "Hints to Young Men" into my hands. Dr. Todd was a good deal of a prig; the advocate and exemplification of much that is least admirable in the New England spirit. In his eyes life was meant for hum-drum; the value of a day consisted solely in its devotional exercises and the visible amount of work achieved. He did not recognize the use of en-

joyment for its own sake, and its bearing on the education of the spirit; and he confirmed me in the two worst habits I ever fell into, those of early rising and overwork.

It was the evil of the religious prejudices in which I was bred that all novels, except those with a ticketed moral, were put into the index. I read nearly all of Miss Edgeworth's tales, but I do not remember one beneficial lesson derived from her commonplace minor moralities. To this day, however, I cannot cut the string in unwrapping a parcel without compunction, so strong was the impression made by her "Waste not, Want not." I have saved a few feet of twine, and wasted time much more valuable in picking out knots. Nothing is more to be dreaded than a moralist or an economist destitute of the sense of proportion. But to the gentle Jacob Abbott I owe a considerable debt. The "Rollo" books early taught me to observe nature thoughtfully, to try experiments for myself, and to reason on questions of duty. Rollo's maxim, that "responsibility devolves," still recurs to me as a safe guide in certain circumstances. In carrying out the provisions of my father's will, my mother exchanged my father's law library for books likely to prove of advantage to her children. Her selection was mostly of serious works of history, quite beyond a boy's taste. The only juvenile books in the lot were Abbott's "red-backed histories," as we called them. These were my introduction to historical study. I think they might be excelled by books prepared in these later times, but as yet I know of none of their kind that are better.

It was my lot at fifteen to resume my studies, much belated by ill-health, under the instruction of Mrs. Julia L. Dumont, a writer of some distinction in the days when the country west of the Alleghanies had a provincial literature all its own. She was a woman of exceptional acquirements in that time, and I got more from her, perhaps, than from any other teacher. Something led her to believe that I would be a writer, and she took especial pains with my school compositions. I once presented a rambling essay on "The Human Mind," based chiefly on Combe's "Phrenology," which had fallen by chance into my hands. Nor was Combe wholly useless to me; from him I got the notion of the compositeness of what seem to be single traits in character,

and this recognition of what may be called "the resolution of force" in the formation of character has been of the greatest service in the writing of fiction. But my composition on "The Human Mind," which got its psychology from Combe, and its adornments from certain swinging passages quoted from Pope's "Essay on Man," was bad enough, and Mrs. Dumont made short and severe work with it, in a conference with me after school. Better than that, she took from her own shelves a volume of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," which contained Priestley's exposition of the Hartleian system of mental philosophy. This widened my horizon at once, and to this day certain facts of mental action which Priestley there insists on stand out in relief in my conceptions of mind. Mrs. Dumont followed up her prescription of Priestley by lending me Locke "On the Conduct of the Human Understanding," which I sat up late to read, but which did not leave upon my mind any such impression as Priestley's paper. Yet, however I might accept the Hartleian notion of the importance of association of ideas, I was not prepared to receive it when pushed into the region of æsthetics. I soon after this read Jeffrey's review of Alison's "Nature and Principles of Taste;" perhaps, also, Alison's original. This traced all beauty to association of ideas, and I, grown quite a philosopher, fell out with the theory and sought an opportunity to discuss the question with somebody; but I could not find anybody in the whole village who cared a button about the origin of our perceptions of beauty, so that my intellectual ferment cooled down after a while, with no other result than that of bringing on again my old physical prostration, and driving me from school.

It was during the next summer that I made almost my first acquaintance with Washington Irving. Before this I knew him only by certain little pieces in the school readers. I was, at sixteen, sent to Virginia to spend a year among my father's relatives, and while there I was put into a boarding-school known as the "Amelia Academy." It was for over forty years conducted by one man, Mr. W. H. Harrison, a lovable master and a genuine scholar, whose familiarity with the classic tongues was so great that he often unconsciously said his prayers in Greek. In the

parlor of Mr. Garrison's dwelling was a small library behind glass doors. I had longed for access to this, but in my eagerness to make up lost time I had taken up studies enough to engross thirteen hours of every day. The principal was suddenly called away one day, and we had an unexpected rest. The boys fell to their favorite pastimes of "town ball" and high jumping with poles. It would have been wise for me to join them, but I went to the house and begged for the key to the library. Alas! it had gone to Richmond in Mr. Garrison's pocket. I had no recourse but to go into the parlor and read the tantalizing titles through the glass. One pane of glass high up was broken; I climbed to this, and thrusting my hand through, managed to draw out the "*Sketch Book*." It was a lovely spring day, and the fertilizing impression made upon my susceptible mind by this first dash into Irving was most wholesome. The headless horseman, Rip Van Winkle, Little Britain, and all the rest are yet associated in my memory with the brightness of a Virginia sky and the resinous smell of old field pines. All my old impulses to a literary life were awakened by the reading of Irving. I hardly dare look into the "*Sketch Book*" nowadays, for fear of disturbing that first impression.

The value of a book like the "*Sketch Book*," breathing an atmosphere of artistic playfulness, was very great to a nature like mine, pushed both by hereditary traits and religious influences to take life over-scrupulously. Under very different circumstances I became acquainted with another more original, if less imaginative, writer than Irving, who exerted a similar influence on me. After my return from Virginia to Indiana my physical ailments, aggravated by over-application to study, threatened to foreclose upon me once for all. I was, therefore, at eighteen, sent to Minnesota, the great sanitary resort of that time. Fortunately, I had a relish for rough life; my persistent illness and the consequent disappointment in my education had made me desperate. Refusing money from home, I undertook some gentle farm-work; then I took a humble place as chain-carrier in a surveying party, and at length hired myself out to drive three yoke of oxen in a breaking plow. My diseases got

sick of such treatment, and I was soon eating and sleeping as robustly as my oxen. What I felt most keenly was the intellectual starvation I suffered in the strenuous pioneer life of Minnesota in 1856. About this time there came along a man who conducted the book business on a plan I have never heard of since. He carried the priced catalogue of Derby & Jackson, and took orders for any book on the list. I bought in this way a copy of Charles Lamb's Works. It was my only book in a land where books were not, and it was no end of advantage to me. I was, just at this period of my life, deeply interested in settling the six days of creation; for in that time, when Darwin and evolution were yet below the horizon, our chief bother was to get the stratified rocks correctly created according to Moses. I had read Hugh Miller with eagerness, and had even followed the wire-drawn speculations in Hitchcock's "Religion of Geology." To a youth who has assumed such cosmical tasks Lamb could not but be wholesome. His delicious and whimsical humor is a great prophylactic against priggery. I cleave still to my stout one-volume copy of Lamb. There are many better editions, but none so good for me as this, with its margins covered by pencil notes, humiliating enough now, for they reveal the crudities, prejudices, immaturities of the young man who wrote them.

I have got little good out of long poems. What I read of the "Æneid" in school made no sort of impression on my imagination, except in a single description. When I was driven by invalidism to carry on my studies alone, I gave up the "Æneid" and read the "Eclogues" with genuine pleasure. I count them among the vitalizing influences of my education. In an old Virginia house I read the "Paradise Lost" with great attention when I was sixteen, and I plumed myself, boy like, on my discrimination in selecting the great passages. But I am not aware that the great epic exercised any permanent influence upon my education. Half a dozen years later I passed a night at the house of the chief inhabitant of a little hamlet on the Minnesota bank of the St. Croix River. Finding myself unable to sleep, I rose at four o'clock and made my way to the parlor. Upon the center table was Brydges's edition of Milton, and, opening that, I

fell upon "L'Allegro" for the first time. I read it in the freshness of the early morning, and in the freshness of early manhood, sitting at a window embowered in honeysuckles dropping with dew, and overlooking the deep trap-rock dalles through which the dark, pine-stained waters of the St. Croix run swiftly. Just abreast of the little village the river opened for a space, and there were islands; and a raft, manned by two or three red-shirted men, was emerging from the gorge into the open water. Alternately reading "L'Allegro" and looking off at the poetic landscape, I was lifted out of the sordid world into the region of imagination and creation. When, two or three hours later, I galloped along the road, here and there overlooking the dalles and the river, the glory of a nature above nature penetrated my being, and Milton's song of joy reverberated still in my thoughts. I count such an experience as that of high value.

But there is an influence other than that on character and intellectual development, and this I suppose every author of experience can recognize. Sometimes the genesis of a work can be traced to the reading of a book of a very different sort. The starting-point of novel-writing with me was the accidental production of a little newspaper story, dashed off in ten weeks, amid pressing editorial duties, and with no thought of making a book. The "Hoosier Schoolmaster," faulty and unfinished as it is, first won public attention for me, and now, after sixteen years, the exasperating public still buys thousands of copies of it annually, preferring it to the most careful work I can do. I am often asked in regard to the immediate impetus to the writing of this story, and the answer seems paradoxical enough. I had just finished reading Taine's "Art in the Netherlands." Applying his maxim, that an artist ought to paint what he has seen, I tried my hand on the dialect and other traits of the more illiterate people of Southern Indiana.

The long and painful struggle for emancipation from theological dogma can hardly be treated in such a paper as this without liability to misunderstanding. Strange as it may seem, the starting-point of the change with me was the reading of the works of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, whose writings were great favorites with me in the early years of my life as a minister. Some

of his books I read on horseback, riding from one preaching place to another. I recall particularly the "Astronomical Discourses," the Bridgewater treatise, and certain portions of the "Institutes of Theology." Dr. Chalmers believed himself to be a sound Calvinist, but there were certain things, rather in his method than in his conclusions, that changed my way of thinking on these things. Dr. Bascom, in a preceding paper, mentions his obligation to Bushnell and Robertson, who were also influential with me. I ought to add also George Macdonald's novel of "Robert Falconer" to this list, as well as Stanley's "Jewish Church," and the writings of the broad churchmen generally. Stanley himself, by implication, compares such men to Samuel the Prophet, in that they serve their generation by reconciling the past with the inevitable future. They release the mind from a sentimental bondage to dead dogmas by substituting a higher kind of sentiment. But with me the movement could not arrest itself at this point. There came a time, later in life than crises usually come, when my intellectual conscience insisted that sentiment of every sort ought to be put aside in the search for truth. Doubtless there were numberless influences back of this break-up of opinion and intellectual habits. Such a revolution is the ultimate result of all the forces of one's nature and education. But I remember three words of Sainte-Beuve—to whose writings I owe a hundred debts—three words that stung me like a goad when this change was approaching. It is in one of the "Nouveaux Lundis" that he describes the mental state of Lamennais, I think, by saying that there were certain doctrines which that ex-priest had *mis en réserve*. These words recurred to me over and over as a rebuke to my lack of intellectual courage. I also had put many things in reserve; if I discussed them at all it was always under shelter of certain sentiments. Were sentiments proper media for the discovery of truth? I will not dwell on the painfulness of the decision to which I was forced. There are few driven to this dilemma, I believe; it is for that few that I write. From the time that I resolved that nothing should be any more "put in reserve" by me, but that all my opinions, even the most sacred and venerable, should go into the crucible, I date what I deem a truer and freer intellectual life

than I had known before. Such a life has its serious risks of many sorts, its pains, its deprivations, its partial isolation. It is not to be chosen by him who is not willing to pay at a dear rate for the disentanglement of his intellectual powers. What conclusions the detached mind reaches on grave questions is a matter of secondary import. Such conclusions may well be inconstant quantities, for the sphere of the universe is large and that of a human brain very small. But the resolute refusal to have reserves under shelter is the important and wholesome fact in the history of a man who has a vocation for the intellectual life.

I was moved by the allusion of my good friend Mr. Hale to his growing love for Thomas à Kempis. There is a little copy of à Kempis that I used to carry on journeys with the purpose of quickening my spirit, and perhaps, also, with a notion, only half confessed, of keeping my Latin from entirely disappearing. I am sure it did me good. But reading à Kempis is like saying one's prayers in a crypt. There are people who are the better, no doubt, for resorting to an underground chapel. Nowadays such things are a little out of date, and it is hard for a real nineteenth-century man to go down stairs to pray. My little Thomas à Kempis has long been pushed to a top shelf near the ceiling, and it seems more trouble than it is worth to mount the step-ladder. Besides, Mr. Hale himself, in an excellent little story, taught me and many others that the true way is to "look upward and not downward, outward and not inward, forward and not backward." À Kempis may rest where he is; I would rather walk in wide fields with Charles Darwin; and, above all, I would rather, if it were possible, get one peep into the epoch-making book of the next century, whatever it may be, than to go back to the best of the crypt-worshipers. Perhaps it is but a reaction from the subjective training of my youth, but the objective life seems the better. I doubt whether one can be greatly benefited by a too constant dia-monologue with his own soul, such as à Kempis is given to.

EDWARD EGGLESTON.

## AN OUTSIDE VIEW OF REVIVALS.

I suppose that the outside view of revivals would, in general, be unfavorable to them. It is, indeed, easy to criticise the methods of the professional revivalist. Many thoughtful members of the churches among which he labors find in his work much that shocks their taste and offends their judgment. One who stands outside these churches has more profound reasons for disapproval. Not only is such a one troubled, sometimes, by a style of speech that seems to him unworthy of the great themes which are discussed; not only is he disturbed by the mechanism of the thing, as he seems to hear the creaking of the machinery by which souls are to be lifted to a higher life; he meets a yet more radical difficulty in the fact that whatever he finds most objectionable in the orthodox system is specially emphasized in the manipulation of a revival. The power of fear is sometimes appealed to in such a way as to paralyze the free life of one who heeds such appeals. The "scheme" of salvation is presented in such a way as to obscure the real relations of the soul to God. Some years ago I heard a prominent revivalist illustrate the manner in which Christ frees us from the wrath of God, by the story of a child who was in peril of being bitten by a mad dog. The father of the child rushed in and seized the dog by the jaws. The child was saved, but the father died. In applying this story it was explained that the child represented the sinner and that the father represented Jesus; but who the mad dog represented the speaker did not tell us.

Such appeals to fear are, perhaps, less common than formerly, though they are still made; and perhaps such a presentation as I have just referred to will not often be heard. Whether this be so or not, the deeper fact remains that the view of man's relation to God, and the theory of conversion, which together made such appeals possible, are the animating principles of the revival.

It is the orthodox faith, formally considered—taken, that is, without the moral and spiritual truths which form so large a part of preaching in all churches to-day—that the evangelist forces upon our attention. Whether this faith is true or false does not concern us here. I am simply pointing out what is the nature of the real difficulty which one who is not orthodox finds in the revival.

The evangelist urges upon his hearers a certain experience and a certain act, which are represented as essential to salvation. It is easy to see the ill effect that may sometimes be produced by this pressure. There are some who heed the preacher's word, who believe that they are lost if they do not obey his call, and who may yet feel themselves absolutely unable to meet his demands. Men, and still more, women, may be troubled by being driven to cast aside the natural reserve in which the spiritual life so often loves to hide itself, and which they cannot violate without pain; while, if they do not violate it, they feel that they are doubly sinners. It is sad that, in watching the struggles of the spirits who are contending for our souls, we so often fail to see which is our good angel.

I have thus presented some of the objections to the revival system as they are felt and urged by many who, like myself, watch its working from the outside. I have wished to emphasize the fact that these objections, to a large degree, apply not merely to the work of the evangelist, but to the principles of the church which he represents. We find ourselves confronted, not by a skirmishing party, as we thought, but by the main army itself. If this is so, there is obviously another side to the case. Behind the evangelist is the church. His work, then, cannot be taken and judged as if it stood alone. We must look through whatever in it may seem extravagant and distasteful, and consider it with reference to the church. From this point of view two questions suggest themselves. The first is, as to the worth of the church that uses this instrument; and the second is, as to the worth of this particular instrument to the church.

One does not need to be connected with any branch of the orthodox church to recognize the great debt that we owe to that

church in the past and our great dependence upon it in the present. If we take the history of our country as a whole, we must admit that it has been the orthodox church, under one or another of its forms, that has stood for religion in the past, and which represents it at the present time. I do not underrate the work and the power of the liberal churches ; but when we look at the length and breadth of our history, these may almost be left out of the account. It is true that in the greater part of our country to-day the strength of the orthodox churches means the strength of religion, and their weakness, the weakness of religion. Much as many of us would prefer to see a theology that seems to us purer as well as simpler prevail, and to see a form of religion that seems to us more natural replace that which appears to some extent artificial, yet we should be bigots indeed if we failed to rejoice in the strength and to dread the weakness of the existing churches, so long as no other has the power to take their place.

We must admit, also, that the churches which have controlled the history of our nation have no reason to be ashamed of their work. The Congregational Church of New England, with all its errors and faults, has yet trained up generation after generation, not merely of God-fearing men, but of men quick to see and strong to pursue the right; men to whom the law of duty was supreme. If, at the present day, the aspect of things has somewhat changed ; if, when we hear of a defaulter, we expect, as a regular thing, to hear that he is prominent in his church and a teacher in the Sunday-school, it may with truth be answered that no church can be held to full responsibility for its members unless it can control the public sentiment outside its limits. So long as the Congregational Church of New England was the controlling power in the community it had little to fear from such charges.

We admit, then, the worth of the church that uses the evangelist. We have now to ask, what is the worth of this instrument to the church ? An examination will show, I think, that it is one adapted to its needs. Given a church which holds religion to be, not merely the crowning grace of life, but its one end and aim ; that believes the eternal happiness or misery

of individual souls to be dependent upon a choice which may be made in a moment; and we see that such a church would naturally and logically, if not inevitably, make use of the method of revivals. It is interesting to notice that the ritualistic churches, the Catholic and the Episcopal, especially the High Church wing, make use of methods very similar to those of the revivalist. The missioner treats, I judge, the matter in a somewhat broader way than the evangelist, and, perhaps, his method is somewhat more refined; but his purpose is very similar. As the evangelist seeks to produce a definite effect under the form of conversion, so the missioner seeks to have his work crowned by the sacrament. Each has a definite end at which he aims; and thus each uses methods which would be less appropriate, in their full extent, to a church which trusts more to the general edification of its members than to any decisive moment or act.

While the revival system is thus justified by the theory of the church, I believe that it is, to a large extent, justified by facts. From the days of Whitefield down, it is certain that the orthodox church has received very large additions in this way. When we look at the persons who make up the ordinary congregation of an orthodox church, we can only wonder that more marked results do not follow. In every such congregation there are many who are not in absolute sympathy with its principles. They attend the services, either from habit or to gain such spiritual help as might be received in a Unitarian church. They have thought the thing out, and are content. There are many others, however, whose minds are in a state of unstable equilibrium. They accept the premises of their church, but have not yet accepted its conclusions. Such individuals occupy an extremely nondescript position. They are not in a state to profit, in the truest way, from the ministrations of the pulpit. They cannot take to themselves what is addressed to the converted; they will not take to themselves what is addressed to the unconverted. They, perhaps, have never thought much of the matter; perhaps they have put off decision from time to time.

It is to such that the evangelist addresses himself. The

question as to what they will do is forced upon them. They feel that if they do not make a decision then, perhaps they never will make it. An officer holding a very high position in our army once told me that in his earlier years he was present at a revival meeting. He sat listlessly with other officers watching the proceedings. Many of the hearers offered themselves as subjects of special prayer. The officers about him laughed scornfully at their course. Suddenly the question flashed upon him whether he would rather take his lot with these mockers, or with those simple souls who, though ignorant and rude, were yet in earnest. He at once arose, went forward, and took his place with them. The religious work which he afterward did in the army showed that the impression did not pass away with the moment. We cannot wonder that the results of a moment's decision are often thus enduring. The individual does not stand alone. He has put himself into new relations and gradually assumes new habits. The same kind of influences that before favored his irresolution now favor his resolution. He soon moves along in his new groove as naturally as he moved along in his old. What deeper forces may be at work to favor the new resolve we need not here ask.

When a revival really rages in a community or a church, it comes somewhat like a judgment-day. Each takes his place in regard to it according to his nature. Some are driven into the church. Some, by reaction, are swept into churches which profess a milder creed. Many have their religious emotions stirred, though not just as the revivalist would wish. I have known more than one Unitarian church that warmed itself from the fires on its neighbor's altar. Some, disgusted with the extravagance which they see, give up all thought of religion, and are driven into pure worldliness. Some, as we have already observed, are oppressed by the impossibility of doing what is demanded of them, and fall into melancholy. Now and then one, with a predisposition for it, becomes insane. Where was there ever a victory which left no losses to be deplored? A venerable professor of theology once exclaimed to his class, with a slight laugh, which was probably a nervous one, "I suppose I killed a woman once." He went on to say that he was once

preaching one of the hard doctrines, and a lady, an invalid, was so disturbed by it that she died. In the face of this, he urged that the truth must be preached without regard to the consequences to individuals. From his standpoint he was right.

The revival system must, then, be judged according to its relation to the church with which it is connected. So long as men hold different religious beliefs, and hold these beliefs to be essential matters, so long must they have separate organizations; and these organizations must work each according to the principle which controls it. So long as men are of different kinds, some thinking and some thoughtless, some cultured and some rude, so long must they be addressed in somewhat different ways. In these two facts we have the explanation of the revival system, and of some, at least, of the less dignified ways in which it is carried out. I know little of the Salvation Army, but I could never quite understand why others, who know as little of it as myself, should be so harsh in their judgment of it. I have sometimes wondered, with the members of this army, why their processions were excluded from streets that were open to all other processions. Their maneuvers seem like a play, but how much of our life is play. How much play there is in the ritualistic churches, with vestments and banners and processions. There is no play more inspiring than that of war. I remember that when, as a boy, I weeded in my father's garden, I never worked with such vigor as when I fancied myself a conqueror, carrying on a war of extermination.

While we recognize the fact that the work of the evangelist has the justification of the church for which he labors, none the less have we a right to urge that this church should by wise vigor guard this work against abuse. Abstractly considered, I suppose that all souls are of equal value; yet souls differ in specific gravity, and the church should be careful that, while trying to secure the lighter, it does not lose the heavier. We may even say that they differ in size, and one would not care to scare away a trout to catch a minnow.

There are evangelists of all sorts. There are those who play upon the feelings and fears of children. There are those whose irreverence, if it were shown by another, would be called by a

harsher name. There are those who seem to glory in a style of speech which would be forgiven if it were used unconsciously. There are some whose conceit makes them exalt themselves above other preachers, whose helpers they should aim to be. One is reported as saying that some of the ministers did not think much of him, and he must confess he did not think much of them. At another time he referred to the complaint that he had "smirched himself over with slang," and compared himself to an engine that came in, greasy and smutty, from pulling a long train from the West, while the preachers who did quiet work at home were compared to an engine that had been kept clean and bright in the roundhouse. By weakening the faith of his converts in the ministers to whose care he must leave them he was ruining his own work. It is, further, a mistake to suppose that the duty of the evangelist is more difficult than that of many a parish minister. A little knack and a little smartness would probably go farther in this than in any other branch of the profession; while, it may be added, in no other branch of the profession would faith, earnestness, and genius bear richer fruit.

There are also evangelists who work steadily and earnestly for the end which they have set before themselves; they use the machinery of the revival system; they use common speech; their words often gleam with humor; but through all, their faith and honesty are felt. There is a humor the source of which lies very near the source of tears. I have heard it said of a Maine revivalist, "Camp-meeting John," I think, that the "Amens" never came so fast as after a little ripple of a laugh had run through a congregation. Of the work of Mr. Moody, for instance, I have heard little but praise. His character seems to enforce his appeals to those who know him best. I was present a few weeks ago when some divinity students were questioning him in regard to his methods, and was struck by the mingling of shrewdness and earnestness which he showed.

Dr. Pentecost, in a strong and interesting paper, now published in pamphlet form, has recently called attention to the fact that the preaching in the churches with which he is connected has become to a large extent "pastoral" rather than "evange-

listic." He suggests a division of labor, by which the preaching of pastors should be "pastoral," while evangelists would devote themselves to the work of conversion. The statement and the suggestion are both of great interest. If evangelistic preaching is dying out in the churches, it can only be because the special beliefs from which this preaching sprang are fading out. If this form of preaching is remanded to a different order of clergy, and thus is no more heard in the regular ministrations of the church, the evangelist will find fewer and fewer souls prepared to meet his coming. The aspect of the church will be changed, and the revival system, in the narrow and technical meaning of the word, with all its machinery, will have passed away. Revivals, let us hope, in the broader meaning of the term, will still remain; the poor and the unchurched will still have the gospel preached to them; but if the doctrines that gave to the violent measures of the revivalist their justification shall have lost their power, all this will be accomplished by less questionable means.

C. C. EVERETT.

## WHAT IS THE OBJECT OF LIFE?

THE first paper in this series, published in the *FORUM* for June, is interesting for another reason besides its actual contents. It is interesting on account of the character and the attainments of its author. Mr. Romanes is distinguished as a man of science; he has also the advantage of wide general culture; and there are few men, probably, who have been more completely trained in the intellectual methods of the modern scientific school, or are able to use them with more intelligence and authority. We shall be, therefore, quite justified in considering, when he speaks to us about the object of life, that he is not exhibiting to us his own opinions only, but the capacities of modern science for dealing with such a question, also.

Looking on the matter, then, in this light, I must begin by saying that Mr. Romanes, in many of his arguments, appears to me to be merely illustrating afresh a fact which I have often elsewhere remarked upon, that the logic of science is as loose when applied to ethical questions as it is severe and searching when confined to physical. I might, without exaggeration, put this much more strongly; but I refrain from doing so for fear that what I said of science might seem like a needless reflection on Mr. Romanes himself.

My complaint against Mr. Romanes begins at the very opening of his observations; for, starting with a reference to the question, *Is life worth living?*\* and noticing very rightly that various

\* I am anxious not to confuse the argument with any unnecessary defense of any previous writings of my own on the same subject; but as Mr. Romanes opens his paper with an allusion to my volume, "*Is Life Worth Living?*" I think it well to point out that he is considerably in error as to the issues there raised by me. "No doubt," Mr. Romanes writes, "Mr. Mallock, and all who followed in the debate which he opened, took it for granted that the object of life is the attainment of happiness, and, therefore, that whether or not life is worth living must depend for each individual on the balance between his pleasures and his pains. . , . This implied answer disregards the ethical ques-

meanings might be attached to it, he proceeds to say that, to make its meaning definite, we must first ask a question which is simpler; and that is, What is the object of life? But this latter question is in reality just as ambiguous as the former; and its ambiguities, moreover, are the very same as those which, in the case of the former, Mr. Romanes himself notices. For What is the object of life? may mean two distinct things. It may mean, What do men aim at, as we see them living round us? and it may mean, What, according to some principle of our own, do we think they ought to aim at?

Now, if we are asking the question in its first sense, we must say about it just what Mr. Romanes says about the question, Is life worth living? We must say, "It is obvious that no general answer applicable to all mankind can be given." We might, in fact, as well ask for a general answer to What is the object of going to church? or What is the object of going to America? Take any steamer sailing from Liverpool to New York, and the object of each passenger in making the voyage is different. So are the objects of people in going to church. The object of some is to say their prayers, of some to keep up appearances, of some to see their neighbors' bonnets. A similar criticism applies to men's objects in life generally; and our question, therefore, if asked in this sense, is one for the satirist far more than for the philosopher. It is no doubt true that even in the discursive observations of the satirist we should find implied one general principle; and that is, that men, however various their conduct, are one and all of them seeking their own happiness. But this is a principle which belongs to psychology rather than to ethics; and for us, in this connection, if taken by itself, as Mr. Romanes

tion touching the quality of pleasures and pains, in respect of what the intuitionists call 'higher' and 'lower.' " It will be enough for me to quote these words from my opening chapter : " Let us then make it quite plain at starting that when we ask, Is life worth living? we are not asking whether its balance of pains is necessarily and always in excess of its balance of pleasures. . . . What I am going to discuss is not the superfluous truism that life has been found worth living by many, but the perfectly different proposition that it ought to be found worth living by all." Whilst, as to the difference between the "higher" and the "lower" pleasures, that forms the central subject of the entire subsequent discussion.

says, it is merely "a barren truism." In one sense, therefore, and that perhaps its most obvious sense, the question, What is the object of life? is not only unprofitable, but meaningless. If it is to convey to us any general and any ethical meaning it must be qualified by, and imbedded in, certain beliefs and propositions with regard to life in general, which, even if not stated, are necessarily and distinctly implied. Let us see how this is.

First, then, let us repeat, there is one fact which we presume : the object of life is happiness ; happiness, when thus spoken of, as Mr. Romanes says, becoming "but a short-hand mode of expressing a desirable state of existence." We presume further, for all observation tells it us, that men seek to reach a desirable state of existence in an immense variety of ways. If, therefore, our question is to have any general answer, we must imply and we must believe this : that among these various ways there is one special way which is the best ; it is open to everybody, and it will bring everybody who tries it to a state which, if fairly compared with others, all will pronounce the most desirable.

Thus, if life generally can be said to have any object in particular, the object in question must be happiness of a particular kind. This happiness, however, as I said just now, is not a kind of happiness that all men, or indeed most men, actually do seek for ; if therefore, in spite of this fact, we still say that it *is* their object, we must have in our minds some yet further qualifications of our statement. To begin with, we must mean not that it is the object of all men, but that it is the object of all men who recognize and realize its nature. This, however, is plainly not enough ; for to say this would be much the same as to say that the object of life was to see, supposing the majority of mankind to be blind. We must plainly imply, therefore, in our statement, this : that though all men do not realize the nature of this happiness now, yet they all could do so, and they all can be made to do so ; that the blind, if they chose, could cure their blindness, or that others are certainly able to cure it for them. Any one who ventures to assert then, as a general proposition, that life has any one object in particular, is practically asserting at the same time that there is some special kind of happiness which all who realize its nature will prefer to all others, and

whose nature all men can somehow be made to realize. Here is an example of such an assertion, supplied us by Mr. Romanes himself. "The Shorter Catechism," he writes, "defines the object of life as that of glorifying God, and enjoying him forever." In this, the implications I have just named are obvious. Those who made and those who adhere to this assertion, obviously neither meant nor mean to assert that all men, the wicked and the unrighteous included, either do glorify God now, or will ever enjoy him at any time; but their meaning is that all men would be happier if they did so; that all men, if they chose, might recognize this fact and act on their recognition; and that if they will not recognize it in this life, God will make them, though too late, recognize it despairingly in another.

For those, then, who believe in a God and a future life, it is easy enough to give a logical and satisfactory meaning to the general assertion that life has some certain object. Is it equally easy, or is it even possible, to do the same thing, if these beliefs are rejected? Mr. Romanes seems to think it is; and though there is nothing in his paper to indicate that he rejects these beliefs himself, the one aim of all his argument is to show that they are not essential to the view of life we are speaking about. His contention is that non-theistic science will not, indeed, yield us an answer the same as that of the catechism, but that it will yield us one equally general, and equally authoritative. With many of his remarks on this subject I altogether concur; but that he should take them to lead to any such conclusion as the above only shows again how incomplete is the training which science gives a man for dealing with human action.

Let me give the gist of what he says, in a few brief quotations:

"The object of infidelity is the same as that of religious faith, namely, to bring the human mind into such harmony with what is believed to be its true environment, as will in the long run prove most conducive to its well-being or happiness. The difference between the Christian and the infidel is, therefore, not a difference of aim, but merely a difference in what they believe to be the truest welfare of the race. . . . Now my purpose in taking part in this discussion is that of furnishing a general answer to this question . . . [as to the] means of attaining the common object of life, and one which, it appears to me, all enlightened men, of whatever creed or country, ought to agree in accepting."

Such an agreement, he says, "can only be secured on a basis of observable facts." He will, therefore, he tells us, take "the human mind as we find it," and point out certain forms of happiness, which, owing to that mind's very constitution, are supremely satisfying to all natures alike. These forms are primarily two in number; first is the happiness of love, secondly is the happiness of thought. But every happiness experienced by self is doubled by an effort to secure the same for others; we must, therefore, add to our own loving and thinking an altruistic effort to promote love and thought in our neighbors. We have only, says Mr. Romanes, one thing further to mention; and this is the happiness that comes from "ministering to the wants of the body"—primarily, our own bodies, secondarily, those of our neighbors. But about this last form of happiness he thinks "it is not needful to say much;" for in the first place—and here he is quite right—its necessity is so obvious; and in the second place, necessary though bodily happiness be, there is, he considers, an ecumenical consent that it is slight when compared with the happiness that is mental and emotional. To sum up, then, his conclusions in his own words:

"The chief object of life is that of promoting love both in ourselves and others. . . . Next only to what may be termed the emotional happiness of love there stands the intellectual happiness of thought. [Thus] it appears to me that the two great objects of life are to love and to think; and further, it appears to me that in this verdict men of all schools ought to agree."

Here we have what a scientific thinker considers to be a scientific solution of the problem, how to vindicate, from a study of observable facts, some general meaning and some general dignity for life. To me, his answer, though true so far as it goes, seems to go but a very little way, and to ignore completely every factor in the case that makes the problem require or deserve discussion.

To begin, then, with that part of it which can be dealt with most easily, the "thought," which Mr. Romanes speaks of as a source of happiness, is obviously not that ordinary use of the mind which is inseparable from all rational life; for thought, in this sense, is not pleasurable in itself, but is only so when it deals with pleasurable circumstances. He must mean by thought some triumphant exertion of the intellect, some delight

of the mind in exercising its own strength, analogous to that which a swimmer feels in water. Now this kind of delight is perfectly well known. Mr. Romanes, no doubt, speaks of it from experience; and any man of science, or any philosopher or poet, would naturally give it a very high position. But the majority of men hardly feel it at all. Millions of men, in this sense of the word, never "think." To millions more thought only comes intermittently, and then it does but perplex and puzzle them; at best, it soothes them; it certainly does not delight them. To think, then, in this sense, is no more a general object of life than to study Spinoza is, or to write poetry, or to decipher cuneiform inscriptions. And we may add further that to the thinkers themselves, thought, from the days of Solomon to our own, has brought sorrow quite as often as pleasure.

Let us turn now to the happiness derived from love. This has in many ways a far better claim than thought, to be considered as the object of life generally, since it is at once intense and capable of being appreciated by all. It is not, however, sufficiently definite. It means one thing to Mr. Romanes, and quite another thing to the Bey of Tunis. Indeed, to the same people, at different times, it means not only different but virtually opposite things. It did so, for instance, to St. Mary Magdalene. Could Mr. Romanes catechise in succession the mother of St. Augustine, the father of Beatrice Cenci, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, Catherine of Russia, and Brigham Young, he would hardly be inclined to accept, as the same object, love as conceived of by each of these several characters. When he speaks of love himself, he evidently has in mind the chastened passions and pure family affections which, if not due to Christianity, have at any rate been sanctioned and developed by it; and he speaks of them to the exclusion of all warmer, more violent, and, above all, more selfish emotions. But if he takes men as they actually are—including, of course, such populations as those of China and India, which, after all, are the majority of the human species—he will find that such love as he would pronounce desirable is, as a fact, desired by a very small minority; so that if he still persist in giving a general meaning to his statement that the chief object of life is love, he can only mean that the chief object

of life is indulging the passions somehow, which does not seem a very instructive conclusion.

Let us, however, waive this difficulty. There is a far greater one still in store for us. Let us suppose, what Mr. Romanes seems to imply himself, that there is some form of love so much better than the rest, that not only all who have tried it prefer it to all others, but that those even who have not tried it have an instinctive sense of its excellence. This is indeed actually true of a large number of people, though it is certainly not true of the whole human race. So we will imagine that such people are the only people we are concerned with. Will, however, this supposition help us? Unfortunately, no. It will only make our difficulty more apparent; for one of the most striking characteristics of the moral nature of man is that to know what is best for himself, even to have tasted what is best for himself, does not insure any constancy in his choosing it. "*Video meliora proboque; deteriora sequor.*" "That which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I." Were it not for this fact, the idea of the Incarnation and the Passion would have no meaning. Instead of touching the hearts of men as it has done, it would be completely pointless. So, too, would the moral systems of Buddhism and Mohammedanism. Indeed, this moral contradiction, this war in the members, lies at the very core of our nature; and it alone makes human life a possible subject for ethical teaching or speculation. But this the modern school of science, and Mr. Romanes as speaking for it, seems persistently to overlook. They erect, for their discussion, a life that is quite imaginary; and their chief generalizations are out of all relation to fact. Thus Mr. Romanes says, "No one who has lived the higher life, whether of love or thought, could possibly desire to exchange it for a lower one; and this," he adds, "seems the best possible answer to the reasonings of the pessimist." If this be so, the best answer is indeed a poor one; for there is not the life of a single human soul, which, if truly written, would not be one long contradiction of it. Is the Emperor Tiberius the only man who, having begun his days with a higher life, ended them with a lower one? Is not middle age continually the grave of the purest aspirations of youth? and even those who

do not fall away are constantly beset by the strongest temptation to do so. The man had been caught up into the seventh heaven who said, "What I would I do not ; but what I hate, that do I." Therefore, even granting a general agreement among men as to what their truest and intensest happiness is, the "infidel" can still not say that this is the object of life. He can only say, Alas, that it is not the object !

Let us, however, waive this objection also. Let us suppose that men do as a fact invariably endeavor to make this highest happiness their own ; let us suppose that it is actually the object of all men's lives. But even now we have gained little ; for though all men desire the highest pleasures of love and thought, all men do not attain them, and we can hardly conceive a state of society in which they should. Mr. Romanes himself admits that the happiness of love is imbibited by the sorrow of loss ; but that is not all ; the search for love is imbibited also by the sorrow of not finding it, of having it rejected when it is offered, or withdrawn after it is given, or of its not proving equal to the lover's ideal. Mr. Romanes meets the difficulty by saying :

"'Tis better to have loved and lost, than never to have loved at all." \*

But this applies only to love that has been worthily returned ; and such love, thus far, has certainly not been universally attained by men, nor does it seem that it can ever be universally attainable. So, too, with regard to the pleasures of thought. We may, indeed, imagine all men respecting and admiring philosophy, but it is impossible to imagine any state of society in which any but a few should really become philosophers. Thus even if the "infidel" could say of his highest happiness that in any sense it was generally the object of life, he would have to add that it is an object that very few lives attain.

\* Mr. Romanes supplements this quotation with what he must permit me to call a typical specimen of scientific reasoning. "Must not we add," he says, "It is better to have lived and died, than never to have lived at all" ? But better for whom ? In the case of love, the meaning of the statement is clear : it is better for the lover, the memory of whose lost love is still dear to him, in spite of its pain. But how, when a man is dead, can it be better for him, who no longer exists, to have done or not done anything ? According to the "infidel," in the grave there is no better or worse.

To sum up, then, it seems to me that the "infidel" cannot predicate of life in general that it has any common object at all. Let him select any object he pleases as the best object, and he will find that, (1) there is no general agreement with him that it is the best object; (2) men's actual object, even supposing such an agreement, is not always or generally the object they recognize as the best; (3) even when they aim at what they think the best object, they do not always or even generally get it. All, therefore, that the "infidel" can logically say is, that such and such an object ought to be recognized by all men as the best; that it would be well for them if their nature were so radically different that they could consistently aim at the object they thus recognized; and that it would be still better for them if they could all, or even most of them, get it. It may, perhaps, be thought that the ardent and enthusiastic reformer can say more than this. About the present, however, he can really not say as much. All that he can say is as follows: "My object, and that of a few brother reformers, is so to alter human nature that life shall have a common object some day, and so to alter society that some day all may get it. But at present life has no such object at all, therefore am I a reformer."

It seems to me that the statement that life has some common object can be given a logical meaning by theism alone; by a belief in God, and a belief in a future life. If an Intelligence outside man has created man for a certain definite purpose, the phrase, The object of life, at once acquires a new and more intelligible meaning; for whatever this purpose may be, it must be each man's object to co-operate with it, so far as he can understand it, seeing that if he fail to do this he is sure one day to repent it. No doubt, for the theist as for the "infidel," the evil and failure in life present a great difficulty; but the theist is able to cut the knot by faith, accepting it as a mystery for which God will find a solution. But for the "infidel" the knot cannot be thus got rid of. It remains a knot still, or we may rather call it a noose. It is a logical halter by which his moral system is strangled.

W. H. MALLOCK.

## THE CHOICE OF AN OCCUPATION.

THE annual recurrence of the college commencements brings into view the question, so difficult for the young graduate, as to the choice of the profession which he is to follow in life. All teachers who have won the respect or regard of their pupils find those pupils pressing them with curious inquiries in this matter. It must be confessed that the ordinary college, having no professorship of the "science of living," has not generally done much, in a practical way, to answer these inquiries. Nor is this to be spoken of as if the colleges were wholly at fault. If the college has prepared the young man to make his own choice, it has done much more for him than if, with a dictatorial contempt for his ability, it had made that choice for him.

Beyond the line of things that are certain there is the atmosphere, as we call it, which is indeed the margin, now water and now land, of a beach which the daily tide-flow covers up, or from which it recedes. It is in this mysterious margin that the great questions of human life are developed ; and he who rightly answers them is the person who has not been afraid to recognize the truth that such a margin exists. The old philosopher in the "Evenings at Home," who practiced swimming on the table after he had watched a frog in his wash-basin, did not find after all that he could swim when he jumped into the water. The jumping into the water, as the proverb says, is necessary for the swimming. In precisely the same way many a man who has taken the first honors at Yale, at Oxford, at Cambridge, or at Bologna, has found, when he has plunged into the ocean of life, that the water is very cold, and that swimming is not the easy thing which it was in the abstract and in theory. But none the less is it true, that the man who at any college had trained his muscles and his will, swam better when he leaped into the water than the petted boy who had been tied to his mother's apron-strings

and had trained neither will nor muscle. The education which a college gives carries one to the margin. The work of the world begins on the other side of the margin. In the margin between, sometimes in a few days, sometimes in many years, are to be wrought out the mysteries which from college life lead to the world's life. They are easier for one man than for another, perhaps. They are, perhaps, easier in one vocation than they are in another. But there is no man in any possible vocation who will not find that this difficult step is to be taken, or this difficult passage met. In the last resort of all, the young man who seeks counsel must find it in his communion with his God.

There will, of course, be persons born with a certain genius, or a certain hereditary predisposition, for whom the choice is very easy, because, in fact, it has been made for them in advance. It is wholly true that we are to "follow the line of our genius," if we can find out what that is. And it may be that a genius for music, or for the arts of design, or for some other calling, has become so pronounced before a man is twenty that he is quite aware of its existence, and commits himself to the course which it suggests without question or difficulty. But if I were to speak roughly, from the experience which I have had, I should say that not in more than one case in ten is the disposition or choice so easily made.

It is the purpose of this paper to give a few hints as to the way in which a young American shall make this choice. First of all, he has a right to demand free and open promotion. He may take a calling, for a year or two, which does not admit of it. But that must be with the distinct idea of leaving that calling to go up higher, as soon as the orange is squeezed dry. Secondly, a young American must be so placed that he can do his duty by his country. Bacon says that there is no greater work for any man than the founding of states, and implies that there is no nobler epitaph to be written over his body than that he has assisted in such work. It does not require much stretch of the phrase to say that in the United States a man may join in this work without moving an inch from the home in which he was born. For there is a great deal to be done in the way of foundations, even in the oldest village of New York or of Vir-

ginia. There are many of the foundations of a state which have not yet been laid in our oldest regions.

It is necessary to call attention to this duty early in this discussion, because there are so many young men who are looking forward to an independent income, who do not care or profess to care anything about the responsibilities which really belong to every American. They want to draw their dividends or to cut off their coupons and convert them into cash, and then simply enjoy the life that God has given to them for whatever term may be allotted to them. The first question is to find out whether the person you are advising belongs to this class or not. And if he do, the direction is quite easily given to him. In the popular play of "The Old Homestead," an old lady, whose name I have forgotten, says to a man who is paying his untimely addresses to her, "If you want to act like a fool, why don't you go to the circus?" In precisely the same way it should be said to every young man who does not wish to do his duty as a member of the American state, "If you want to live a lazy and selfish life, why don't you go to Europe?" In brief, we do not want him here. Let him draw his dividends and spend them in countries where people are valued for the money that they spend. But let us here have a clear field, know who our allies are, and not be obliged to keep the track clear for broken-winded jades like him, who cannot help, and are sure to hinder.

I think there is ingrained in most American character a certain disposition to adventure. Very likely this is hereditary. Naturally enough, those heads of English families or of Dutch families who wanted to come over to America, came, and the disposition to move was in their blood. It was noted when Mr. Garfield died that in every generation down to him, from the time of Ensign Garfield of Watertown, in 1630, the Garfield family had emigrated and founded a new home. As was so well said, they "hungered for the horizon." Perhaps this element is in the blood of all of us. However that may be, there certainly is an attraction for the field of duty, whatever it is, which offers white paper to write upon. When a man tells you, in his home in some such thriving city as Rochester in Minnesota, that he was one of those who took each one hundred and sixty acres

which had been laid off for them by the government, and that this city has grown up on the one hundred and sixty acres which was then clear prairie, you look upon him with a certain delight, because he had not the incumbrances and difficulties which fall in the way of men whose life is thrown in the midst of old prescriptions, and who have had always to be threading their way in the intricacies of an old civilization. I suppose it is this which, on the whole, makes offers of duty at the West more attractive than offers of duty at the East. It is certainly this which accounts for the eagerness which those young men who go to a theological school feel for going to what is called the "foreign field." They think, although they are mistaken in so thinking, that the foreign field has fewer tangles and artificial incumbrances than the line of their duty at home. I have never lived in the West myself. I suppose that the West has its own share of difficulties. But it must be true that those difficulties are not the antediluvian difficulties with which the Hercules of an eastern stable has to do battle. I should say, then, to any young man who should advise with me, that it were better for him to take the place of a schoolmaster in a high school in Omaha, or Duluth, or Walla Walla, than to take a similar position, or even one more attractive pecuniarily, in New York, in Philadelphia, or in Boston. Two things are certain; first, that by going to western work he would learn something of his own country which he cannot learn in the Irish cities of the seaboard; and, secondly, that he has the chances which the West gives to young men, and which the East withholds from the same men, bidding them wait till they are forty or fifty years of age.

In the third place, the young American must be quite sure that he may steadily enlarge the training or education which his college life has given. This means a good deal when it comes to the choice of one's vocation, for there are certain occupations in life which do not admit of any expansion. The man who is in them comes to wonder what we enthusiasts mean when we talk of the enlargement of life; when we say that human life is infinite, and that it must look always to the horizon or beyond the stars. Any such calling, then, as keeps a man metaphorically

shut up within any four walls is to be avoided. Ruskin says somewhere, what is probably true, that we take no delight in any picture which does not give us an open window, an open door, or some other outlook upon the infinite sky. This remark is probably used by him for the same purpose with which I use it now. There must be an outlook, and there must be easy ways of extending the range of life as it is to-day. A man, because he is a man, must be a larger man at the end of the year than he was at the beginning.

Let these, then, be the three fundamentals on which our specific choice is to be determined. With these requisites, let us now take in view the different callings which would suggest themselves to most educated men. First, some men have and some men do not have a consciousness of creative power. Man is a creative force. This is because he is a child of God. And probably, in the verdict of angels and archangels, all men who are good for anything will be registered as having taken their part in the work of creation. But men differ in this regard, in that some men like to see visibly, with their eyes, the thing which they have achieved. They like to have it in a concrete and tangible form, so that they can say to all men and to all ages, "I have done this thing; come and see it, and see how you like it." Now, as there are people who thus accept what I have called the concrete, the visible and the tangible, let them choose their line of life so that it shall satisfy this yearning. These men may be and ought to be architects, civil engineers; if you please, discoverers or inventors. They are to choose such callings, not for bread-and-butter reasons, not because they will make money in them, but because they will enlarge their own lives in them. They will work happily and not feel the pressure of the harness, there will be no "raws" where the harness presses upon them, and they will achieve the thing that they were sent into this world to do. I am disposed to believe that a personal analysis by a man, of his own habit in this regard, will settle one in ten of the questions which arise among young men in the choice of a vocation.

Again, it will happen to other men that they have, and all men know they have, a distinctly sympathetic and humane de-

sire to relieve pain. I have seen this show itself in a child six years of age so clearly that it influenced even his life at that time. If this is joined with an interest in nature and her processes, with a curiosity about natural law and what is called natural science, that man will do wisely if he enter into the career of a physician. And there is no finer and nobler work to which a man who has the requisite qualification of intense human sympathy can devote himself, than the work of a physician in general practice. Carlyle said he honored but two men, but I should place before either of the two whom he names the country doctor, ready and willing to be called up at two o'clock of a stormy morning, to harness, perhaps, with his own hands, the old gray—who, fortunately for him, knows those dark roads and causeways better than he does—that he may drive across the country a dozen miles for the relief of some old woman who has not a penny to pay him any recompense. I am one of those people who believe that this sort of thing came in with the Christian religion, and is a visible expression of what the Christian religion is for; and there are no honors which I think too great for the man who is willing to enlist in that duty.

It is the great misfortune of people who have schools in charge, that so many persons offer themselves as teachers who have no other qualification than that they cannot do anything else. They are really somewhat in the position of the men and boys who are in the middle of the line in the old water-carrying lines of the primeval village conflagrations. Certain strong and ready men were at the well, who could be trusted to haul up the water rapidly and skillfully in large buckets; certain shifty and courageous men were at the ladder where the fire was burning; and between were the incompetents of the village, who could at least pass a bucket full of water from hand to hand, or it was supposed they could. In just this way a great many people offer themselves as teachers, who can merely hand over such science as they have acquired, and which they cannot use, in the hope, almost always vain, that other people can use it better than they can. Alas, they spill a great deal.

But if, on the other hand, a man has found out that he is fond of children, that he can keep his temper under every

temptation, that he has that element of humanity and sympathy which makes him pleased and glad to see other people succeed, and makes him eager to help them to that success, it will be probable that he has the very rare traits of a good educator, possibly the traits of a great educator. It is to be remembered that these traits are given to very few. Mr. Lowell said very truly, in his quarter-millennium address at Harvard, that great educators were more hard to find than great poets. He said of Harvard, "We have ourselves trained none, for we imported Agassiz." I believe that the personal qualities I have named are the essential qualities, and if a man be conscious that he has these, he has good reason for enlisting in the profession of teaching.

The profession of the law is so different now from what it was fifty years ago, that one speaks of it in this relation with a certain difficulty. Fifty years ago, when, in the reorganization of the American churches, the ministerial profession ceased to have a certain aristocratic flavor which it did have until about the year 1820, the law claimed and received a very large proportion of the young men of first-rate ability who left the colleges. This is not to be wondered at. For many years, at that time, the principal prizes in political life were given to the lawyers. Now, political life being, from the nature of the case, largely displayed in the newspapers, most young men considered that those prizes were the most important, as they certainly were not. So it is, that if you will look over the catalogue of the alumni of any of the older colleges, you will find that a very large proportion of them entered the bar, whether they did or did not follow up its duties. The training of a lawyer, then, was the introduction to very many ranges of active business life. A man did not necessarily practice in the courts because he had passed his examination and been admitted to the bar. He might become the editor of a leading journal; he might, as has been said, go into political life; he might become the director and active agent of a great manufacturing concern; or in many other ways measure himself against the world as one of its directors, and receive a fair compensation for the work which he did.

In our time, it seems rather simpler for a well-educated young man to start at once on the line of business life which it is most

likely he will follow. Thus, if he is to be a conveyancer, let him be a conveyancer. If he is to be the agent of a factory, let him begin by following out the elementary work there. At the same time this is to be said, that there is no higher school in the great science of human nature than that in which a man serves who can persuade a good lawyer in a county town of an American State, to take him into his office and let him see for some years the varieties of the general practice there. Such a young man learns the language of his country, feels the pulse of his country, and knows something of all sorts and conditions of men.

I do not undertake to speak in any detail of what are called the various business callings which require, in our time, as much as any other callings do, the trained mental habit for which the colleges and universities ought to be the best preparation. I might well abstain from discussing them for the same reason which Cousin had for leaving Buddhism out of his course. "At this point, gentlemen, I ought to discuss Buddhism in this course, but I pass it by because I know nothing about it." But even if I did know a great deal about the various lines of business life which tempt young men, I could not undertake, in a paper like this, to go into the advantages or disadvantages which any one of them offers, because here is a thing which must be settled from the personal point of view of him whom I will venture to call the candidate.

Of the Christian ministry, it is easy to say why those of us who are in it think it is the noblest calling open to men. It will readily be seen that it answers thoroughly all my three fundamental conditions. The line of promotion in it is open indefinitely. It gives an American a great opportunity, and it compels a man to enlarge his life from year to year, even from day to day. I should say, in addition to this, that it seems to me that there is no one of the callings open to a young man which combines, in the preliminary studies by which one enters into its exercise, so much as our profession does of the lines of study and of thought and of forelook which are most interesting to men of courage.

I think any person who will take the programme of a medical school, a technical school, a law school, and a school of divin-

ity, and will carefully compare the lines of study which they offer to young gentlemen, will understand what I mean. All the great questions of our time—such questions, for instance, as spring from the study of evolution and any of the forms of natural science, such studies as belong to legislation and any of the methods of social reform, such as belong to the real philosophy of life, indeed—are studies which have to be pursued in the schools of divinity. It does not seem to me that they are largely pursued or even much cared for in the studies of the other professional schools.

In our profession, the study is necessarily a study of principles. The details are things which take care of themselves. Simply, a man wants to bring this world nearer to God. If he wants that, he has a right to enter our profession, and he may follow up his profession in one of many different lines. He may study the works of God in nature; he may study philosophical history; he may study the sciences on which all modern science is based; he may study social reform; or he might even satisfy himself with studying the biographies of the greatest men who have lived, if he did that with acute analysis of the causes which made them. And all this time he should be preparing himself to be a leader of men in the business which we call the Christian ministry. An artist has something of the same satisfaction. All of his preparatory study is in the line of his genius, and is therefore agreeable to him. He is not rasped and worried by the details in which he can take no possible interest. But the studies of an artist are, as compared with our studies, studies of a very narrow range. Theology is really pantology. The man who studies God, and man, the child of God, may really feel that his range extends over the whole domain of human thought and human observation. Of course, he is not such a fool as to undertake to learn every pathway in this infinite field. But he has the right to choose his own pathway, and to follow it as fast and as far as he may.

EDWARD E. HALE.

## ALCOHOL IN HIGH LATITUDES.

FROM one end of the land to the other, for the past few years, has raged a fierce debate as to the need of sumptuary laws to prohibit or restrict the use of spirituous liquors, and in the midst of this discussion a word from a layman, not on the moral but on the economic side of the use of alcohol, will, perhaps, not seem inopportune.

Four years have just elapsed since the world heard, with a feeling of mingled interest and wonder, that of a party of twenty-five, given over by common consent to death by cold and starvation, six men had survived despite the rigors of the far North, the hardships of sledge journeys, the perils of boat voyages, and the final trial of ten months of slow, steady starvation. By scores have letters come asking what manner of men were these who defied scurvy, frost-bite, and death, and, in particular, whether they drank alcohol. As the man who planned how and what each should eat and drink, the writer speaks with a certain degree of authority. The question of alcohol was then regarded not from a moral standpoint, but from the confessedly lower one of expediency; the thing to be determined was, whether the use of alcohol increases man's capacity for work and enhances his powers of endurance. The question is an economic one, however, deserving of rational treatment on these grounds alone, for doubtless many persons are in the habit of using alcohol when engaged in exhausting work or exposed to intense cold, with mistaken ideas as to its efficiency.

The British Arctic Expedition of 1875, twenty-six officers and ninety-six men in all, was selected from the flower of the Royal Navy for that special and arduous service, which was to last at least two years. Fitted out under the advice of experienced Arctic officers, it had every article or appliance which was thought desirable, on grounds of either comfort or necessity.

After one year's Arctic service, having lost four men, the expedition returned to England, so reduced on the whole, in health and strength, that another winter within the Arctic circle would have been most dangerous, if not fatally destructive. The question as to the causes which so speedily undermined the health of this fine body of men was fully discussed by a committee appointed by the Admiralty to inquire into the subject. The report, published by Parliament, contains a large amount of valuable information, though the conclusions, as might be expected, did not commend themselves to all England.

Among the recommendations drawn up by Sir Alexander Armstrong, Medical Director-General of the Royal Navy, for maintaining the health of the expedition, the one which was most distasteful to the average seaman was doubtless this :

"When it may become necessary to recruit men after great or unusual fatigue, either in working a ship or on long marches, I consider cocoa or tea infinitely preferable to spirits, hitherto generally given; and I think the use of the latter should be abandoned on such occasions as far as practicable."

This recommendation evidently failed to commend itself to the officers in authority. Not only was the regular allowance of rum (half a gill) daily issued both on shipboard and in the field, but, during the absence of the sun for four months and a half, it was doubled. The men, thus accustomed to four ounces of rum for many months, were suddenly put into the field, where the hardest possible labors, under conditions of extreme cold and discouragement, were thrust upon them, while their allowance of alcohol was decreased one-half. The outcome of their labors, or the result of their manner of living, was that one-fifth of all the officers of the expedition, and fifty-seven per cent. of the men, were stricken with scurvy. Although the committee's report does not affirm that this use of alcohol was the direct cause, some of its observations are highly significant, *e. g.* :

"It is a singular fact in the history of the expedition that the first two cases of scurvy occurred in men who were addicted to an immoderate use of alcohol. . . . It appears also that in former Arctic expeditions scurvy has occurred in men who have indulged in alcohol to excess, while at the same time the disease was not prevalent among the rest of the crew. From the nature of the injurious action, on nutrition, of alcohol taken in immoderate quantity, it may be assumed that when so used it becomes a powerful predis-

posing cause of scurvy. There is, however, no conclusive evidence of its materially aiding the development of scurvy when used in moderation. At the same time, it is a remarkable fact that the men employed in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, who rarely drink alcohol in any form, enjoy almost complete immunity from this disease, notwithstanding prolonged exposure to an Arctic climate and fatiguing sledge journeys. . . . If it be advisable, in the presence of conditions tending to produce mental depression, to use alcohol in Arctic service during periods of comparative inaction, the ration should be a very moderate one. . . . The evidence is decidedly opposed to its possessing any power of increasing the amount of work above what may be done without its use; while the opinion has even been expressed that in place of increasing, it really diminishes the capacity for work. Apart from any question of its influence upon nutrition or health, there does not appear to be any marked advantage derivable from its use. . . . There can be no doubt, however, that the dietetic use of alcohol should be interdicted in men suffering from any symptoms of scurvy; and whenever its deprivation is not opposed to custom or acquired habit, it would be advisable to refrain from its use as a regular ration in the usual conditions of Arctic sledge traveling. The substitution of tea for alcohol in sledge traveling is attended with much benefit. . . . The advantages of tea may, to a great extent, be derived without the risks inseparable from alcohol, by the use of beef-tea. . . . ”

Of the twelve officers of that expedition testifying, eleven stated that tea was the best drink, while it is noticeable that the only one who stated that alcohol enabled men to support cold better, was an officer who never traveled fifty miles from his ship. The officers were divided on the question as to whether alcohol was necessary to a sledge ration, though some of them pronounced for its use on the ground that the men would want it. The medical men who were questioned by the commission almost without exception pronounced against its use, save under special circumstances. Many distinguished travelers, such as Admiral Richards, Sir Allen Young, and Dr. Rae, considered spirits of secondary importance, or unnecessary, while again others favored it.

In view of the foregoing facts, the question of diet, and especially whether alcohol should or should not form one of its constituents, was an important if not vital one to the American expedition sent to abide in the same high latitudes, and destined by the very nature of its service to undergo like hardships and privations. It was therefore decided to adopt, on this expedition, the recommendation of Sir Alexander Armstrong,

which appeared to be approved by medical men generally; and in accordance with this idea, the allowance of spirits for general issue was calculated on the basis of one gill weekly, or less than one-fourth the regular issue to the British expedition.

The members of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition, twenty-five in number, passed two years in an unprecedentedly high latitude, within eight degrees of the geographical pole. During that time many arduous sledge journeys, under conditions of extreme exposure, were made by the men. These journeys varied from two to sixty days in length; and owing to the character of the ice and the necessity of transporting with them all supplies used during their absence, such physical exertions were required on the part of the sledge-men that the end of each day's work almost invariably found them in a state of physical exhaustion. The greater part of these journeys were made in temperatures below zero (Fahr.), and for many days at a time the mercury in the thermometer never thawed; while on special occasions temperatures ranging from fifty to sixty degrees below zero, or eighty or ninety below the freezing point, were experienced for a number of consecutive days. And they endured all this labor and exposure without artificial heat, and upon a limited sledge ration, calculated to a nicety, of the least amount of food compatible with health, so that the physical waste was barely repaired. Despite all this exposure, and the demands upon the physical strength and vital energy, no case of serious frost-bite nor any disabling illness occurred, save in one instance, when Sergeant Rice, the photographer, attacked by inflammatory rheumatism, was brought to camp by a relief party. In this single case Dr. Pavy and Rice, who composed the original party, had abundantly provided themselves with rum from an English *cache* in Lincoln Bay.

In all these sledge journeys no ration of spirits was ever granted. The officer or non-commissioned officer in charge of the party was provided with a small quantity of brandy for medicinal purposes, which was required, as it proved, only a few times, there being always left a small margin as a gratuitous issue on festal occasions when the sledge party was returning. While at the home station, no spirits of any kind

were ever issued regularly. Usually, though not always, on Sunday evenings, about half a gill of rum was issued to each man who desired it; and the same quantity was also given whenever the birthday of one of the party or any other festal occasion occurred.

I cannot recall a single instance where spirits were ever medicinally prescribed at Fort Conger, though there might have been such a case. Generally a small quantity of rum or brandy was given to each member of a sledge party returning from the field, though this was not infrequently declined. In a few cases in the field where spirits were taken during work, or surreptitiously obtained and drunk before the day's work was over, the effect of alcohol seemed to show itself in diminished power for work, in impaired resistance to cold, and in one case it interfered with a man's appetite for the solid food of the sledge ration.

The use of rum in our home quarters at irregular intervals served an excellent purpose in stimulating the mental faculties, which, in the cases of some of the men, seemed to be deadened and sluggish, owing to the monotonous character of our surroundings and the unvarying routine of duty. During our two years' service at Conger I did not drink in all a pint of spirits, though occasionally I took a glass of light wine; and my own experience was that I was as well without alcohol as with it, though the social effect of wine among the officers was undoubtedly good. Some of the men rarely drank the rum issued, and by common consent these did as well without it as with it; though it seemed certain that some of the party would not have passed the two winters at Conger as cheerfully or as well without alcohol as they did with a small quantity.

During the boat retreat southward from Conger to Cape Sabine, in August and September, 1884, a considerable quantity of rum and whisky was taken with the party, but although there was much exposure from great physical labor, more than half of the journey was completed before the issue of the spirits was begun. It was commenced at a time when the party was somewhat disheartened by the surroundings, and the particular result then sought was to benefit the men mentally rather than

physically. The use of rum during the boat retreat appeared to be most beneficial when given to the men just after the day's work was over, and after they had entered their sleeping bags. Before reaction came the men received hot food. Every one who could avoided drinking the rum until he had entered his bag. The men always expressed most strongly their appreciation of rum and its effects after a day spent in exhausting labors, under discouraging circumstances and with unfortunate results, so that I judged the effect to be a mental stimulant and benefit rather than a physical one. In addition to its effect upon the mind, it produced, in the chilled, damp, and half-frozen men, a marked feeling of warmth, which in my own case appeared to result from an increased surface circulation ; and in addition the alcohol evidently had narcotic properties, for it speedily induced drowsiness and greatly promoted sleep. These special issues of rum, either in the field or during the retreat, rarely exceeded half a gill at a time; and when the men received, for urgent reasons or on particular occasions, double the amount, they stated to me that its beneficial result seemed to be little if any greater than that of a half-gill.

The subject of alcohol was frequently and generally discussed during the winter at Cape Sabine, and all, without exception, concurred in the opinion that spirits should be taken after a day's labor was over, and not before or during exhausting work, nor while suffering from exposure which was to be continued. The opinion of nearly every one was, that it should be a constituent of the Arctic sledging ration. My own opinion is the same now as it was in 1881 : that in small quantities the issue of alcohol is very beneficial, but that its regular and daily issue would be deleterious rather than beneficial. It should, without doubt, be carried by all expeditions and sledge parties, as a medicine and for emergencies. Dr. Enval, of the Swedish Arctic Expedition of 1872-73, says: "I believe spirits and liquors to be of great use in small and moderate quantities, but exceedingly mischievous and pernicious in case of the least excess." The last part of his statement could be verified by me from cases within my own knowledge ; as to the first part, it is fully in accord with my own ideas. At Camp Clay, a half-gill

of rum was issued every Sunday, until the supply was nearly exhausted ; and the issue of these spirits to the half-starved, half-frozen, and dispirited men was of the highest possible value. The party looked forward from one Sunday to another as being the feast day, owing in a great measure to this issue of rum. Later, when the party had been slowly starving for many months, and when the supply of food was so diminished as to necessitate a greater reduction of rations, the pure alcohol on hand was issued as food, being diluted with about three times its weight of water. Each man received daily perhaps a quarter of an ounce of alcohol, the effect of which was most beneficial. The general impression, with which I most heartily agreed, was that the alcohol supplemented food, and had a decided alimentary value. There could be no question of its beneficial effect as a mental stimulus to every member of the party under our unfortunate conditions at Sabine.

The failure of rum to enable a party to endure cold is shown in Payer's case of the Austrian Arctic Expedition, and that it is not a necessity is proved beyond a doubt by the journeys in remarkably low temperatures by Lockwood and Brainard. Says Payer:

Lamont says of the Spitzbergen walrus hunters, who are as hardy and enduring as any class of sailors, that of late years " tea and coffee have been supplied them instead of spirits, and it is found that the men work and stand the climate quite as well upon these as upon spirits."

" During the night (March 13-14, 1873) the temperature fell to 37° below zero, Réaumur (46.8° below zero, Fahrenheit), and I do not believe that we could have passed through it without the help of grog. We drank it as we lay close together, muffled up in our sleeping-bags. It was boiling hot, and so strong that under other circumstances it must have made us incapable of work, yet, in spite of the grog, we suffered much all through the night from cold and our frozen clothes."

The following experiences of the American expedition, nine years later, in March, 1882, show that a sledge party can survive even much lower temperatures without grog. Lieutenant Lockwood, traveling in Greenland, near Thank-God Harbor, of Hall, had, on March 5, 6, and 7, temperatures of fifty-two degrees or

more below zero, Fahr. On the 5th, he says: "The thermometer registered 55.5° (87½° below the freezing point), and there was quite a perceptible breeze blowing in our faces." Except slight frost-bites, no injuries occurred. Sergeant Brainard, traveling with seven others on March 14, 1882, says: "Minimum (last night), 53.5° below zero. The traveling was wretched, the cold intense, and our load dragged heavily. The men became so tired that whenever a halt was called they would at once quit the drag-ropes and prostrate themselves on the snow despite the low temperature. Minimum temperature (that night), 60° (93° below the freezing point)." No rum was used, and only trifling and unimportant frost-bites occurred.

It seems to me to follow from these Arctic experiences that the regular use of spirits, even in moderation, under conditions of great physical hardship, continued and exhausting labor, or exposure to severe cold cannot be too strongly deprecated, and that when used as a mental stimulus or as a physical luxury they should be taken in moderation. When habit or inclination induces the use of alcohol in the field, under conditions noted above, it should be taken only after the day's work is done, as a momentary stimulus while waiting for the preferable hot tea and food; or, better, after the food, when going to bed, for then it may quickly induce sleep and its reaction pass unfelt.

The experiences of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition instance alike the benefit and injury of alcohol on special occasions. The first man to perish, of scurvy and starvation together, was one who was known as a regular drinker. At Sabine, the issue of alcohol in the morning to hunters, on urgent medical recommendations, was followed by the Esquimau Jens, an unerring hunter, missing, at his own chosen distance, a large seal which might have saved the party; afterward, Long, his nerves unaffected by spirits, killed, at the water's edge, a bear over two hundred yards distant. As an instance of the benefit of alcohol may be noticed Sergeant Frederick's remarkable experience, when his shrewd judgment and his proper use of spirits saved his own life under most desperate circumstances of exhaustion and exposure. His gallant comrade, Sergeant Rice, worn out in a fruitless effort to obtain meat for his starving comrades, per-

ished by exhaustion in Frederick's arms. Frederick, having stripped himself to comfort his companion's last hours, found himself chilled and exhausted as well as weakened by months of starvation; but his extraordinary energy and great physical power of endurance were supplemented and stimulated by a mixture of ammonia and brandy. I quote a few passages from his narrative:

"In my enfeebled condition, I was unable to travel eight or nine hours in one stretch, for after the first three or four hours I would move so slow that I would freeze in my tracks. I therefore resolved to take the alcohol, which we carried for fuel, dilute it with water, and take a small quantity of it whenever I lay down, so I would go to sleep at once. . . . I broke camp, and started for Camp Clay. After pulling, hauling, and stumbling for about four hours, I became so tired that I had to go into camp. I turned my sledge upside down, stretched the sleeping-bag between the runners, and took a small drink of diluted alcohol. I was then soon in the land of dreams, and after lying here for about three or four hours I woke up completely chilled, and traveled until I was thoroughly warm, when I stopped and prepared some food. By the time this was done and the scanty meal eaten, I was chilled again. I would then start again and travel until I was thoroughly warm and tired out, then I would go into camp and repeat the dose of alcohol."

This article will not have been written in vain if it has the effect of correcting among any class of laboring men the mistaken idea that their capacity for work is increased or their powers of endurance to exposure and cold enhanced by the use of alcohol. The English navvy never drinks while working, and the Esquimaux and Chukches, without alcohol, endure, unharmed, the severest temperatures known to man.

A. W. GREELY.

## WHY WE HAVE NO GREAT ARTISTS.

ACCEPTING the idea which underlies this title as axiomatic, I make no attempt to question its truth. It is proper to premise, however, that such acceptance does not bind me to the assertion that America has brought forth no artist of ability. We have produced sculptors and painters above the average in merit, but, though a few have exhibited talent enough to entitle them to fair rank in their profession, in Europe as well as at home, no master has yet appeared of genius sufficient to impress his individualism on the art of the age. Whatever our optimists may see in the future, it is safe to assume that there is no such thing at present as an American school of art. Nor is this any reflection on our native artists. It may be said with equal truth that our literature is yet imitative rather than creative, for it has not yet developed originality enough to conceal its English parentage. Perhaps it never will, and perhaps it is as well that it should not.

Accepting, then, as a fact that we have not yet developed a national art, let us examine briefly its causes; and this will lead us rather into the domain of political economy than of art. Art production, like all other production, is regulated by the law of supply and demand. Whenever, in our evolution, we shall reach the point where art becomes a national necessity, then we shall have a national art, and great artists will be born unto us. Until that period arrive, all the art museums and academies and professors in the world will not suffice to produce for us great masters and masterpieces.

It may be objected that this is a very commonplace view of the matter; that it eliminates from the problem the factor of genius, and degrades the divine afflatus to a mere commercial breeze; but that which is vulgarly called genius is often only

the child of labor, and is as likely to owe its paternity to earthly gold as to heavenly inspiration. Nor is this said without a due weighing of the claims of the greater masters of art and of literature—the Phidiases, the Michael Angelos, the Dantes, the Shakespeares, the occasional meteors in civilization's sky. They come and go without apparent cause, but their genesis is due to laws as immutable as those which govern their celestial congeners. They are the culmination of generations of thought and of travail, brought into being and nursed to perfection through the fortunate concurrence of time and place and circumstance. But for the patient searchers, the tireless investigators, whose collective labors have won step by step the secrets of science, the world would know no geniuses.

It is the fashion just now to predict for our country a speedy art growth, a leap into the front rank of culture in the near future. A single century, we are told, has sufficed to establish the United States on solid foundations. Pre-eminent in agriculture, in manufactures, in wealth, and in political power, it is ours now to enter upon the last and grandest stage of development, the period of culture and refinement, the age which shall be to us what the Periclean age was to Greece. It is, of course, possible—for all things seem possible in this latest phase of human development—that this rosy prediction, so flattering to our national vanity, may prove true; but it is well to bear in mind that though art may come with the advance of all that is implied by civilization, it is not necessarily the concomitant of material prosperity. You may build in a day a magnificent Chicago and endow it with museums and picture-galleries, but these will not at once create an art atmosphere nor breed art knowledge and traditions. They are the children of time.

The history of art recognizes but two periods of absolute perfection—the Phidian age, in Greece, and the age of the Renaissance, in Italy. The Greek, through generations of laborious endeavor, evolved the arts of architecture and its sister sculpture from crude and conventional forms to a perfection which the world has agreed to recognize as final, the human mind, at least in its present stage, being unable to conceive of a higher plane of beauty. The Italian, by efforts no less slow and la-

borious, rescued painting from the slough of Byzantinism and elevated it to a like eminence. In each case art came into being without any of the adventitious aids upon which modern civilization sets so high a value. In each the advance was a true evolution, a progression through successive stages. As the earliest revelation of perfection, Greek art has invited the analysis of many master minds, but it yet seems an almost inexplicable, isolated fact in the world's history. We can only point to the Greek's origin, history, and habitat; to his institutions, religious, moral, educational, political; to his relations, external and internal; and say: all these are factors in the problem; all these had their share in forcing the development of those perceptions which gave him in a rare degree the faculty of appreciating the beautiful and the good. Possessed thus of delicate intuitions, beauty became a necessity of his nature, an element of his religion; indeed, with him art and religion were so intimately connected that Hellenic art may properly be called the child of the Hellenic theogony.

Whatever original ideas the Hellenes may have derived from their Aryan ancestors, their religion took early a purely anthropomorphic form. The gods of Olympus were but sublimated mortals, but little removed from men; or, as Heraclitus expresses it, "Men are mortal gods, and the gods immortal men." Possessed of human attributes and actuated by human feelings and desires, gods came down to earth and mingled with men, and heroes from among men scaled heaven's heights and became demi-gods. Out of this commerce between heaven and earth sprang a vast number of new gods and demi-gods, until the universe became thronged with the deified forms of every sentiment and aspiration. The god being thus the perfected man, humanity was idealized to give him a godlike form; and this idealization gradually grew to nobler proportions until, under the supreme hand of a Phidias, the images of the gods embodied perfection. Zeus Olympius became the personification of might and majesty, Apollo of masculine grace and beauty, Pallas Athena of skill and refinement, and Hera and Aphrodite of matronly and of sensuous beauty. Through the daily contemplation of masterpieces such as these love of beauty became a

religious principle with the Greek, and art a part of his religion. And so it happened that art and religion acted reciprocally on each other, for as art was developed out of the fusion of humanity and deity so religion derived its strongest impulse from the perfection of art. Greek art culminated in the Olympian Zeus, and the Olympian Zeus gave to Greek religion a vitality which lasted for ages.

A like intimate relation between art and religion obtained in the Renaissance in Italy, the thread of tradition connecting them having never been broken throughout the Dark Ages, although what may be called Christian art had passed through a period of symbolism which had little of art in it. But the metamorphosis of religious ideas involved in the change from paganism to Christianity brought about a corresponding change in art. While the Greek, whose highest conception of beauty lay in the incarnation of deity, found the noblest expression of his ideas in the plastic art, the Italian, whose Christianity taught him that there is a moral and a spiritual beauty far more exalted and exalting than mere physical perfection, required an art which appealed more strongly to the emotions, and devoted himself to the development of painting in color. Marble and bronze, suited to the expression of beauty of form and of physical strength, are ill adapted to the manifestation of sorrow, of suffering, and of mortification of the flesh. Even painting, though superior in resources, has its limitations, says Symonds, and cannot deal as successfully with the motives of Christianity, which transcend the conditions of humanity, as did sculpture with the myths of paganism. Notwithstanding these earthly limitations, the church welcomed painting as an efficient coadjutor, and gave it its first great impulse in Italy; and for a long time the Old and the New Testament and the "Acta Sanctorum" furnished the chief themes for the many painters whom the demand for church and convent decoration brought into being. Thus, as in Greece, religion and art went hand in hand and became mutual aids; and it was not until the church began to lose its hold on humanity that the bonds between them were slackened and art became in a measure free. With the revival of learning the myths of Greece again took their place in art. Classicism was

developed, and town-halls and the palaces of princes were decorated with the multitudinous forms which the Hellenic imagination had called into being. Then, through many phases, Italian art gradually widened into two distinct schools, the Florentine and the Venetian ; the one representing the intellectual side of human nature, caring rather for moral and spiritual than for external beauty ; the other the sensuous side, seeking beauty for the sake of beauty, and caring more for pictorial effect than for the inculcation of a moral lesson ; the one culminating in a Leonardo, a Raphael, a Michael Angelo ; the other in a Giorgione, a Veronese, a Titian.

While thus assenting to the dictum of the art historians that these two supreme revelations of perfection in Greece and in Italy were the outgrowth of religious inspiration, I am not disposed to admit their claim that great art cannot exist under other circumstances or other inspiration. While it may be true that art owes its genesis to religion, it is probably also true that the inspiration of opportunity had much to do with its advancement, and that the success attained by the artists of the Periclean and the Renaissance periods was largely due to the superior opportunities afforded them of practicing and perfecting their craft. Polyclitus and Phidias would not be recognized to-day as the fathers of sculpture if their work had been confined to their studios or to the private collections of the wealthy. It was their employment in magnificent public works which gave them the opportunity to carry their art to its culmination in the Doryphorus, the Athena Parthenos, and the Olympian Zeus. The decoration of the temples of the gods and the public buildings of Greece gave employment to sculptors and painters, and made not only artists but in a large degree art itself. So was it in the Renaissance in Italy : the encouragement due to the demand for church and convent decoration, and, later, that derived from the munificence of the great guilds and corporations, to say nothing of princely patrons, created an army of painters, and gave an impulse to art which is felt to-day in every civilized land.

Whatever we may think of the reciprocal relations of art and religion, it is certain that modern art hinges directly on the art

of the past, and derives from it its most valued traditions. The sculptor, no matter what his clime or race, still draws his models from the masterpieces of Greece; the painter still turns to Italy for inspiration. This, which is true of every modern school, is well exemplified in the French school. Passing by Leonardo and Primaticcio and his assistants, who carried their art to France, French art was early linked to the schools of Italy through Poussin, who lived and died in Rome. To him and to his pupil, Le Brun, through whose influence was founded the French Academy in Rome, is largely due the distinctive character of French art, which down to the present has preserved an unbroken chain of traditions to which all its prominent masters have been linked. The rules and technical methods thus proved to be good are the inflexible laws of the *ateliers*, which all students are taught to obey. There is no groping in the dark, no futile searching after new methods, no experimenting with methods proved by experience to be bad. Every path is well-defined and marked by guide-boards, so that the pupil who is earnest and faithful may acquire the secrets of technique with the minimum of labor. And this is one of the chief reasons, if not the chief reason, why the French school leads the world of art to-day, as it assuredly does, in spite of the critics who affect to sneer at academic methods.

Ruskin contends that as much art ability is born in one generation as in another, but that it is diverted into other channels by force of circumstances and nature of environment. This can, of course, be true only of peoples in the same plane of civilization; for to say that the uncultivated race produces as much art ability as the race permeated for generations with art culture would involve the implication that there is no such thing as heredity, and that cultivation does not lead to advancement. While Ruskin's assertion may be incapable of actual demonstration, it derives a certain negative confirmation from the fact that great art has seldom, if ever, been developed in a country where many channels were open for the employment of its master minds. The surplus ability which flowers into art in the land of settled institutions is employed in the new land in the development of its natural resources and in the shaping of its political institu-

tions. With material prosperity and political stability comes the desire for æsthetic culture, and this creates the demand for art and artists.

The nation that founds public art museums and picture-galleries, whose citizens expend their wealth in decorating their homes with the masterpieces of foreign art, is on the highway to art education. The contemplation of the great works of antiquity and the best examples of the schools of the present will gradually raise the standard of art culture, but it alone will not make great artists, nor create a national art. Rome under the Cæsars was one immense museum, into which was gathered the art wealth of the ancient world, but history has preserved the name of no great Roman painter or sculptor. This was not because the Roman had no genius for art, but partly because, being essentially military in his tastes, his ability was diverted into other channels, and partly because it was cheaper and easier to appropriate the products of Greek skill than to build up a native art. Thus it happened that his culture was little more than the reflection of Hellenic splendor.

The evolution of art requires an educated public. Great art would be lost among barbarians, and the people which has not advanced sufficiently in culture to know the difference between imitative and creative art is still barbarian in art. Similarity in art is the mark of mediocrity. Art which has passed the imitative age—and no art can be called great which has not passed that stage—has in it something which gives it individuality, which raises it above the level of ordinarily good art. It is this flash of originality, this spark of Promethean fire, which marks the man of genius, so-called, from the mere imitator. If Parrhasius had never painted anything on a higher plane than the curtain which deceived Zeuxis, he would not have earned the name of one of the world's great painters. Fortunately for him and for art, he lived in a cultured land, whose rulers were too advanced to commit the solecism of putting art on a par with whisky and tobacco, and taxing it as a luxury. The Greek understood that art is an educator, and, as such, a necessity; and instead of repressing it and doing all he could to confine the knowledge of it to the few, he displayed his mas-

terpieces in every public building, square, and avenue, where they were the common property of all, the poor as well as the rich, the uneducated as well as the educated; and so it came to pass that the people learned, through daily contemplation of the best art, to discriminate between what is true and what is false in art.

They who look for the spontaneous blossoming and fructification of a purely American art will be doomed to disappointment. Our art must necessarily be in some sense the reflection of foreign art, for only through it can we win a place in the genealogical succession from the art of the past; but it does not follow that it must always wear the imprint of foreign schools, for as each of them have developed qualities distinguishing it from all others, so in time will our art expand into something characteristic of us and of our institutions. This, however, will never come until public sentiment be advanced sufficiently to recognize and to give encouragement to native art. As our artists can hope for little aid from either state or church, our rich men must be to them what the government was to the Greek, what the church and the guild were to the artist of the Renaissance. Let the Croesus who wish to decorate their mansions look around them before inviting proposals from London and Paris, and see if there are no struggling geniuses who are competent to do their work. Among so many of our young men who have exhibited exceptional ability in the Paris and the Munich schools, there must be some with capacity for great development if properly encouraged. Private encouragement would lead to public encouragement, and thus might be produced artists capable of decorating our public buildings with paintings and sculptures which would be an educator and the precursor of a distinctive art. And by this I mean an art representative of the present and not of the dead past; an art quick with the blood of to-day, which shall depict living humanity instead of pseudoclassicism and mediaevalism.

Our artists should remember that we are citizens, not of Greece and Rome, but of a new world, isolated, in a measure, from the old world of tradition and myth. The loves of Venus and Adonis, of Dido and *Aeneas*, are nought to us, and our in-

terest in Mariolatry and in saintly martyrdom has passed away forever. The man of the nineteenth century is not moved to heavenly meditation by a painted Madonna, nor do the pictorial sufferings of a Lawrence or a Sebastian give birth to holy thoughts within his breast. If he be tempted, in passing through the salon, to pause at all before such a picture, the sole thought which rises in his mind is, Is this good art? He weighs its merits and its demerits precisely as he does those in the *genre* or the historical composition, either of which is as likely to arouse a sentiment or to inculcate a moral. Indeed, the feelings are oftener touched by the picture which deals with actuality, with the living present, than by that which strives to depict a conjectural past. There is more of religious sentiment in the little "Angelus" of Jean François Millet than in an acre of Munkacsy.

Notwithstanding that we are virtually an offshoot of the British race, "that strange ethnographical variety," as Charles Blanc pertly says, "which is in revolt against all artistic sentiment," I believe that we shall in time evolve a national art which, though founded upon the past, shall not be of the past, but shall be as distinctive as our national physiognomy; and which, like that, will be the product of a variety of causes. As our blood, drawn from many diverse fountains, and mingled and ripened under peculiar conditions unknown before in the world's history, under bright skies, an inspiring climate, and, above all, free institutions, has developed a race typical of nerve, of strength, of tenacity, so our art, deriving its cunning from abroad, and comingling what is best in all the schools of the past and the present, will in time evolve a school which shall be to the art of other lands what the American of to-day is to his varied ancestors. It may be eclectic, but if it combine the "drawing of Michael Angelo and the color of Titian" with a sentiment purely and truly American, it will be a characteristic and a successful school.

JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN, JR.

## THE PROGRESS OF CO-EDUCATION.

IN early life I was called to be a professor in the University of North Carolina, and subsequently to be President of the College for Young Ladies in Greensboro', N. C. Afterward I founded a school for boys and a school for girls in the same village and under the same government; the girls occupying a building which provided dormitories, recitation-rooms, and all the other apartments necessary for so large a family; the boys boarding in the village and having their school in a building two blocks away from the school for girls. Thus far only did public opinion in North Carolina before the war allow me to attempt an experiment in co-education of the sexes. The experiment, while still in its beginning, was, like many another valuable undertaking, thwarted by the breaking out of hostilities.

The subject has never lost its attraction for me, and I have watched with interest the growth of co-education. My own opinion is, that in the beginning of school life boys and girls should be educated together. There is a transition period when, perhaps, it would be best to educate them apart. They come again to another season in life when co-education seems better for both sexes. In addition to these views I have a profound conviction that exactly the same education should be given to both sexes in those studies which have for their aim intellectual development, as distinguished from studies immediately concerned with practical life.

If I had autocratic power I would restrict college studies to the branches which are specially, and I might say almost solely, intended for intellectual development. Latin, Greek, and mathematics should be the trinity here. In post-graduate or university departments I would have those studies which are intended for practical life, and they should be pursued only by those who had gone through the preliminary intellectual training

in the college classes. Up to the close of the college course both sexes should have the same curriculum, there being no elective studies until the student is old enough and sufficiently trained to take the B. A. degree. Even in the post-graduate and university classes there are a few branches which both sexes can study together. Almost all the present so-called colleges for young women should be preparatory schools. In the colleges both sexes should be admitted without any discrimination whatever. The examinations should be absolutely impartial. For a degree, the male pupils should be required to pass as rigid an examination as the female, and *vice versa*.

If these views were adopted I can see how a number of advantages would accrue to education. In the first place, there would be an improvement in the readjustment of courses of study. In the second place, there would be an improvement in the interplay of influences between the sexes, such as there is in the family, consisting of men and women, girls and boys. In the third place, there would be an improvement in bringing together the properties and the endowments of the small male and small female college into one institution. These are theoretical views, and have been growing on me for years. Lately I have had occasion to set myself to ascertain whether they were practical. Providence denied me the privilege of completing the experiment that I had undertaken, but during the last quarter of a century, since my career as a teacher practically closed, other institutions have been making experiments with what seem to be the following results.

The nearest institution is Columbia College. In 1883 the trustees ordered that a course of study, equivalent to the course given to young men in the college, but not identical with that, should be offered to such women as might desire to avail themselves of it, to be pursued under the general direction of the faculty. The plan embraces nine different groups, viz., English language and literature; modern languages and foreign literature; Latin language and literature; Greek language and literature; mathematics; history and political science; physics, chemistry, and hygiene; natural history, geology, paleontology, botany, and zoology; moral and intellectual philosophy. The

course is to extend over four years, and these are denominated first, second, third, and fourth, not freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior. The preliminary examination for entrance is to be held annually, and the candidate must be seventeen years of age. Having passed the entrance examination, the student must pursue the studies of the first group, viz., English language and literature; and, in addition, those of one other group, during the first and second years. At the end of the first year, however, a new selection may be made. The student is left to pursue her studies at her own discretion as to the manner and place thereof. Times for examination are appointed by the boards of the college.

It is conceded by Columbia College that its system is not particularly attractive, because it offers no instruction, women not being admitted to the college classes. It has not been in operation long enough to allow any of the candidates to complete the four-year course; and as it was not expected that the applicants would take a full course, the larger number of the students at present are pursuing only special branches, and are not candidates for graduation. There are nineteen of them in all. The fourth year is about closing, and not more than one or two will come up for graduation when it ends. As the trustees did not venture in the beginning to hold out the attainment of a degree as a possibility, we can readily see why the number of full-course students is, probably, less than it would otherwise have been. The authorities of the college believe that the number of that class will probably increase hereafter. The venerable President Barnard, in a note to me, says: "As to the performance of the young women in their examinations, we have every reason to be satisfied. Some of them have displayed singular proficiency, especially in classical studies. As a rule it may be said that the young women are diligent students."

Syracuse University throws open the doors of all its colleges for the admission of women on the same terms as men. Its summary of students in the "Sixteenth Annual" (1886-1887) gives no data to enable one to see what proportion of the students are women. This is consistent with the university's plan of making no distinction. In looking over the catalogue of four hundred

and thirty-seven names it is perceived that a very large proportion are names of women. The university has no dormitories. The students board in families near by. There is no discrimination whatever on account of sex. Its chancellor, Rev. Dr. Sims, informs me that no special rules are made because of the presence of both sexes in the university, the young women having every right that is accorded to the young men. He adds: "We have never had difficulty growing out of the presence of both sexes in the institution. The young ladies are as scholarly in every department as the young men."

Cornell University extends the amplest inducements to women. By an act of the trustees, passed in April, 1872, women are admitted to the university on the same terms as men, except that they must be seventeen years old. A separate building, the Sage College, has been erected and furnished for their residence. The entrance examinations, scholarships, fellowships, and all the studies except military science, are open to women as to men. Sage College was built, furnished, and endowed by the Hon. Henry W. Sage, at a cost of over two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and by him given to Cornell University as a place of residence for women who are students. It has a frontage of one hundred and seventy-six feet, and a depth, with an interior court, of one hundred and seventy-two feet. The building has every convenience and comfort. Great attention is paid to the health and the general physical culture of the young women. The immediate care of all the students is intrusted to a woman who has had wide social experience in Europe and America, and who has full acquaintance with the best methods for the education of women. The female students have the same use of libraries, laboratories, draughting-rooms, collections, and museums as the male students; and every effort seems to be made to carry out the intentions of the founder of Sage College, who to his munificent gift attached but one condition, viz., that "instruction shall be afforded young women, by Cornell University, as broad and thorough as that afforded to young men." The registrar of the university, Professor H. C. Thurber, tells me that Sage College is now more than full, the number of women in attendance being between eighty and

ninety. Many of these are graduates of colleges for women, and many more are special students. He adds: "I think there is no longer any doubt here as to the general good results of the system."

Harvard does not admit women to scholastic residence. It has an "Annex" for female students, prescribes a course of study for them, and appoints a committee of examination. The fourteenth examination for women by Harvard University will be held in Cambridge, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati next summer. Candidates who present themselves for this examination will be examined upon the studies required for admission to Harvard, but any student may, if she prefer, substitute for the prescribed and elective course an advanced examination in French and German. The time and mode of examination for the pupils will be the same as for the regular examination for admission to the university, and the same privilege of passing a preliminary examination on a part of the subject, and of completing the course in a subsequent year, will be allowed. There is a society for the college instruction of women. This society has charge of the examinations in Cambridge. When the candidate receives the president's certificate she is admitted to the course of instruction given in Cambridge by the instructors in Harvard University, under the direction of the society. That certificate is also accepted, if presented within a year of its date, by Wellesley, Smith, and Vassar Colleges, institutions for women alone, as the equivalent for examinations in such studies, whether preparatory or collegiate. It will be seen that this is a mere "annex;" women are not admitted to any part of the university. Last year about half a dozen certificates of completed examinations were issued.

In regard to the University of Michigan no statement more compact and comprehensive can be given than the following, received from my friend, Professor Alexander Winchell:

"Women have the same privileges in the University of Michigan as men have, and they avail themselves of them to the same extent. There are literally no discriminations made here on account of sex. Women study literature, languages, science, pharmacy, dentistry, medicine (homeopathic and 'regular'), and law. They take the degrees of A. B., B. S., B. G., M. D., Ph.D., LL.B.,

D. D. S., etc. They study for advanced degrees—and get them. They earn equal honors with men. They are more faithful and generally make better attainments, though many men equal them. In some medical courses they have separate instruction and demonstrations. Few study law. None, perhaps, study civil or mechanical engineering, but some take mechanical draughting."

Co-education is carried forward in the University of Wisconsin. In the beautiful campus of that institution there is a building called Ladies' Hall. It contains a society hall, teachers' rooms, together with study and lodging rooms for about sixty students, and ample accommodations for boarding. The students' rooms are well furnished. The young women occupying this building are under the immediate charge of the principal, are required to board with the matron, and are expected generally to conform to the rules requisite for a quiet and orderly household. The institution assumes no responsibility for pupils, male or female, rooming in the city, except as regards good scholarship and general deportment. President Bascom says: "Young women are granted with us precisely the same terms with young men. 'Co-education here is entirely successful."

From the "Year-Book" of the Boston University it may be gathered that there is no more distinction made there between the sexes than between the inhabitants of States; even the absence of such distinction is not mentioned. Upon opening the "Year-Book" for 1887 one soon comes upon the names of women in the lists of Doctors of Medicine, Bachelors of Arts, and Bachelors of Philosophy, the curious thing being that all the Bachelors of Philosophy are named Eva, Alice, Ida, Louise, or Marcia. It so chances, also, that the names leading the senior, junior, freshman, and special classes are feminine names, modestly followed by names of the other sex. Plainly, Boston University has thoroughly wiped out the distinction of sex, and has for its purpose not the educating of men and women, boys and girls, but rather the educating of human beings.

The Rev. Dr. Robey, of North Carolina, writes as follows:

"Thirteen years of my life have been spent as a teacher. During that time I had experience in all kinds of schools: for boys separately, for girls separately, and for both together. The most satisfactory results were always attained in the mixed schools. This is especially true of young men and young

ladies. With smaller children the difference is not so marked, even if it shows itself at all. When I speak of satisfactory results I mean to include discipline, application, thoroughness of study, and attention to personal conduct and appearance. I will state further that this testimony is in conflict with my southern prejudices. I was opposed to the co-education of the sexes, but have yielded to the logic of facts upon observation."

If women are not to be educated with men, then there must be colleges for the former in all particulars equal in equipment to those for the latter. Massachusetts must have a college for women as complete and as amply endowed as Harvard; New York, a woman's college which shall equal Columbia; Tennessee, a woman's college which shall equal Vanderbilt University; and North Carolina, a college quite equal to the university at Chapel Hill. I know the women of these four States, and they are worth as much as the men, and certainly are as well worth educating, for their value as factors in the coming generations.

But co-education cannot be forced. It must be the product of general increase of both enlightenment and broadening, two things which do not always go together. At present I do not see any reason why any college in the land may not open its classes to all women who can successfully undergo examinations for entrance. They will be old enough and well-trained enough to feel the responsibility of their situation. They will, probably, be of such character as by their presence to dispel those phantoms of danger which are raised upon *a priori* conjectures. In any case, each woman student would be under the disciplinary control of the college authorities, just as the men would be, and each student, male or female, should be treated according to his or her merits.

CHARLES F. DEEMS.

## CONDITIONS OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

1. THE Knights of Labor have given to the world a "Declaration of Purposes," of which the first reads as follows: "To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness." While this is not so well expressed as might be desired, the thought which it conveys is a grand one. It lays down the first condition of industrial peace, for it involves a needed change of our social ideal.

What is the ideal of society to-day in our country? Is it not indolence combined with self-indulgence? Is not this the motive which animates the majority in their striving after wealth? And is not wealth when acquired forthwith used for the attainment of this ideal, unless, in the process of acquisition, as sometimes happens, it is forgotten that wealth is not an end in itself, but only a means? While we rejoice to make exceptions which do honor to our race, and are the pledge of better things to come, there can be little doubt that affirmative answers will give a correct expression of our social ideal. Now, it must be noticed that an ideal of this kind will affect all classes alike. It works downward from the highest social stratum to the lowest. Labor is despised alike in the parlor and the kitchen; and is maid or mistress most to blame? The master seeks sensual pleasure, and flaunts the coarse luxury of the *parvenu* in the face of the world, while the man in the shop learns to hate his toil, and turns out botched work. Our ideal is evil, and must beget evil; hence strife and unrest, discords, struggles, and rumors of internecine conflicts. Peace can come only of righteousness, and, if we desire it, we must place before ourselves a righteous ideal. What, then, is the true ideal of industrial society? Its purpose is manifestly to subserve the highest interests of man. Now, the ultimate aim of man is neither to acquire wealth nor to lead a life of self-indulgence. If the tes-

timony of poets, prophets, and wise men may be accepted, our chief purpose is the full and complete expansion of all our powers; and the social ideal, in proportion as it becomes righteous and bears in it the germs of peace, must be directed to the most perfect development possible of the faculties of all members of society.

As Professor Davidson well said, in the FORUM for April, we have pursued everything but the main thing. Industrial society exists as a necessary instrumentality for the cultivation of man. Its aim is not the production of so many thousands of miles of railway, or so many millions of cattle, or tens of millions of bushels of wheat and corn. These are but means to the true end. Nor is its aim the production of the largest possible number of millionaires. These are to so small a degree, if at all, means to the true end of industrial society, that I see in this product of our civilization no cause for joy. The true purpose for which our life of industry exists is the production of men.

When this ideal is once firmly established, all other questions will be decided in accordance therewith. I think of such questions as sanitation, improved dwellings for the masses—more than that—homes for the masses, a free Sunday, compulsory education, including industrial training, opportunity for play, by the provision, among other things, of play-grounds in city and country, gymnasiums for the development of strong bodies for strong minds; then, too, such questions as the proper distribution of wealth, for our ideal at once gives a standard by which to judge economic measures. This ideal also settles the question of child labor, and of restriction upon the labor of women. If we make money our ideal, and shape our policy therewith, then do we become pagans, worshiping as idols material things, and we may be sure that the wrath of God will be kindled against us.

2. We must seek to promote harmony among all men. Now influential parties are striving through the newspapers to sow seeds of discord among the working-men. Some time ago efforts were made to set one trade union against another; but at this moment the pet project of these disturbers of the peace is to foment strife between the Knights of Labor and the trade

unionists, especially as represented in the American Federation of Labor. Apart from the fact that it leads to confusion and loss to employers to have employees at loggerheads, could there be any more striking display of the folly of evil-minded persons than to suppose that working-men, if bitter and hateful among themselves, will cultivate peace with the rest of the world? What we need, then, as one condition of industrial peace, is a large supply of peace-makers, who will teach men to know and love one another, bringing working-man close to working-man, cementing them together in the bonds of brotherhood, which their unions and organizations ought to represent, and bringing employers and employees into friendly contact in boards of arbitration and conciliation, and in other united action for promoting common and beneficent ends.

3. A different treatment must be accorded to working-men and working-women. They demand, as a condition of industrial peace, that they shall be treated like other men and women. The harshness with which they are often treated in this country is commented on by travelers. Anthony Trollope speaks of it thus in his work, "North America:"

"There is, I think, no task-master over free labor so exacting as an American. He knows nothing of hours, and seems to have that idea of a man which a lady always has of a horse. He thinks that he will go forever. . . . and, moreover, which astonished me, I have seen men driven and hurried—as it were forced—at their work in a manner which to an English workman would be intolerable."

An English gentleman who was in this country the past winter mentioned his surprise at the harsh manner in which some rich people, whom he met at fashionable resorts, spoke of working-men, as if they were mere cattle. The discrimination made between working-people and others is further seen in this: If owners of iron, wheat, lumber, or stock appoint a committee to sell their property, this committee will be received by every one with courtesy. It would be considered an outrage for them to be subjected to abuse by purchasers of these commodities. But when laborers appoint representatives to negotiate for the sale of labor, the newspapers will applaud purchasers of labor who kick them out of their offices and otherwise maltreat them.

On the other hand, there are, happily, large employers who treat their employees in a kind and humane manner; and it must be acknowledged that no people are more appreciative of courtesy and generosity than our American working-men. If you mention to a compositor the name of Mr. George W. Childs, who has been conspicuous for his high rate of wages to printers and his gifts to local typographical unions and to the International Typographical Union, you will find that you touch a warm spot in his heart. I tried this as far away from his home as Richmond, Virginia, and saw a printer's face light up with pleasure, as he exclaimed: "Oh, if all employers were like Mr. Childs, there would be no need of trade unions."

A few weeks since I attended a Knights of Labor fair in Baltimore, and noticed that one of the local assemblies had taken the name of an employing firm which has been noted for the consideration which it has shown its employees. It may be necessary to say that the local organizations take names by which they are known, as, for example, the Martha Washington Assembly, the Guiding Star Assembly, the Unknown Assembly. This one in Baltimore was the Bartlett & Hayward Assembly. At this fair I heard Mr. Robert Garrett, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, mentioned in a very friendly manner. The reason? Simply this: when he was invited to attend, he sent them a courteous reply, regretting his inability to be present, just as he would have done if the invitation had come from rich and influential people.

4. A change in the attitude of the press is required. As a condition of industrial peace, it is time to demand of this power common decency in its treatment of organized labor, and of men who are prominent in the cause of labor. There are noteworthy exceptions, it is true, but a large proportion of the press evidently loses all regard for truth when the labor movement is under discussion. It would be manifestly unfair to base our opinion of the Republican party exclusively upon a perusal of Democratic papers, or to write a history of the Democratic party based exclusively upon a perusal of files of partisan Republican periodicals. It is even more unfair to judge labor by what certain influential newspapers say, for when a Demo-

eratic editor talks of Republicans, he knows that many of his readers see Republican newspapers also, and possible exposures of falsehood lay a certain restraint upon men; but few of the readers of certain prominent dailies ever look at a labor newspaper, and all restraint is removed. It can be imagined what partisan bitterness and class hate can do in such cases, for there is nothing which representatives of the old parties dread so much as the rise of a new party. The result is great bitterness, a rapidly growing loss of confidence in the press, and the rise of a so-called "labor" press as opposed to a so-called "capitalistic" press: a thing most unfortunate, as tending to bring about and to intensify the division of the American people into two hostile camps.

5. Points of agreement must be sought with all social reformers. Some good can be found in socialists, in trade-unionists, in Knights of Labor, as well as in those capitalists and scholars who wish to advance the cause of humanity, to improve somewhat the lot of man, to alleviate suffering, and to promote the growth of a better race of men and women in the future. The more these points of agreement are emphasized, the more of peace we shall experience. Says Mr. Ruskin:

"At every moment of our lives we should be trying to find out, not in what we differ with other people, but in what we agree with them; and the moment we find we can agree as to anything that should be done, kind or good (and who but fools couldn't?), then do it, push at it together. You can't quarrel in a side-by-side push."

6. As a sixth condition of industrial peace, it is necessary that people should put away the hell-born idea, once taught in the name of science, that nothing can be advantageously given away; that all those who receive material and spiritual good things are injured unless they make an equivalent cash return. We all are recipients of unearned bounties, and the best that ever comes to us is without money and without price. As Dr. Thomas K. Beecher has well said, we all come into the world as paupers, and the most fortunate thing that can happen to us is to be treated as paupers for the first fifteen years of our life, more or less. The higher education is always a charity in one sense. Take the Johns Hopkins University. Its students do

not defray ten per centum of the expenditures of the institution in their tuition fees. Let us, then, give generously, give largely, give and expect no return ; but let us give wisely, thoughtfully, carefully, and give, first of all, the understanding, the mind, the heart.

7. Applied Christianity is an essential condition of industrial peace. As two injunctions include the whole of the Christian's duty, namely, to love God and to love one's neighbors, you might expect that the chief purpose, the chief thought, of professed Christians would be to elevate the human race, composed entirely, according to Christ, of their brothers and sisters. Yet if one enters Christian churches, it is the exception that one hears anything to indicate that it is the prime duty of the faithful to help others to be good and happy. When you talk with Christians you find that for the most part their aim in life is to make a fortune and to win social position for themselves and their children, all thoughts apparently centering about self, just as if they lived in heathendom. Christianity is more social than individual, but it is rarely that our clergymen learn to look at religious and economic problems from the social standpoint. It is said of Henry Ward Beecher that his special service consisted in the fact that he taught men the universal Fatherhood of God, that he made it a living reality to them. Nothing now is more needed than an equally great preacher to give us some realizing sense of what is meant by the brotherhood of man.

8. A general diffusion of knowledge in regard to social and political science is one condition of permanent industrial peace. Right action depends on right thinking, and there is as gross ignorance of the first elements of political economy among the rich as among the poor ; perhaps a denser ignorance, for the poor have latterly given more attention to this study, as can be seen by comparing the "labor" press with the "capitalistic" press.

9. It is essential that we should make no men martyrs of an ignoble cause. We would rid ourselves of the anarchists. Let us see to it that we do not strengthen them, by making men unworthy of martyrdom martyrs of a cause which deserves no martyrs. Punishment must be visited upon them and others for crimes which they actually commit, but not for mere opinions.

10. Among things which must be furnished by public authority is an honest and impartial administration of law, bearing equally upon master and servant, upon private individual and powerful corporations. Nothing more dangerous threatens our institutions than the growing conviction that the police and other agents of public authority are but the tools of the capitalistic class. It is not so much the letter of the law which is at fault, for that rarely discriminates, but it is the administration of law which violates the fundamental principle of equality.

11. As governments are the largest employers of labor, and as governments are subject to the moral law, our various governments, State, federal, and municipal, must set an example to all other employers, of generous and wholesome treatment of employees.

12. Government must raise the ethical level of competition by prohibiting forms of it which degrade a people. Prohibition of child labor falls under this head, as do compulsory safeguards against injury to employees, and employers' liability acts. Professor Henry C. Adams has described the nature of attempts of government to raise the ethical level of competition, in his admirable monograph, "Relation of the State to Industrial Action."

13. Government must establish institutions which tend of themselves to the widest diffusion of the blessings of advancing civilization. Postal and municipal savings banks may be mentioned. A more important step is the appropriation of natural monopolies, like gas-supply, water-works, street car lines, railways—of course with compensation for already acquired rights—and their management in the interest of the whole people, as the post-office is now managed.

14. While no nation has a right to isolate itself and neglect world-wide interests, it is nevertheless true that progress is now and will probably long be chiefly along national lines. Ought not each country, within certain limits, to work out its own salvation; and is it not our duty in the United States to protect ourselves against further immigration of the off-scouring of the earth? Certainly this would make for industrial peace.

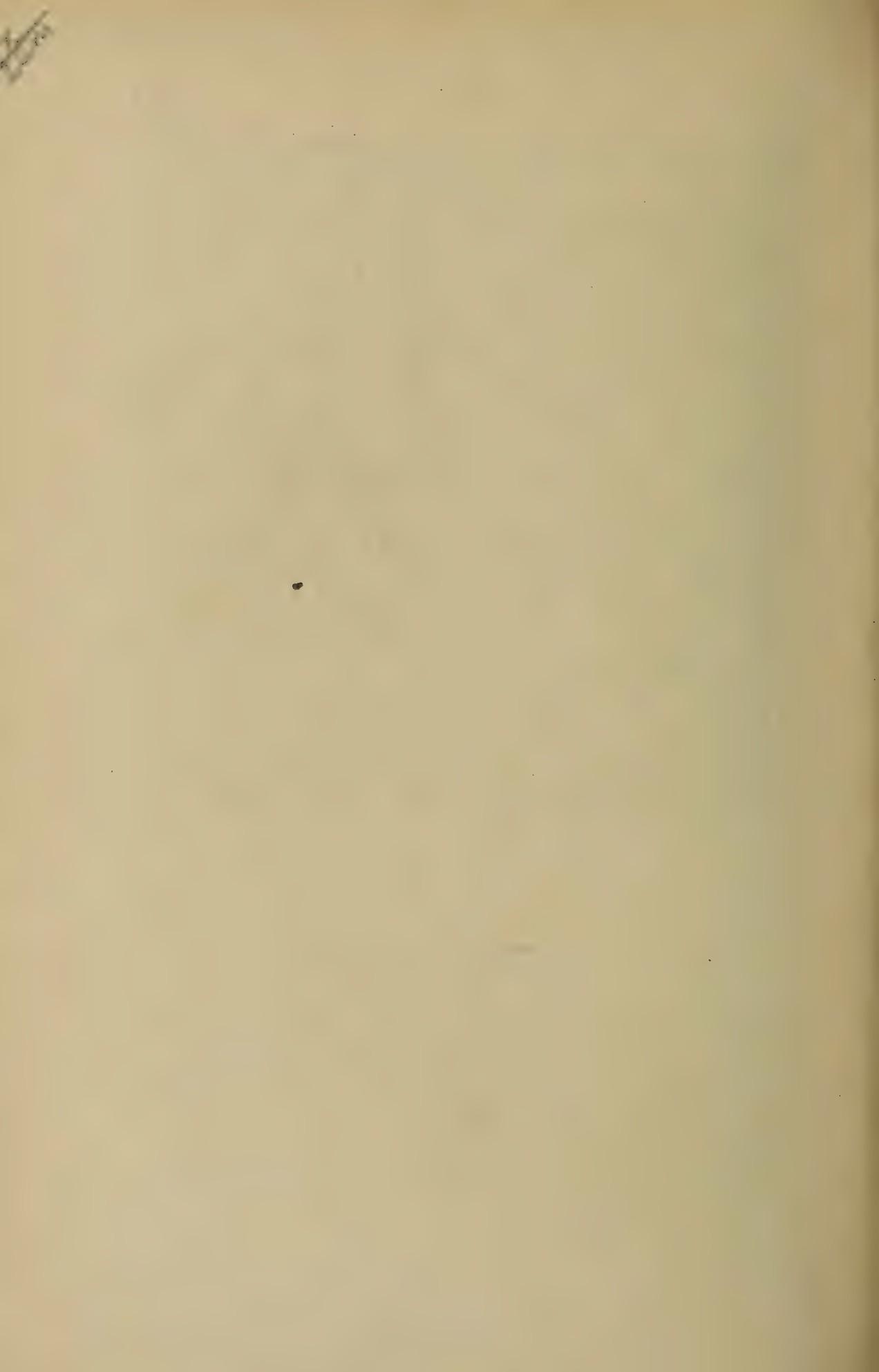
RICHARD T. ELY.

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